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COLLECTIONS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Committee of Publication for the Present Volume.

CHANDLER ROBBINS.
HENRY W. TORREY.
SAMUEL K. LOTHROP.

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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PREFACE.

THE "MATHER PAPERS," from which the contents of this volume have been principally selected, are contained in seven volumes of manuscripts, belonging to the "New-England Library," collected by the Rev. THOMAS PRINCE, which was many years in the custody of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and is now deposited in the Public Library of the City of Boston. These manuscripts came into the hands of Mr. Prince in a miscellaneous mass, and were by him chronologically arranged in *fasciculi*, with occasional annotations. They were probably bound in their present form after they came into the possession of the Historical Society.

The copies from which this volume is printed were made several years ago, by the direction of the Society, under the supervision of the Chairman of the present Committee of Publication. By the courtesy of the Pastors and Deacons of the Old South Church, the Society was allowed to retain the collection of "Mather Papers," for the purpose of collating the transcripts with the originals during the printing of this volume.

All the papers in the Collection are here printed, with the exception of such as are much mutilated, the few which had before appeared in print, some of those which contain only foreign intelligence, and such as possess little or no historical value. The ancient spelling has been rigorously observed, except in the case of abbreviated pronouns and particles, which are generally printed at length.

Although a portion of the letters may be thought to have little intrinsic claim to notice, yet, on account of some association with persons, periods, or events of historical interest, the Committee have not deemed it proper to exclude them. Mr. Prince's notes have been carefully preserved, and his name has in every instance been attached to them. All the rest, with one or two exceptions which are indicated, are editorial. It has been the object of the Committee to make, in the briefest form, all the annotations which seemed necessary to throw light upon the obscurities, or to supply, conjecturally, the illegible portions of the text, and to furnish such historical and biographical data as are for the relief and convenience of the reader. Remembering that their office was not that of the Historian or the Biographer, but simply of the Editor, they have steadily resisted the temptation to indulge in general illustrations and comments.

The index has been prepared by Dr. JOHN APPLETON, the accomplished Assistant Librarian of the Society, whose valuable aid in obtaining accurate copies of the manuscripts, and deciphering their obscure passages, as well as in the preparation of notes, and the revision of the proof-sheets of this volume, the Committee gratefully acknowledge.

THE MATHER PAPERS.

THE MATHER PAPERS.

LETTERS OF NATHANIEL MATHER.*

NATHANIEL MATHER TO JOHN ROGERS.†

For Mr John Rogers at his fathers howse in Ipswich these in New England.

Most kind Sr — One off those things which lyc deepest in my heart though it come first out, is to make a recantation of what in my last to Willm Paine‡ concerned yourselfe. It was a long time ere I could pswade myselfe to beleeve that you above all should neglect to write, but at last after all possible enquiry for letters not meeting with any, I began to grow desperate, whereupon I wrote as I did by the last ships to Willm Paine about a 3 weekes agoe. It maybe these may arrive before those and then you have an excuse before the fault. However it comming not long

* Nathaniel Mather was the son of Rev. Richard Mather of Dorchester. He was born at Toxteth, in Lancashire, England, March 20, 1630. Several years after his graduation at Harvard College, in 1647, he went to England; and, having been the incumbent of the living of Harberton, county of Devon, in 1655, was next settled minister of Barnstaple, in 1656; was ejected in 1662, after the Restoration; and, having preached for some time at Rotterdam, was subsequently settled at Dublin as successor to his brother Samuel. He died, while pastor of a dissenting congregation, in London, July 26, 1697, aged 67. He was held in high esteem among his brethren for piety and learning. He took a deep inter-

† H. C. 1649. Son of Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, of Ipswich, and afterwards President of the College.

‡ Came over in 1635. Removed from Ipswich to Boston. Died October 10, 1660.

after, and being so sufficient I question not your acceptance. The truth is I should scarse yet have had your letters, nor any in England to whom they were sent, had not Mr. Tuttle* and I (seeing two such large packets to John Corbet) made bold to break open the case, whereby both I and many more came to have their owne, in far better season then could have been if they had gone to Ireland after him to whom they were supscribed. So that as it will fall out our honest boldnesse was p'judicial to none, beneficial to many. And truely it did my heart good to see the out sides of so many lettres from yourselfe to those who lately left you. I think a spirit of salvagenesse is come upon all at Cambridge, for neither

---

est in all that pertained to the welfare of New England, and sent contributions for the relief of the sufferers in Philip's war in 1676.

He was buried in the cemetery at Bunhill Fields in London. The inscription on his tombstone is as follows: —

Sub hoc reconditur tumulo Vir admodum Reverendus
NATHANAEL MATHER,
Richardi Matheri Filius, Utriusq: ANGLIÆ Decus,
Edidit hæc nostra, in agro Lancastriensi:
Imbuit Literaturâ, & Magistri Laurea honestavit
Altera illa transmarina.
Quâ propter temporum acerbitatem
Parvulus adhuc cum Patre recesserat.
Inde reversus, Ecclesiæ quæ est DUBLINII apud HIbernos
Communi Suffragio præficitur.
Unde ad hanc Urbem accersitus,
Pastorali Munere cum Vita defunctus est.
Si Laudes quæris, paucis accipe;
Animi dotibus fuit dives, Literis eruditissimus,
Judicio perpolitus, Ingenio acer,
Cujusque Muneris Naturæ & Doctrinæ potens:
Sacravit omnia in serviendo Deo.
Omnino instructissimus ad Officium,
Beati Servatoris Evangelium sincere promulgavit;
Ornavitque vita decora;
Comitate, Modestia, Patientia mixta.
Pietatis Exemplar maxime illustre;
Semper sibi par, & sibi constans.
Christianus Religiosissimus,
Maritus indulgentissimus,
Concionator aptus & operosus,
Pastor Fidelis & Vigilans.
In Sacræ Functionis Exercitiis arte pia eclavit HOMINEM,
Ut solus conspiceretur Deus.
Omni denique: Virtute præditus et Laude dignissimus.
Sed ah! Quantus Dolor? Mortuus est.
Plerophoria tamen Fidei, cœlestem adiit Gloriam,
Et Triumphum 26 Julii Æræ Christianæ
MDCXCVII. Ætat. LXVII.

* Evidently John Tuttle, of Ipswich, who came over 1635, and afterwards settled in Ireland.

my Brother, M^{r} Star,* nor I have one word from any one there. Or did they so much question our eall (though they knew wee had thrusts enough) that they also question God's blessing on us, and therefore conclude wee are either drowned or if got to England, such despised afflicted ereatures as that wee are not worthy the bestowing a few lines upon: Or hath the meagrenesse of their winter Commons shrunk up there guts and made their braines to perish, that they have quite forgotten us. Truely Fra: your kind letter is most welcome and much the more because it is an evidenee of such singular love and freindship as is not to bee found in all Cambridge: I pray you therefore fayle not to continue as you promise a eonstant interco^{r}se of letters while you abide in N. England, which I hope will not be long, for I had rather see yourselfe here then your handwriting. And the naked truth is, here is great ineouragem^{t} for any to eome over, especially such as designe themselves for the ministry, or whatsoever else they bee, I think they need not much to question living here, for it is with the honestest on both sides a matter of high account to have been a New-English man. Sergiant Okes † is so fully of this mind that I thinke hee halfe repents that his son is not here, and he is resolved not to be any hindrance to his eomming the next year. For inlarging to particulars of incouragem^{t} I eannot at p^{r}sent because as yet, I know not the state of the nac̃on so well as I hope to doe before summer is ended. Therefore I pray you exeuse me for this time from further ꝑlixity, and I think you well may, for here is much in a little roome. Remember mee Respectively to all my freinds with you, your father, mother, brother sister, *etc*, *Cum multis aliis*, *etc*. At p^{r}sent I can no more, but subscribe myselfe Your assured to love and serve you while

NATHANIEL MATHER.

LONDON, March 23, $165\frac{0}{1}$

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* Undoubtedly Rev. Comfort Starr, classmate of the writer. One of the Fellows named in Charter of H. C., 1650. Afterwards went to England.

† Probably Edward, whose son Urian [H. C. 1649, *et Præses* 1675] went to England soon after the date of this letter.

NATHANIEL MATHER TO JOHN ROGERS?

Good Fra: —Not to prognosticate that hereafter I shall use the same excuse for a totall neglect, I hope I may now say that tumults of businesse, together with the uncerteynty of the means of sending makes me be breifer than I would. These are to certify you that I am got to the desired land after a speedy, stormy, very stormy, though not troublesome voyage of a month's time. And now I am here I find matters so that I cannot but sincerely wish from my very heart that all my good freinds in New England were here also with my selfe. 'Tis a nocon of mighty great and high respect to have been a New-English man, 'tis enough to gayne a man very much respect yea almost any preferm^{t}. Our Glover* is like, yea more than like, sure I think, of a fellowship in Oxford with 60 £ pr annum. Sam: Malbone is goeing I think this day to Oxford also, not without good hopes of a living. . . . keep to yourselfe I pray you, or at least that you had it from mee. Myselfe within less [than t]hree howres of my comming to the city had two of[fers], one of preaching to a . . . worth 8^{s} for every day, which is abo[ue] 140 £ pr annum, another of a . . . *li* or more *pr annum*. If [yo]u mind any thing worth minding make all conv[enient s]peed over. I cannot be long, onely Fr[a. H]ubbard is in Scotland which way I am intending the first opportunity, and I intend to carry your letter to him with me. J. Corbett is setting out with his father this day or this day sevennight for Milford by land, and there to take ship and so for Ireland, thence to returne at spring. Remember me most respectfully to your good father & mother & Cosin Rogers, and above all to Mr † & Mris Norton, to whom I intend to write this opportunity. And also to Mr Hubbard,‡ senior, and your brother and sister if yet in America. I hope to see them in England shortly, 'twill be the onely good way, and if Mr Hubbard § learne but to be a little more rhetoricall and get a faculty of better delivery, I question

* Undoubtedly John Glover, [H. C. 1650]. Went to England soon after graduating M.D. at Aberdeen.

† The "famous" Rev. John Norton, minister of Ipswich at this date.

‡ William, of Ipswich, father of the historian of New England.

§ Rev. William, of Ipswich, the historian. [H. C. 1642.]

not b[ut (the] independent party continuing to bear sway) hee would after a few weeks of making himselfe knowne be *inter primos* of the whole kingdome. Tis incredible what an advantage to preferm[t] it is to have been a New English man. I suppose J[n] Corbet hath spoken largely to the purpose, I need to say the lesse and now have but little time, mueh businesse, and many letters to write to New England. I hope to be larger by the [n]ext opportunity. Now in hast I must conelude desiring you to exeuse me to my [fri]ends to whom I now write not, especially the Harrises * males and fema[les] . . . the last married, *etc.* To J[n] Annable † & his wife, as they deserve. *Vale* . . . mee hear frõ you every opportunity while your abode shall bee in N. E. and till y[ou] hear further directions from me, direct your letters to mee to bee left at the 3 [K]ings in Watling Street with M[r] Henry Ashurst ‡ to be conveyed to me. Agayne *Vale et Vale.*

Your assured loving Fra:

NATH. MATHER.

LONDON. Dec. 23. 1651. (?)

NATHANIEL MATHER TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for M[r] Increase Mather. §

[DEAR BR]OTHER, — . . . that I left London I left a lr̃e at M[r] Thomson's for you which I suppose is in your hands before this. Bee pleased now to know . . . from Lee road below Gravesend. Wee weighed anchor on the Sabbath day morning, & came in hither in safety the Tuesday following . . . noon. Wee have heard & doe hear dayly from England and expeet dayly more and more newes now the Parlt is about sitting downe. Here is . . . as though the K of England would fall out with

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* Thomas and family, residents of Ipswich.

† Undoubtedly John, of Ipswich, died 1664.

‡ An eminent merchant of London, father of Sir Henry Ashurst.

§ Increase Mather was in England at the date of this letter. Having graduated at H. C. in 1656, he sailed from Boston in July, 1657. After spending a year at Trinity College, Dublin, he took his second degree there, in 1658. Refusing liberal offers made to him if he would wear the surplice and read the Common Prayer, he returned to New England, and reached his father's house, in Dorchester, on a Saturday evening in September, 1661. This letter was probably written from Leyden.

the States of Holland. Many English are of late come over into these parts and sundry to this . . . & those of us that are of the Congregac̃onall way have joyned in a Petic̃on to the Magistrates that they would allow us a publiq meeting place, . . . doubt not but wee shall obtayne. And indeed for any thing that I can perceive, the English that come over of late have all the countenance of the Magistrates that they can expect. For myselfe, I am necessitated besydes my intenc̃on to tarry here, because a Trunk of cloths which was sent after me I cannot hear of, as also, because a Bill of Exchange which a merch^{t} of London gave mee for some mere[handize] is not accepted here; else perhaps I might ere this have seen a great part of this Province. If you have any thoughts . . . as for my part I would advise you had best doe it speedily, & what money you will translate hither you had . . . of Exchange & bring secretly onely 5 or 6*li* in gold with yourselfe & leave the rest in a friend's hands, to bee transmitted after, according to your . . . not this corse you will loose in the exchange a great deal, perhaps a penny in every shilling, or more. I wish . . . *de Ecclesiâ Visibili* here, I could, I presume easily gett it printed. If you write to New England I pray acqt my . . . as also where I am, which is the reason of my not writing to him by these ships. I purpose to tarry here . . . a month or two at least, and perhaps all this summer and longer, of which you may hear more by my next. . . . Rem̃br mee to him. I write to him also this post. You may, I beleeve, live as cheap or cheaper at Leyden than . . . considering your judgm̃t, more quietly follow your studyes. If you have any thoughts of comeing let mee hear & . . . further concerning it. M^{r} Thomson hath directions how to send to mee. Onely I pray make up your letter as little . . . l̃res from hence bee payd for in London, yet letters fr̃o London are payd for here; & the least letter that is . . . have no more to add at p^{r}sent, but rest Dear Br,

Yours N. M.

. . . 10. [d.] *stylo veteri:* 1661.

Dr. Oaks in Katharins can give you particular directions about comeing over hither.

My fellow travailer desires you to remember your promise to him & hee heartily desires to hear of your Arrivall at Rotterdam.

NATHANIEL MATHER TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Reverend my dear brother, Mr. Increase Mather, Minister of the Gospell at Boston in New England. To be left with Mr. Richard Chiswell, Bookseller, at the Rose & Crowne in Paul's Church yard, to be sent as abovesd by the first ship for New England.

Dear Brother, — Yours of 8ber 13 was the latest that I reed from you and with it 3 of your historyes of the late war with the Indians, for which I heartily thank you & wish I had had more of them, for but 2 or 3 others that I hear of came to this kingdome & they were so acceptable that save that I kept one of them, to read it over a few hours, I have not yet been able to keep any of them in my hands. Indeed they were opened at the Custome house by his Matyes Commissioners, & one of them dd to the Lord Lieut,* which his Excellency after hee had read it returned again. I bless the Lord for the sp^{t} that breaths all along in it, onely I fear the Court's votes about the children of the church goe upon mistaken principles. But because I have not the book by mee, nor have had this sundry months, I shall say nothing more thereof. I know not what I sd as though I feared some interest byassed your judgm^{t} in the extending the subjcet of baptism as in your printed book, but it is obvious to conceive that there may bee many inducements thereto, notwithstanding all that Mr. Mitchel† says. And if any thing made mee so fear, it is your departing from old principles in entertayning a nõcon of a

* Arthur Capel, Earl of Essex, held the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland at this time. He was afterwards an opponent of the measures of the court; and being accused of complicity with the Rye House plot, was committed to the Tower, where he died, probably by suicide, Jnly 13, 1683.

† Jonathan Mitchel, called "*Matchless*" by Cotton Mather. [H. C. 1647]. Ordained at Cambridge, 1650. In the warm controversy concerning infant baptism which prevailed at that period, he took a prominent part. His own church was especially agitated by it on account of the decided anti-pædobaptist stand taken by one of its most prominent members, President Dunster. Mr. Mitchel preached many sermons in defence of the baptism of infants, and joined in a public discussion upon the subject held in Boston for the space of two days. He was also conspicuous in the Synod of 1662, and had the principal hand in drawing up its Result.

The reference in the text is to Mr. Mitchel's letter to Increase Mather, published in 1675, at the end of "The First Principles of New England."

catholik integrate church visible & some other things. I am yet more abundantly satisfyed than ever for infant baptisme, but as far as I see, some of your grounds infer rebaptizing in many cases. These 3 principles, that infants are members of the church generall visible as you call it; that children baptised in your churches are subjects of Christ's discipline, that is church discipline; & that there is a specificall difference between the members[hip] of infants & adult persons; I confess I beleeve not one of them.

And very well satisfyed I am touching the first, that there neither is any such church, nor ever was, nor are infants members of it, nor ever were, nor can bee, if there were any such church, nor, if they were, can they thereby have right to baptisme, neither that nor any other ordẽe beeing given to it. Touching the 2^{d}, I have not yet seen it prooved that church discipline should bee exercised towards them. As to the 3^{d}, though I think the mayn question is not much concerned in it, yet I no way doubt but all your arg^{ts} against a specificall difference may easily bee answered (& give me leave to say, I have done it,) as beeing either paralogism or grounded on mistakes in logick. What departure there hath been of late in congregationall men from old principles & practises, I shall not say, but this I may say, that to my knowledg Mr. Nye not long before his death saw & much layd to heart what hee saw of that kind. It is most true in the mayn substance of the principall question. I coneur with Mr. Baxter, but it was not that for which I taxed you for following him, but in your expressions about visible faith & the judgment of Charity, pag. 53, and elsewhere in your book. As for Mr. Mede it is obvious how easily you take up things for him. Bee hee a godly man or not, I am sure Rev. 1, 3 proveth it not: though I grant hee had and held forth choyse light above most others about that book, for his vision was in that & some other pphetieall scriptures. But it is easy to discern all along his other writings that there was a secret rottennes that influenced his glosses & interpretaẽons of Scriptures, & indeed this is it that makes his books so acceptable with many of our prelaticall clergy; yea, very many of his admired noẽons are only eovers for some such sore, as I could easily show in abundance of instances. And in more than one of those passages in your discorse that you have from him you doe not take gold or silver, but dross & hay &

stubble from him, as I may manifest if ever I send you my reply to your book. But I make no hast therein. I remember that of Horace, *nonumque prematur in annum*, & I have thought if I can get time to make a short reply to what is argumentative in your First Principles of N. E. too.

I much rejoyce in God's great mercy begun in your son Cotton. I heartily thank him for his map of New England. It helps mee much in understanding your & other narratives. One defect or two I observe in it, there is wanting a scale of miles & a compass, & if I have not forgotten (which it is like I may) the Blew hills are misplaced, for hee placeth them south from Dorchester, whereas according to my defaced idea of the Countrey, they were rather northward from it.

Wee have not yet heard of the arrivall of that Relief which was sent from hence by the Katharine of Dublin, which set sayl about Aug^{t} 23. I know not when this will goe from London. I send it at an adventure, not knowing whether any vessell bee going thence or not, onely I suppose there may, because there use to doe so about this time of the year. I pray let mee hear often from you. Remember mee to my sister, your wife, & all your children, as also to Eleazars & Tim: & his. Wee yet enjoy our liberty in the Gospell by a wonder of power & mercy. Publique affayrs I can give no account of. Pray for us. The Lord bee with you.

I remayn Dear Br, Your most aff. Br. N. M.

Dublin: Febr. 26. 1676.

Mris. Aubrey was well a few days agoe.

NATHANIEL MATHER TO INCREASE MATHER.

These For the Revd my dear brother Mr Increase Mather Minister of the Gospell in Boston in New-England.

Febr. 27. 76.

Dear Br. — Yesterday I wrote more largely which I send herewith. I rem̄ber in one of yours you desyre my Br. Sams sermon at his parting from your people on Jer. 51. 50. I cannot readily now find it, neither I think are the notes thereof

perfect. I herewith send your Cotton Brachygraphie fitted to the Latine tongue, by a person in Holland whom I well knew when I was there, viz^{t} Mr. James Sympson, a Scotch minister that was banished from Scotland, an excellent man & excellent preacher hee was as most. I ever heard, however the prelates could not bear him in the same Kingdome with them. I suppose nothing of this kind hath been seen in N. E., I hardly think there is another of them in all the Kings dominion. Brachygraphy is not practised nor knowne any where in Europe, but in England. All the condic̃on that I put on your son is that hee learn it & teach it his Br^{n} & Cosings when they shall bee capable thereof. I know it will cost some time & practise, and though I could never yet get leysure to learn it myselfe, but I have read it over & so throughly considered it that I see it is well worth the while & may be attayned by the book in the time that hee mentions part. 4. c. 6. If hee have no mind to it, let him give the book to some one that will, on that condic̃on that hee will & doe learn it. I would have him count the more of this token, because I neither have nor know I where possibly to get another of these bookes. But I must have done. This is all the busines of this 2^{d} l̃re. The Lord bee with you. I rest, Dear Br.

Your most loving Br. N. M.

Febr. 27. 1676.

NATHANIEL MATHER TO INCREASE MATHER.

[*Th*]*ese for the Reverend my very dear brother, Mr. Increase Mather, Minister of the Gospell in Boston in New England.*

Dublin, Febr. 13, 77.

Dear Br. — I have received from you this winter sundry short l̃rs, one of 8ber 8, Ian. 5. another of 7ber 18, received 10ber 2d, another of 8ber 12 Ian. 12 & one of Febr. 15, 76, I received Aug^{t} 1 & another of 8ber 3, 76. received March 26, 77 with 2 historyes of the N. E. War, & another of Aprill 10, 77 received June 26, 77, and with one of the foresaid l̃rs I received 4 books that you sent by M^{r} Hutchinson

who took care to send them safely, though him I never yet saw, nor heard that hee ever came to this citty. Blessed be the God of our father that continues your life & health & liberty & labors. Wee also yet enjoy the like mercy, though wee see playnly enough it is *ringentibus multis*. In England tis so in some places, in some they are much molested. The last post I had one from Mr Thorn,* who tells mee hee is prosecuted on the Act of the 23d of Eliz, that makes it 20 ł *per mensem* for not coming to com Prayr, by a person unknowne to him, for 180 ł, which is to come to tryall this next assises. By one of your latest I perceive wee are not like to bee of a mind touching the deacon's office. For I am still of the same opinion I was that the Ministers have no more to doe with the deacons work or about the outward things of the Church than with any of the members trade or calling, or than the Deacon hath to doe with preaching or baptising. The deacons wayting on the Minister was but a fruit of their pride, that very early made the deacon as their servant, insomuch as Epiphanius against Aerius would make us beleeve that the Apostles so ordayned, & I think indeed the same spirit that brought in a Bp brought in that too, for the deacon to be the minister's servant. Tis true hee is to take care for their mayntenance, & so hee is for the poore too, & for the Ruling Elders also, tho the first & last bee not as charity but as debt, in a way of justice & honorary reward. Tis true, the outward good things of the church were at first layd downe at the Aples' feet; but the Apostles had all office power in them, & besydes it was before any such office as a Deacon was instituted, & they put away from themselves the care of ministracon about the churches outward things as unreasonable. Mr Cotton's nocon that the deacon was to attend the Pastor or Teacher (v. Answer to Bayly, p. 81) though I rember not, yet I assent not to any further than as abovesaid in the same with Epiphanius's, whereon you say the account that Justin Martyr gives of the Churches' practise in his days is consonant with the Scriptures & with the practise of N. E. churches. I am sorry if the last bee so, & as to the former I suppose you have forgotten that hee tells us of a Reader, besydes

* Perhaps Rev. George Thorn, who was settled at Weymouth, Eng., and so violently persecuted as to be driven into exile.

the Minister or Pastor, the προεστῶς* & also that they mingled water with the wine, in the supper, & that they sent the Consecrated Elements by the deacons to the absent, none of which agree with the Scriptures & I hope are not practised in the N. E. Churches. Moreover in Clem. Alexandrinus you will find that anoynting with oyle before baptism, celebrating the memoryes of the martyrs, & keeping yearly solemn meetings at their graves, & praying towards the east, were introduced in his time, & hee lived in the same Century with Justin, not to mention any thing from the Quest. ad Orthod. because they are none of Justin's. As to my Brother Sam's will your suspiĉon is causeles, yet I will send you a copy of it as soon as I can, & then you will see I sent you a full account thereof formerly. I have moved our officers about printing some things of his, & they have consented thereto. But it must bee done in Holland, and g^o [*ergo*] cannot bee effected suddenly if it bee at last. I thank you for your booke you sent last. I wish you had sent mee one of M^r Hubbard's too. M^r Aubrey hath been lately ill, but through the Lord's mercy is pretty well recovered beyond hope. I saw him & his wife yesterday. I pray present my respects in the Lord to Revrd M^r Eliot, whose l̃re of 8ber 12 I received, & purpose to write to him as soon as I can. I have this day been unexpectedly diverted & must send away this to night, & am now going out to see Rev^d M^r Taylor, who of late breaks much, & as I heard last night is now taken ill. I can g^o add noe more but my deare love & my wifes to yourself & yours, and our Cosings. I rest Dear Br. Yours N. M.

I sent your son Cotton a Character book fitted to the Latine tongue;† of the receit whereof I doubt because I hear nothing of it.

Indorsed by Increase Mather—"Rec'd 3^m 25. 1678."

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* Justin Martyr, in his "Apology," i. c. 65, p. 82, describing public worship, says: "There is brought to him who presides over the brethren, τῷ προεστῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν, bread and a cup of water, and wine; and he, taking them, offers up praise and glory to the Father of the Universe, through the name of the Son and the Holy Ghost, and renders thanks for these, his gifts. . . And he who presides, having given thanks, . . . they who are called among us deacons, διάκονοι, distribute the bread and the wine and water to each of those who are present, to partake of that which has been blessed. Also they carry to those who are not present." The προεστῶς was the presiding brother among the πρεσβύτεροι or elders. He superintended the whole concerns of religious worship, and especially consecrated the elements at the administration of the Lord's Supper.

† Brachygraphy. See the preceding letter.

NATHANIEL MATHER TO INCREASE MATHER.

These For the Reverend my dear brother Mr Increase Mather, Minister of the Gospell, in Boston in New England.

Dear Br, — I recd yours of the 26th which was brought mee Febr. 19. this I send by post to Londonderry, whence I hear a vessell is going for N. E. Your former I answered by way of London, & g^{o} have the less now to say. With yours I received one from your Honored Governor, Mr. Leveret (to whom I pray give my service). His former I had in good time from Mr Ives, and I gave advise thereof to N. E; however, myne miscarryed. With his & yours I received one from the Magistrates, giving an account of the disposall of what was sent hence the year before, which I have also communicated. There comes Supercargoe of this vessell a young man, Mr Chetewode, who hath been, & I think is still servant to one of Mr Bridges sons, once of New Engl., now in heaven. I am desyred to recommend him to your acquayntance. Though I know not the young man himselfe, yet I hear that which perswades mee hee hath approved himselfe well in his Master's service, & his Father & mother I know, both godly persons & members with us. His father, if I mistake not, is of the same family of which old Mris. Bulkley * of Concord was. I have no more to say at present, having been much hindred this day, & beeing obliged to goe by and by to the funerall of the auncient widdow of a Minister, that was till her decease a member with us, & an holy woman shee was, & dyed very comfortably in the Lord. Wee enjoy as yet our liberty. Wee have some fearfull apprehensions of the convening of our Parlt here, which wee hear is shortly to bee called. Tis sad with them in Scotland, about Glasgow in the western Shires. I have seen a lre that makes a dismall relation of their condicon. 6 or 7000 Highlanders beeing brought downe upon them to force them to give bonds that neither themselves, wives, children, ser-

* The second wife of Rev. Peter Bulkley was Grace, daughter of Sir Richard Chitwood or Chetwode.

vants or Tenants shall goe to any conventicles, on which account many are fled from their homes, their houses & goods spoyled, &, as is said, wives & daughters ravished, even men standing by. If these things bee so, as I beleeve they are, surely the Lord will look downe from heaven. These are the Bps ways to uphold themselves there, and the spirit of prelacy is *semper & ubique sui similis*. Pray for us, that wee may be found faithfull, & prepared for whatever wee shall be called to. The French Kings successes doe much trouble the Commons house in England. Possibly hee is the Angell that is to pour out the 4th Viall on the sun, & that God will now judge the house of Austria, for all the blood of His Saints shed by them. The Emperor in his hereditary territoryes & in Hungary hath raged lately like the eldest son of the Scarlet whore against the Protestant Churches & Ministers there. Men must bee scorched with great heat at the pouring out of that Viall; which makes me less wonder that the H. of Commons are so galled at the French Kings successes.* Though withall I must confess his growth may justly bee looked on as formidable to England, nor can I blame them for consulting our securing against him. But I must have done. Myne & my wife's dear love to yourself, our sister, & cosings. Pray for me. The Lord bee with you. I rest, Yo^rs^, N. M.

This 12^th^ of the 1^st^ 1677.

NATHANIEL MATHER TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Reverend my very dear Brother M^r^ Increase Mather, Minister of the Gospell in Boston in New England.

Dear Brother, — I know not whether this will ever come to your hand. I send it by one M^r^ Gilbert † that saith hee was

* March 14, 1677–8, the Commons resolved on an Address to the King, in favor of a declaration of war against the King of France.

† There was a John Gilbert who was taken captive by the Indians in Philip's War, and was seen and assisted by Mrs. Rowlandson, of Lancaster, during her captivity; but he was of Springfield. No record can be found of any person of this name whose house was burned at Lancaster. Half the buildings in the town were burned by the Indians; and, after their departure, the inhabitants fled, and destroyed all but two of the remaining houses.

of Lancaster in N. E., & there burned out of all, to the valew of about 500ł. His errand hither & exigencyes here I shall not menc̃on, nor his supports. I have little now that I can write of save that the Lord continues our health & liberty to us as yet as formerly. There seems at present to bee a change on the face & spirit of our Parlt̃ in England, they appearing set rather against Popery than against the N-Conformists as formerly; & much vexed they are at the French King's successes & greatnes. If hee bee the Angell that must pour out the Viall on the sun, man must bee so. O that the other part of that prophesy, not to repent, may not bee fulfilled on them. But till I see some course taken for the free course of the preaching of the Gospell & for a more effectuall reformac̃on, I expect not that the Lord's controversy with these nac̃ons should bee at an end. The Lord prepare us for what is comeing on us. Let us bee helped with your prayers. Reñber us to our Br. Timothy & Sisters & Cosings, & all our other freinds with you. My wife remembers to you. The Lord bee with you.

I remayn, Dear Br, Yours, N. MATHER.

May 13, 1678.

NATHANIEL MATHER TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Revd my dear brother, Mr. Increase Mather, Minister of the Gospell in Boston in New England.

DEAR BROTHER, — Though this bearer, Capt. Smith, gave mee notice in good time, yet I forgot to write sooner, and g^{o} now, hee staying for my lr̃e, can onely tell you of my health & libt̃y as formerly, blessed bee God. The face of publique matters looks sad. Troops in England drawing downe towards Scotland, on what design is not s^{d}, but tis generally supposed to suppress the Conventicles, *etc.* Mris. Aubrey was well within a day or two, & so was Mris. Bridges & Bredon yesterday. This morning Mr. Ting called on mee in his way to England, staying while I write this lr̃e. Reñbr mee to my Br., Sisters & Cosings. My wife

remb̃rs to you & yours, & them all. The Lord bee with you. Pray for Dear Br

Yo^{rs} N. MATHER.

July 7. 78.

Indorsed by Increase Mather — "R^{ed} 7^{m} 16^{d} 78.".

NATHANIEL MATHER TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for my Dear & Reverend brother M^{r} Increase Mather, Minister of the Gospell in Boston, New England.

DEAR BROTHER, — This opportunity by M^{r} Smith is so uncertayn, at least . . . it may come to your hand, that I think it not worth my while to say any more than that I received yours by M^{r} Chetewood, of August, & also M^{r} Eliot's,* with his book, for which I thank him & you. Mris Aubrey hath not been well for sundry weeks, but I hope not dangerously ill. I saw her 2 days agoe. Wee live, & in peace, by as great a miracle of the providence of God as ever I knew or read of. There hath been a deep & generall design amongst the Papists to involve us in confusion & blood, & though it have been discovered by as wond^{r}full a way as ever any was, & one executed at London for it, & many others in prison, 6 or 7 Lords, yet tis generally said & feared tis not all discovered, but still carryed on. Things look as if our dangers were come neer to the extremity. The plot was also here. Some are layd up for it, & our militia increased & raysed, Papists co̅nded to bee disarmed, etc. But our salvac̅on is from the immediate hand of God. Pray for us. If wee live till spring I shall send by way of London; perhapps more largely.

Remember us to your wife & our Br., & all Cosings. My wife remembers to you. I rest, Your most aff. Br.

N. MATHER.

10ber 19, 78.

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* Probably Rev. John Eliot, of Roxbury. His "Harmony of the Gospels" was published in Boston in 1678.

NATHANIEL MATHER TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Revd my dear brother Mr. Increase Mather, Minister of the Gospell at Boston, in New England.

Dear Brother, — The last I had from N E was your son's of 9ber 8, which came to my hand in Febr. as I remembr. I thank him for it. I have not time now to write to you largely, or at all to him. You will hear all the newes wee have from London. The Tryall of Coleman, who was the first that was executed for the Plot, I sent you by Captain Forster * of Charlestown, who went hence for the Barbadoes. Since that 2 or 3 more have been executed for it, besydes 3 for murthering Sr Edmundbury Godfrey, a Justice of Peace that had taken the examination of the first discoverers of it. The impeached Lords are yet in the Tower. What the new Parlt hath done or will doe wee here yet know not, for the day of their first meeting was but the 6th instant. Wee are yet in peace here. There are rumors of preparacons in France, designed, as is supposed, for this Kingdome. As also a report of a fleet that was coeing from Spayn designed for Milford haven, but broken at sea, whereof I had this inclosed account from a merchant then in London dated Febr. 25 : which I the rather beleeve to have truth in it, because I hear lres from Portugall confirm it & because I saw a relacon of Bedlowes (one that was the first that came in on the King's Proclamacon to make discovery of the Plot) speaking of a fleet to come from Spayn & to land at Milford haven, etc. This I saw some months, I beleeve 2 or 3, before

* Probably the "godly gentleman of Charlestown," of whom Cotton Mather, in the "Magnalia," B. iii, p. 183, says: He "with his son, was taken captive by *Turkish* Enemies Much Prayer was employed, both privately and publickly . . . for the Redemption of that Gentleman; but we were at last informed that the Bloody Prince, in whose Dominions he was now a Slave, was resolved that in his Life time no Prisoner should be released. . . . Well, upon this, Mr. *Eliot*, in some of his next Prayers, before a very solemn Congregation, very broadly beg'd, *Heavenly Father, work for the Redemption of thy poor Servant* Foster; *and if the Prince which detains him will not, as they say, dismiss him as long* [as] *himself lives, Lord, we pray thee to kill that Cruel Prince; kill him and glorify thyself upon him.* And now behold the Answer: The poor Captiv'd Gentleman quickly returns to us that had been mourning for him as a lost Man, and brings us News, that the Prince which had hitherto held him, was come to an *Untimely Death*, by which means he was now set at Liberty."

the ship menc̃oned in the inclosed came to London. This Bedlow was imployed by the Jesuits as himselfe related, both to Flanders, Paris & Spayn with letters about the plot. But I must break off. Rem̃ber us to our Sisters, Brothers & Cosings. Pray for us. The Lord bee with you.

I rest, Dear Br Your most affec̃onate Brother.

N. M.

March 18 $7\frac{8}{9}$.

NATHANIEL MATHER TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Reverend my very dear Brother Mr Increase Mather, Minister of the Gospel in Boston, in New England.

Dear Bro., — The last I received from you was dated 1mo 25^{o} and if I mistake not I had had one of a later date sooner, at least I had from my Br. Jno. Cotton. I desyre to mourn over poor Tims case. Such temptations are dreadfull things and like strong physick which works effectually for healing or for death. The occasion of them makes them appear in my eye much sadder. For ought I can discern hee should rather have received the stop put on his proceeding with thankfulnes, at least with an awfull submission to God's will & disposall therein. But that his heart should work in so quite contrary a way argues a very evill and unhumbled frame. The Lord pity him & heal him, & turn this to good, even saving good to him, & O that it might be an effectuall means of his awakening & humbling. That his son Nat prooves so naughty a boy I desyre to look on as matter of humbling to myselfe before the Lord, though as to the churches proceeding with him, I am perswaded there is no rule nor warrant for it in the Word of God, and therefore cannot pray for any blessing on it save as I could were hee under any affliction. And an humbling affliction it is to bee put to open shame for evill doeing, though they mistake their rule & warrant that are the inflicters of it. My Br. Sams picture is not to bee had.* It was

* A portrait in the gallery of the American Antiquarian Society, at Worcester, has been supposed by some to be that of Samuel Mather. The statement in this letter confirms the opinion of Dr. Appleton, in a paper read before the Massachusetts Historical Society, that the portrait does not represent that person.

never taken that I can hear of during his life, neither is myne, and therefore I know not how to send you either of them. I would be very glad of yours, if you have to send it mee. I hear some N. E. vessells come now and then to Cork, but I have not any acquaintance there. To gratify you I will send you as soon as I can, some sermons of my Brs at Boston. I cannot advise the printing of them; (I think himselfe, if living, would bee against it,) discerning a great defect in them as to that ripeness & subactnes * of judgment which his latter years arrived at. Blessed bee the Lord for the comfort you have in your son Nath. The Lord continue & increase it dayly. Here is a kinsman of ours, who, with his wife are lately joyned to this church. His name is Jno. Holmes. His mother was our Aunt Abigail's daughter. Her and her husband I knew in Bolton: a right gracious couple they were, & this their son gives good hopes. I wish I could say as much of another son of theirs, that was prentise in this towne, & is lately out of his time, of whom yet I hear nothing scandalous. As to publique matters wee are yet in peace, which is a great wonder, & the Lord's owne doeing. The late Parlt in England was first prorogued, and since dessolved. The occasion you'l hear by others. The Bps are generally blamed for it; & I think not undeservedly. By this means the tryall of the Earl of Danby & the other 5 Popish Lords hath been at a stand; and in the mean time Sr George Wakeman who was accused for engaging to poyson the King, being tryed, is acquitted, to the exceeding dissatisfaction of the people. Rich. Talbot † that was taken up & kept prisoner here being accused, as designed to bee Generall of the Papists in this Kingdom, is (by order from Whitehall as is said) set at liberty & gone to France or Flanders, not having been brought to tryall. You may see what is said of him in Oats ‡ his &

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* *Subactness* is from the Ciceronian *subactio*, as figuratively applied to a mind well tilled or cultivated.

† Richard Talbot, afterwards Earl of Tyrconnel and Lord Deputy of Ireland. His career is described by Lord Macaulay in his "History of England."

‡ There is in the Collection of Mather Papers a manuscript entitled, "Mr. Titus Oats Journall & Affidavit of his discoveries . . . taken before the K & Counsell written & subscribed [by his own] hand, 7ber 27th, 1678." We cannot ascertain that it has ever been published in this form; but on account of its great length, and its mutilated condition, it has not been thought expedient to print it in this volume.

Everards * narrative, which are printed, and I suppose come to New England. Writts are out for another Parlt to meet in 8ber next, and elections made, as wee hear, in many places. Much depends on their meeting, as much as ever did on Parlt. The Popish interest is so strong that they slured & baffled the credit of the informers of the Plot. But the Lord hath by his owne immediate hand dealing with the spirits of men, brought forth new discoverys of it from time to time. First Oats, then Bedloe, then Prance & afterwards Dugdale, and now at last one Mr Jenison a Counsellor at Law, whose father is a Gentleman of about 1000 ł per annum, & his elder Bro. a Priest. Our intelligence from France gives us more & more apprehensions of a design on us from thence. Whether England or Ireland will feel their first fury or whether both I cannot say. But I fear wee must both suffer from the hasty and bitter Nation whom wee have made our paramonrs, & on whom wee have doted so extremely as to follow all their follyes and vanityes, though now our minds seem much to bee alienated from them above all nations. There hath lately been a rising in Scotland by the Covenanters. Their Declaration was printed, wherein after a representation of their most grievous sufferings they tell how they were necessitated to take up armes in selfe defence: in which they invite all others to joyn with them; still professing their loyalty as in the Covt. But they are broken, as I suppose you will hear. Two of their ministers that were taken have been tortured with the Boot, (which is an hoop of iron put on the leg, & wedges driven in till the bone craeks & the marrow starts out) but they could get no more from them than they had sd. before. (How much the Scotch rigor differs from the English gentlenes may bee seen in this instance, that though many Popish priests have been taken up, yet not any one of them, nor indeed any other hath been tortured so upon the late Popish Plot.) The last paeket brings us word that 21 of the Scotch risers are executed, and that the indulgence granted them for meetings except in some certayn townes & under some limitations and conditions is recalled. It was granted upon the quieting of the late rising and since the suppressing of it.

* Edmund Everard, an informer and a witness in the trial of Edward Fitz-Harris for treason, Anno 1681. See "State Trials," vol. ii. part ii. p. 674, *et seq.*

What the Lord will doe with us I know not. But our discontents are not allayd but rather grow, the Country being distasted at the Court, and apprehending ill designs & deep disaffections in them, so that by the leven that infects & soures the peoples spirits, the Lord seems to be threatning us with some unhappy intestine eruption; & if it ever come, it is like to bee with much violence & rage. Let us have your prayers. I could heartily beg that the whole country of New England would set themselves in an extraordinary manner to seek the face of God, with respect to the approaching Parlt̃, which is to meet in the latter end of 8ber next. If it come not from some other hand, or the Lord himselfe put it not on their spirits, I pray doe you suggest it as my humble & earnest request. I hope it will not seem an assuming too much to myself. Saw you but what our eyes see, & heard you but what our ears hear, you would not, you could not bee unconcerned for us. But I may not write how it is with us. Remb̃r me to all my friends with you. I will write to my Br Cotton as soon as I can. Remb̃r mee to him, & to my Br Timothy, to my sister and all my Cosings. The Lord bee with you. To Him I commit you & remayn Dear Br

Your most affectionate brother, N. M.

Dublin, Augt 25, 1679.

Mris Aubrey was well yesterday. I had not knowne of this opportunity of sending, but that one Mr Thomlinson came to mee a day or two agoe and desyred mee to set my hand as a witnes to a Lr̃e of Attorney, that hee makes to one Mr Jonathan Palmes, (If I remember his name aright) that is now goeing for New England, which I did accordingly. I design to request a friend to send this letter to the s'd Mr Palmes, that by him it may bee brought to N. E, hee designing with his family thither. Hee lives in the Country 50 or 60 miles off, else I would send by him Oats his Narrative of the Plot as far as it came to his knowledge.

I pray give my respects to Revd Mr Eliot & thank him for his book which I have received. Sundry freinds in Dorchester inquired after your health. I was lately there. Came thence this day 3 weeks.

NATHANIEL MATHER TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Rev^d My dear Brother M^r Increase Mather, Minister of the Gospell, in Boston in New England.

Dear Brother, — Yours of 8ber 7^th I received the 23^d instant. By what vessell you sent it I know not, but by the postage I perceive it was delivered into the Post Office somewhere in England above 80 miles from London. It was exceeding welcome (as yours always are to mee) & the rather because our printed London Gazets told us of the late dreadfull fyre in Boston; & withal sayd that 300 houses were consumed by it; and afterwards told us that it was done by wicked hands, beginning in a French ship, and being kindled in 4 severall places at once, and that a French man was in prison on that account. You menčon in this of yours a former, which never yet came to my hands. Blessed bee God that those precious truths of His about church discipline and worship which our fathers there lived in the practise, tasted the sweet & dyed in the faith of, are so solemnly owned by their successors, as you write they were in your last Synod there. It would have gratifyed mee much had you sent the answer of the Synod to those 2 questions about the Causes & remedyes of the Lord's displeasure against N. E. Although as eminent Christians observing the pvidences & acquainted with the secrets of God, the messengers of the churches met in the Synod & the preachers of the Gospell as watchmen set by the Providence of God with a speciall reference to that land bee the most fit of any persons to bee consulted with in questions and searches of that nature; yet I am not so clear that a Synod is an ordinance instituted for that end, or that as such it belongs to them, at least not further than the church's practice & peace is therein concerned. Though I am not altogether ignorant that Synods & Church assemblys elsewhere have declared & remonstrated their sense on such like occasions, and have sometimes greivously missed it, *e. g.* that of the Lutherans at Hamburg, that judged the not having of images to bee a cause of God's wrath; and some in Scotland of later days. But I hope the Lord's spirit hath guided you, and that you stood

in His counsell though I thus speak. However, I cannot but look on it as one of the difficultest things that wee are exercised with, to hold out with convincing light what is the procuring cause, in particular, of judgments. If, as some conceive, there was the plague or some such epidemicall mortality in Corinth when the Apostle wrote his first Epistle to that church, perhaps none, neither of the beleevers nor teachers in it could without an extraordinary spirit have assured them as Paul doth, that it was for the churches pollucons of the Lord's table. And when God sent a drought on the land of Israel in the latter end of David's days, year after year 3 years together, I am apt to think, that both David & all his seers would never have suspected that it was for Saul & his bloody house, but rather have fixed on many other things, had not the Lord on David's enquiry resolved him in an extraordinary way. *Sed de his hactenus.* Our Br. Sam's Irenicum is sent to London to bee printed, if any will undertake it. I purpose, that some other things of his shall follow it shortly. I have gotten the remayning part of his discourses on 2 King 18, 4, transcribed for the presse, and a good part of his discourses on the types also, which I intend also to get published, and some other things of his, if the Lord will. I have received 4 of your calls to the present & succeeding generacons; — one for Mris. Aubrey, one for Mr Scot & 2 for myselfe & wife. Mris. Aubrey hath hers, (her husband is now dangerously ill). M. Scot I have not seen since. Hee hath left us, & estrangeth himselfe much from this people, with whom hee once walked; to whom in my Br's days hee was a great trouble. If you send any more to him (which I will not advise) I had rather you would doe it by some other hand; though I, for my part, never had any controversy with him save for the orphans of my Br, whom hee or his wife doe greatly wrong. If you'l send one to your nicece I will thank you. Shee is now 13 years old. Shee hath a cast with one eye, and a great defect besydes: being so neer blind that shee will never bee good at her needle; & if one eye bee shutt shee cannot read a letter nor hardly discern an house from an horse. And that eye on which shee can see best shee must look much asquint withall when she reads, besydes that even that eye is purblind. My wife thanks you for the book you sent her. As to our publique affayrs, this. Wee yet live and are

in peace; on which account wee are a wonder to ourselves. The interest of the Papists is potent, & I fear increasing. They did commonly and confidently foretell in this Kingdome the interruptions of Parlts in England before they came to pass. The two Talbots of whom you'l find mencon in Oats's & Everard's narrative are let out of prison here & gone. There hath been lately a discovery of a treasonable conspiracy in the Earl of Tirone, (not one of the old Oneals but of ancient English extract, by name Power), hee having received Commissions from the French King, etc. Hee was thereupon made a Prisoner. His mittimus ran for Treason; but hee is out upon bayle. I doe not hear that hee is remooved from his Goverment of Waterford, & I ghess that it will come to nothing. However, this brings to mind how a poor, godly, non-conforming Scotch minister was dealt with a few years agoe, who was kept a prisoner a year or two as I rember, tho there was nothing against him; & hee offered bayle, & also desyred hee might be brought to a legall tryall, but because hee would not bee bound up from preaching was hee kept a prisoner & had been starved there, had not the charity of strangers susteyned him. But his life was near beeing destroyed by it. In Scotland, about midsummer, there was a rising, 'tis thought procured partly by some exorbitant violences & provocations, used on purpose to stir up to a rebellion, & partly by some disguised Jesuits. One or two of the Minrs that were taken were tortured, but neither in England nor Ireland hath any popish priest or Jesuit or other person been put to torture about the Popish Plot. The Arch-Bp of St. Andrews was there murthered* in the highway, I hear, & I think it is certeyn that hee had a spell or charm about him that made him bullet proof; so that his murtherers were fayn to at him with their swords. They that did it were not so much as pretenders to nonconformity. In England though great indeavors have been used to stifle the Plot, yet God hath by His owne hand wonderfully brought out discoveryes of it one after another. First Oats, then Bedloe, Prance, Everard, Jenison, Smith, whose narratives are all in print, & I presume you will have them from London; & since these, Serjeant, who was beyond sea & finding that they

* James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, was murdered May 3, 1679.

all that had been condemned persisted to the last, denying it, wrote over to one of the Secretaryes, the E. of Sunderland, that if hee might have his pardon hee would come over & discover, etc. Whether the Earl received this letter or no I know not, but Serjeant had no answer, onely after some time an intimate friend of his in Rome writes to him that there was come thither informacõn that hee had proferd to confirm Oats his discovery & g^{o} advised him if that lr̃e came not too late, forthwith to get him into some Protestant Countrey, for hee was then in the Spanish Netherlands. Accordingly hee betakes himselfe to Leyden in Holland, & from thence writes again to the Earle as afore & sends it open to a freind, with a charge to deliver it; which beeing done hee had a promise of his pardon, & is come over & hath done as hee promised. Since the dissolucõn of the Parlt̃ & the choyse of members for a new one, another most hellish plot hath been discovered, as strangely as ever any was. The sum of the Plot was to accuse the D. of Monmouth with severall other Lords and about six or seven hundred Gentlemen of the stoutest sticklers against Popery, as beeing ingaged in a plot to rise in rebellion, etc. The whole frame of the plot, with the severall articles to bee layd to every man's charge, the persons to bee accused, & the witnesses against them were all in a folio book in writing, found by Sr Wm Waller in the bottome of a meal tub in the house of M^{rs} Silliard, a Popish midwife. This they named a Presbyterian plot; but I hear there was not one Nonconformist designed to bee charged. The hand of God in the first bringing it out was very admirable which was thus. One Willoughby, alias Dangerfield, an instrument for the purpose, pretending to search the lodging of one Mansel for prohibited merchandize lights on a great packet of lr̃es which hee said, though sealed, had Treason in them. The lr̃es himselfe did then secretly pin behind the hangings, for the honest officer that was with him testifyes hee had just before looked there & saw no such thing. These lr̃es being opened are found to have treasonable contents indeed. But here was the mighty hand of God in this matter. There lay at another house in the same yard (ox yard in King Street in Westm'r) one Mansfield, to whose chamber Dangerfield designed to have gone & done as aforesaid; & Mansfield upon examinacõn should have confessed

all in those letters & have been an informer & witnes against others, & some so impeached by him were to have accused themselves & been witnesses against others. But hee mistaking Mansel for Mansfield, Mansell when hee comes home, (for when his chamber was searched hee was abroad) & hears what Dangerfield had done who had newly taken lodgings also in the same house, restlessly searcheth into the matter, gets Dangerfield apprehended & so the design is defeated, yea turned on their owne heads. Mansell's Narrative is in print, & I suppose you will see it, though I have not yet, but write what I doe from lrs. They had also another plot, to accuse Oats of Buggery, and had engaged 3 persons in it, Lane, Knox & Osborn. But this also the Lord dashed, & Oats inditing them for so conspiring hath had a verdict against them, & thereby brought strange things to light. The first of the 3, Lane, hath, as I hear, confessed how hee was drawn into this wicked design. The papers of Harcourt, (one of the late executed Jesuits) were discovered by a Slater, immured up between two walls, on informacon whereof Sir W^m^ Waller seized them. They were a great quantity, a London cart load as I hear, or more, but the King presently hearing of such a seizure sends forthwith to Sr Wm to deliver them to one of his Secretaryes; so that Sr Wm knows little that was in them; and His Ma^tie^ hath not yet thought fit to order any publicacon of what discoveryes they make. The lately chosen Parlt hath not yet met, save to be prorogued till Jan. 26, which occasioned sundry of the Peers to peticon His Ma^tie^ they might then sit. What answer they had I have not heard, save that soon after His Ma^tie^ declared in Councill they should bee prorogued at Jan. 26 till 9ber 11th, & put out a Proclamacon against seditious & tumultuous peticons, the Citty and many Countyes beeing about peticoning that the Parlt may sit; at least peticons beeing, as is said, on foot in Citty and Countrey to that purpose. The D. of York is in Scotland; what his busines there was, or what his acceptance is I know not, the latter beeing variously reported, & the former ghessed at no less differently. The D. of Monmouth takes in with those that drive on designs opposite to these the D. of York avows. Hee was lately by the K's command banished England & sent into Holland on occasion, as is said of some passionate carriage in the

K's presence, on occasion of some eross words between the D. of York & him; perhaps designed on purpose to have an occasion against him. But even this rendred him more dear to the people. However, the Presbyterian plot, abovesaid, as it is called, comeing out in his absence, wherein his life was struek at, home hee comes without leave so much as asked; which as soon as known, filled the Cittyes of Westmr & London with ringing & bonfires. However, the King would neither give him leave to see his face nor to continue about the Court, &, it is said, commanded him beyond sea again, which, however, hee obeys not. All his places are taken from him & otherwise disposed of, the Mastership of the K's Horse to a bastard of the Dutches of Portsmouth, who is made Duke of Richmond & Lenox; the Captainship of the K's Guards to the D. of Albemarle; & other places to others. Much discountenance is cast by many on peticoning for the sitting of the Parlt; but yet the promoters of it persist therein; & there is one shrewd & very specious argt for it. That there hath been an hellish plot against his Ma'ties life, the Goverment, the Protestant Religion, yea, the lives of all Protestants, cannot bee denyed, hath been declared by both Par'ts & King. Some of the principall Traytors stand impeached by the Commons in Parlt, which in the nature of it is a demand of justice against them in behalfe of all the people of Engl., & beeing a beginning of a tryall no court inferior to a Parlt can take the cause in hand, & conseq'tly either a Parlt must sit or they cannot have justice ever legally executed on them. Moreover it is pleaded that the grievances & mischiefs are extraordinary, that the law of the land in such case requires the help of a Parlt; that the malady is so potent as that ordinary remedyes are not able to check it & save the Kingdomes. Now, though of such kind of reasonings I am no very competent judg, neither fully understanding our danger nor the law, yet I cannot but discern that Papists generally hate & dread a Parlt & all zealous Protestants earnestly desyre one; except, perhaps, prelaticall Clergymen, who I hear doe generally dissuade people from peticoning for the Parlt's sitting. But the reasonings for it being as they are, and influence of those that are averse to it, being as it is, it is very unhappy & may prove of very bad consequence. For a Massacre of the most firm & leading Protestants, at least,

being one part of the plot, & the sitting of the Parlt being apprehended as the necessary & onely effectuall means for defeating of the plot, it is to bee feared, rash & unadvised spirits in their fears & discontents when heightened may entertayn a conceit, that the putting off of the Parlt is really a putting the people designed to bee destroyed, out of protecc̃on, and a protecting those that have combined for & conspired their destrucc̃on. And if an enraged rabble have such a thing buzzed into their heads & exaggerated by popular demagognes, who knows what their heady fury may attempt. But in all our fears our eyes must bee to him who stilleth the noyse of the seas, the noyse of their waves & the tumult of the people. Under the shadow of His wings wee live: O that wee had hearts to dwell in the secret of his tabernacle. My occasions call mee off. Remember us to our sister & Cosings, & Br Tim, & his. Reñber mee to Br. Jno Cotton, thank him for his, with the Answer of the Min[iste]rs to the Mag[istrat]es, for which I thank him. I intend shortly to write to him. It is like from London you'l have newes of later date. Every week almost ꝓduceth something. However by this long lr̃e you'l see my good will. The L'd bee with you. Pray for us. I rest Dear Br.

Your most loving Br N. M.

10ber 31, 79.

NATHANIEL MATHER TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Reverend my dear Brother, Mr Increase Mather, Minister of the Gospell at Boston in New England.

March 2ª 168$\frac{0}{1}$.

Dear Brother, — I have received sundry from you; with severall books and your picture by Mr David Hart, and one by Mr Eales: For all which I thank you. I cannot yet send you my Picture as you desyre. I cannot hear of any artist in this Citty that can doe it well except one, but hee is too dear, not taking less then ten pounds, which is more than I am able to bestow on

such an account. If I can hear of any that will doe it on tolerable terms, I will, to gratify you, get it done for you. This letter I send by Mr Archibald Maglaine, a Scotchman, who did sometime dwell in this Citty, but since removed to Belfast, where [he] hath taught school & would so have continued had not the prosecution of him in the Bp's Courts, because of his nonconformity,* driven him away. Hee hath long had the repute of a godly and well-deserving gentleman. On which account I commend him to your acquaintance & respects, hee desyring it of mee. Mris Aubrey & her sister are well. So is Mris Bridges & hers. Shee is lately recovered of an hurt in her arm, & a broken leg, which shee had lately befall her by a slip of her foot at our meeting-house dore. Your letter in behalfe of Mris. Martin I acquainted her with, & I think her sons will doe something for her. They are very civill & respectfull to mee: (I speak of those 2 of them that dwell here) & sometimes come to our meetings; but not beeing joyned to any church and not scrupling any thing of Conformity I cannot pretend any great interest in them. As to publique affayrs I can say little. This gentleman, Mr Maglayn can tell you in what posture wee are at present. Sir John Davies, our Secretary of State, is by some discoverers charged, & indited in England for High Treason since the dissolving of the Parlt by a Grand Jury of Middlesex, but I hear not that hee appears. The Parlt there sent for him over as a delinquent, our Ld Lieut & Councill here sent him over indeed, but under a publique character, & granted him 200 *li* to bear his charges. Sir William Davies, his Brother, (who is son in law to our Ld High Chancellor & Primate) is, since that, made Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, beeing brought in over the heads of all the Judges, not beeing so much as a judge before; save onely in the County Palatine of Tipperary. I purpose to send you the votes of the late Parlt as they were here printed; with the informations of Mr Dugdale, & the last of Mr Bolton & of Mr Dangerfield, & what wee have printed of Macnamarra, Maurice Fitz-Gerald, & Nath: relating to Ireland; that you may see our case, at least a little of it. But you may well think wee hear &

* The Act of Uniformity, passed in 1662, required certain persons, schoolmasters among them, to declare that they would conform to the liturgy of the Church of England.

know many more things that look ill. There is also a large Narrative of David Fitz-Gerald, & another of one Samson & another of one Comings that I hear of, but I have none of them, nor will they, as I hear, bee printed here, as I am told, because they reflect on some of our great Ministers. Sir George Jeffreys, whom the H. of Commons desyred the King to remoove from all his places as a betrayer of the liberty of the people, as you'l see in their votes, is since made a Judg, tho the Citty of London got him out from beeing their Recorder; & chose Mr Treby, now Sir George Treby, in his place. Mr Seymor also, whom the Commons impeached is made a Lord, & Sir Creswell Levins a Judge, who was the King's Attorney. The Earl of Essex, Earl of Sunderland, & Sir Wm. Temple are put out of His Maties privy Councill. Essex & 15 other Peers presumed, on Jan. 25, to Peticon & advise the K that the Parlt might sit at Westmr & not at Oxford, alledging amongst other reasons that at Oxford neither Lords nor Commons can bee in safety, but will bee dayly exposed to the swords of the Papists, of whom too many are crept into your Maties guards. These are their very words in their Peticon, which as wee hear received but a slighting answer.* The D. of Y. is still in Scotland. There is a talk that hee will bee at Oxford, take the Oaths, Test, & Sacrament, after the manner of the Church of England, & so declaring himself a Protestant, claym his right, etc. And doubtles whatever the Parlt say, or other folks think, hee will then bee taken by all for a Protestant of the Pope's owne making. But considering that in the Tryall of Stafford 30 or 32 Lords pronounced him not guilty & but about 50 or 54 guilty, the D. of Y. would bee cleered, if the height of his spirit should stoop to put himselfe upon his tryall. The prelaticall generacon fall in fully agaynst the Coms; & the Coons had things in hand very unpleasing to them. Tis said that the Bill for Repealing the Act of 35 of Eliz. † was passed by both Houses but could not bee found when the King should have passed it. The heads of their Bill for uniting dissenting Protestants to the Church of England I saw, & tho they bee not such as will render mee capable of publique

* See Lingard's "History of England," *sub anno* 1681.

† See Neal's "History of the Puritans," part iv, chap. x.

preferment, yet they will give mee full liberty & secure unto mee protecc̃on in the exercise of it. I have them not, else I would send them to you. Sundry of your Arguments for Infant Baptism are not, mecthinks, cogent. Some addic̃ons that you have made to the Savoy-Confession I am less satisfyed withall. That in Chap. 24, s. 3. taken from the Assemblye's, had need bee warily interpreted or it will reach to the arming the Civill Mag^t^ against Presbyterians, Congregac̃onalists & Antipædobaptists, where the Mag^t^ is of a different persuasion; & on that account I suppose it was left out by the Parl^t̃^ t[ho] agreed to by the Assembly.* Your making children members of the Catholik visible Church, Chapter 26, s. 2, & your omission in that same paragraph of what was in the Savoy Confession, I confess I doe much wonder at. But I see Congregac̃onal principles are lost in New England, & all to open a dore for a larger administrac̃on of Baptisme. Besydes those words in the Savoy Confession [are & may bee called] are to bee understood *dicuntur dicique possunt*, & not *sunt*, *dicique possunt*. But I must conclude. Pray for us. My wife rem̃bers to you & yours. I rest

Your most affecc̃onate Br. N. MATHER.

I have not time to look out my Br Sams Sermons, preached at Boston, this Gentleman calling on mee but just now. I expect to hear the next post, that my Father Ben † is dead. You may tell

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* See Neal's "Puritans," part iii. chap. viii.

† Rev. William Benn, whose daughter the writer appears to have married, was born in 1600, near Egremond, in Cumberland; educated at Queen's College, Oxford; settled first at Okingham, Berks; afterwards Chaplain to the Marchioness of Northampton, and in 1629, at the invitation of John White, the Patriarch of Dorchester, became rector of Allhallow's Church in that place, where he continued till his ejectment for Non Conformity, in 1662. He resided there till his death, which took place March 22, 1680–1, about three weeks after the date of this letter. Besides his regular preaching in Dorchester, he officiated as preacher to the prisoners in the jail, where he attracted so many persons from without, that the room was not large enough to contain his hearers, for which reason he caused a chapel to be built within the prison walls, principally at his own expense.

We find in the Diary of Increase Mather, under the date of 3^d^ month (May), 8^th^ day, 1675, the following entry: "Yesterday I heard that Mr John Thomson (my Broth. Nath. & hee married 2 sisters,) who was my special acquaintance when I was in E. was dead in Bristol, by the cruel usage of the Bishops."

John Thompson, a native of Dorchester, Eng., who married the daughter of Mr. Benn, — sister to the wife of Nathaniel Mather — was educated at Oxford, where he spent nine years. On leaving the University, he often preached at Dorchester for Mr. Benn, with

Mr Cobbet, I received his lre, & took care of the inclosed to Mr Bradstreet in Kilkenny. I purpose to write to him by the next opportunity.

NATHANIEL MATHER TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Revereud my dear Brother Mr Increase Mather, minister of the Gospell at Boston in New England.

Dear Br — I have neither any other errand nor leysure for more than onely to say that this comes to accompany some sermons of my Brs, preached in Boston in N. E., vizt. on Math. 5, 28, 29: & on Exod. 14, 8: as also on Jer. 5, 23. I cannot yet find any more of his, preached there; onely some broken pieces of sermons I doe find. Forget not to pray for us. I rest
Dear Br Yours N. M.

Aprill 7th 1681.

I have by my father's will an interest in his Manuscripts; vizt a 5th part of them, as my Br Sam had two fifths. And by his will I had all his Manuscripts. I pray you send mee some of my father's. I cannot name any, tis so long since I left N. E. But I remember hee did write an answer to Mr Rathband, & by what you say in his life I gather hee wrote something for the Congregaconall way, as differing from the Presbyterian on one hand & Brownism on the other. I pray send mee these if there bee any legible copy of them among his papers. I have often thought of it, though not at writing of lres. Why is there nothing of

great acceptance. In 1670, he was settled at Bristol, where, in 1675, he was apprehended under the Corporation Act; and, having been roughly treated by the Bishop and Justices, on refusing to take the oath, he was committed to jail, February 19th, and there, amidst filth and great discomforts, he was seized with fever, and died March 4th of that year. His last words were these: "As for my bonds, I bless God for them; and if I had known, when I came in that I should die here, I would have done no otherwise than I have done. The time will come when I shall be freed from the aspersions of faction." He was buried the next day from the prison, and followed to the grave by some five thousand people. A more extended notice of Mr. Benn and Mr. Thompson may be found in Wood's "Athenæ Oxonienses," and Calamy's "Account of Ejected Ministers."

Mr Mitchell's printed? If it were but a small piece or two, they might make way for acceptance & desyre of more & greater. And certaynly his abilityes & industry could not but produce, even in the course of his ordinary studyes & preaching, things of more then ordinary substantiallnes & worth. I pray you, think seriously of it. Mr Bellingham * is so drowned in Melancholy if yet living, for I have not heard of him these 8 or 9 years, nor seen him as many more, that Mr Stone's body of Divinity † is like to bee utterly lost with him.

NATHANIEL MATHER TO COTTON MATHER.‡

March 8. I suppose March 8, 1681–2. — [Prince.]

Dear Cosing, — I received both yours, that on the backside of your father's, & that of 8ber 22. Blessed bee the Lord that hath once agayn raysed up your father. I hope hee hath some more service for him to doe in the world. And blessed bee God also that hath untyed your tongue so as you are able without troublesome impediment in your speech to speak of the great things of the Gospel in great Congregacons. The same good Lord pour out of His Spirit abundantly on you. I rejoyse exceedingly that your little scholar, your Br. Nat. § is of such promising hopes. I fear his entring into the Colledge too soon, & his too slightly grounding in the learned languages. Remember, if hee bee therein defective, the blame will redound much upon you. Let it bee your care also that he bee well studyed in Logick, that *ὄργανον ὀργάνων*. I perceive your cosing Warham ‖ is like to bee with your father

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* Governor Winthrop says of Richard Bellingham, the Deputy-Governor, that he was of a "melancholic disposition." It is possible that the person referred to may have been his son Samuel, of the first Class, H. C. 1642, who went to Leyden, and afterwards to England, and who may have inherited his father's temperament.

† "The Whole Body of Divinity," by Rev. Samuel Stone, of Hartford, was never printed, but often transcribed by students of theology. A manuscript copy, by Rev. Samuel Willard, is in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

‡ No address, but evidently written to Cotton Mather.

§ H. C. 1685. ‖ H. C. 1685. Son of Eleazer, of Northampton.

shortly, if so, I promise myselfe you will bee helpfull to him for his dear father's sake. As for any advise from mee, you have those neerer you so well able that I need say nothing. Onely let mee say, engage not in constant preaching (especially alone) too soon. I shall much rejoyse if the Lord remoove your Cosing Samuel * from Brainford (where I perceive hee conflicts with many difficultyes) to Dorchester. I had forgot to say to yourselfe, by any means get to preach without any use of or help by your notes. When I was in N. E., no man that I reñber used them except one, & hee because of a speciall infirmity, the vertigo, as I take it, or some spice of it. Neither of your Grandfathers used any, nor did your unkle here, nor doe I, tho wee both of us write generally the materialls of all our sermons. Reñber me to your Brs & sisters & cosings & your unkle at Dorchester. The Lord himselfe, your Fathers & Grandfathers God bless you abundantly. I rest

Your most loving unkle. N. Mather.

I am called out, & the post goes away this night, else I would have written to your Br Nat. But I have also been more than ordinary busy this week or two, in preparing your unkle's † sermon on the Types for the presse, which I have not yet fully finished, but shall, God willing, send them away to London within a few days.

Between 1680 & 1685. Both Warham & Nathaniel Mather took their 1st Degrees in 1685. — [Prince.]

NATHANIEL MATHER TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Reverend my dear brother Mr Increase Mather, Minister of the Gospell at Boston in New England.

March 28, 1682.

Dear Brother, — I have received sundry from you since I wrote to you, and one or two from your son Cotton. I design

* H. C. 1671. Eldest son of Timothy. Removed from Branford and settled at Windsor, 1682. A volume of his sermons, in manuscript, dated 1686–8, was recently presented to the Library of the Historical Society.

† Samuel, of Dublin, the predecessor of the writer.

this by way of Barbadoes. I am sorry that any, espīlly the Reverend Elders in New England should think mee Anabaptistically or Brownistically inclined. I know not any cause at all for their so suspecting of mee. And sure I am, that both here & in England I am by some that know mee better than any in N. E. doe, judged to lean rather too much the other way. As to the extent of Baptism I am no otherwise minded than Mr Nye & my Br Sam was, not to menc̄on others, who to my certayn knowledge were grieved at the pleading which they discerned for the enlargement of it. As to the noc̄on of a Ch. catholik, visible, integrall, I have not onely Hooker, Stone, Shepard, Ames, the old Puritans, Sadeel, Whitaker & others whom I fully follow therein, & whom you know you depart from, but Mr Hooker notes it as a pillar of Popery. And for my own part, after many thoughts according to my weaknes & leysure, I am more confirmed both that there is no such Church & that if there were, it could bee of no service to you for the enlarging of the subject of Baptism, it beeing neither the subject of any priviledges or ordc̄es, nor are infants capable of beeing members of it, as I may possibly show more largely hereafter. The company or body, as you call them, of professing belcevers throughout the world are in truth no company, no body, having no compaction amongst themselves any more than the loose stones in the highways in Ireland & in France & in N. E. are an house or body of stones, or all that speak in the world are a company of speakers, or all that eat & drink are a company of eaters & drinkers. As to declaring the word of institūc̄on in administering the supper, tho I doe not think it unlawfull to read it, yet I think it should not bee put into a Confession of Fayth, it beeing no poynt of injoyned duty, the ordc̄e not being defectively or at all the worse administered, if the reading it bee omitted. And by the same reason, that any such formula is made necessary in the ordc̄e it may in Baptisme & in all others. As to the Consociac̄on of Churches, tho I am for their mutuall helpfulnes & advise to & communion with one another, and also for their combining (if I may so call it) in Synods, as emergent occasions may require, yet these stated combinac̄ons of severall churches that lye in a neighborhood into a body made up of them all, or of persons deputed from them all, hath been disowned by men of the Congregationall way, & was so by those

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that were at the Savoy, An. 1658. And I have not yet seen any Commission from X^t^ for it, & *g°* [*ergo*] cannot think hee will owne himself the head of any such body. That which I wrote to M^r^ J. Cotton, concerning an inclinacõn appearing in the Min^rs^ of N. E. towards forms, etc, may bee made good by sundry instances of prints from thence. But it is a small thing with mee to be judged of man's day [*sic*]. It is an old artifice when men have a mind to such things, to represent those that differ from them as Anabaptistically or Brownistically inclined. As to not sending the contribucõn that went hence to Ministers, I have formerly in some of my lr̃es accounted for it. It went not from the churches here, but sundry others that are not members of any churches were taken in, nor was the ordering of the matter any more in my hands than in many others, save that I named some persons to whom to consign it, which, considering the way it was sent was neeessary to bee to merchants. As to Acts 11, ult.,* I have formerly written my thoughts of it. All that I shall now say is this; that had any from N. E. sent in like manner to us on the like occasion, had I been one to whom it had been consigned, I would have declined meddling with it, and should think myself obliged so to doe. If I thought the Elders in N. E. like minded with mee herein, & made account that they would have looked on it as a burden to them & foreign to their office, and was herein mistaken, I must beg their pardon of this my error. I know Hee that searcheth the heart will acquit mee in that matter, as not acting as I did from any disrespect or slighting of them, whom I doe & always shall exceedingly hono^r^ & esteem, but rather from a reall respect & hono^r^able regard to them. But *de his satis*. The Lord hath seen good to change the state of my bodily health much this last winter, visiting mee with the jaundice, a disposition to the return whereof hangs still about mee; onely I am the less apprehensive of any radicatednes of it in my body because tis a malady that hath been very common in this Citty this last winter. I am called off. The Lord bee with you. Rem̃ber us to our sister & cosings. Pray for us. I rest

Dear Br Yours N. M.

* Refers to Acts xi., last two verses: "Then the Disciples, every man according to his ability, determined to send relief unto the brethren which dwelt in Judea: Which also they did, and sent it to the elders by the hands of Barnabas and Saul."

NATHANIEL MATHER TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Reverend my very dear brother Mr Increase Mather, Minister of the Gospell in Boston in New England.

May 9, 1682.

Dear Brother, — Though I wrote to you very lately by Mr Hart, by way of Londonderry, yet I am willing to lay hold on this opportunity also. A worthy friend of myne, Mr John Bayly,* whom God hath cast at Limerick in this Kingdom, & eminently owned for the conversion of many both here & there, and for constituting a church there in these late years of severity against such ways, desyres my letters to yourselfe in behalf of the bearer hereof Mr Edward Willey,† whom, tho unknowne to mee, yet on Mr Baylyes character I cannot but recommend to your acquaintance and helpfulness. Mr Bayly gives a good character of him as a godly & growing Saint, and of his wife as a very holy, serious, and experimentall Christian. Hee removes himself & family to N. E., chiefly with respect to his posterityes spirituall good, & on that account hath sold all his estate in this land, which is considerable, & transports himself & them to N England. I intreat your respectfulnes and advise to him as such an [one] when the Lord shall bring him to you. And I pray not onely advise him yourself but give a character of him to others and commend him to their advise and helpfulnes who you judg may bee of use to him comeing a stranger into a strange land. Hee designs to sit downe in Boston unless hee shall see cause to alter his purpose. You will have from Mr Bayly a letter testimoniall concerning him and his wife in order to their being received to Church Communion. I have some thoughts of writing by Mr Willey to Mr Stoughton,‡ to recommend him to his acquaintance and advise

* Rev. John Bailey came over in 1683; was settled at Watertown, Oct. 6, 1686; and afterwards as assistant minister of the First Church in Boston. A more extended notice of him may be found in connection with his letters, published in this volume.

† Mr. Drake, in Geneal. Reg. i. 139, mentions Edward Willey as on a list of jurors in Boston in 1686. He may be the person referred to in this letter. No other trace of him can be found. Mr. Savage, in his "Genealogical Dictionary," conjectures that the name of the juror may have been Willis.

‡ William Stoughton [H. C. 1650], afterwards Lieut. Governor.

as to the disposall of himselfe and family in order to settlement. But I must goe out, partly to sit for the drawing of my picture for you, & partly on some other busines, & have been prevented by a friend's comeing to mee on some busines; so that if I should not write to Mr Stoughton I pray doe you supply that want; directing Mr Willey to him or Mr Danforth,* or who else you shall think fit to advise with in that affayr, and recommending him to them according to the character that you have of him. He is somewhat a rare instance, few professors now discovering such a concernednes for the spirituall good of their posterity. The first planters of New England had such a spirit, and since hee seems to have the same spirit in this with them, I persuade myselfe you will have much comfort in him if the Lord bring him to you, and never repent you of any help you afford him. I have no hopes that my picture will bee finished soon enough to send by him. I cannot hear of any constant carryer that goes between this & Limerick; so that I must wayt for a convenience to send it, which usually may bee had onec a month or 6 weeks. Remember us to our sister, Brother Tim, & Cosings. The Lord bee with you. Pray for us. I remayn

Your most affectionate Br, N. Mather.

NATHANIEL MATHER TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Reverend my very dear Brother, Mr. Increase Mather, Minister of the Gospell, at Boston in New England.

July, 6: 1682.

Dear Br—Hearing of this opportunity by Mr Eccles, I lay hold on it, tho in ill case for any thing. The Lord hath these sundry weeks by past appoynted to mee wearisome & restles days & nights. I had some months ago the jaundice, which distempr

* Perhaps Rev. John Danforth [H. C. 1677], of Dorchester, where Mr. Stoughton resided.

seemed to bee remooved, but some time after a Catholik cachexie invaded mee, insomuch as all that saw mee playnly saw a great alteracõn in my countenance, before I felt any illnes myselfe. At last a wearines & payn seized on mee. In the beginning of it, gravell in the reins was an ingredient therein, considerable quantityes whereof I have voyded at severall times. But my mayn malady the physicians here call a Rheumatism; forreign physicians call it as they tell mee, *Cholica Scorbutica*. It lyes sometimes in my bowells, sometimes in my groyn, sometimes in my hips, sometimes in my loyns, sometimes in my brest above my stomach a great & paynfull oppression, sometimes in my back, between my shoulders, sometimes in my knees, sometimes in my hands & wrists, an aking payn as if the very bones were crushed together. Sometimes it casts mee into cold sweats, sometimes into intemperate feaverish heats. Some sleep I get by night, & some by day, when the Lord is pleased to vouchsafe mee a little intermission of payn. Usually it wakes mee & forceth mee up about one or two of the clock, & holds mee longer or lesser as the Lord pleaseth. The latter part of the afternoone is usually my easyest time. Many have had it in far greater extremity than the Lord hath layd it on mee. Some have faynted away severall times in a day under it, & been cast into convulsions by it. My Physicians say it is not mortall in any, but a distemper that ever takes time for the remoovall of it. I look on it as that wherein God is grinding mee into dust. I can look beyond death & the grave with some measure of hope & rejoysing through Jesus Xt, & that infinite excellency of pardoning mercy & free grace, &c., that is with God in him, which I have preached unto others & beleeved for myselfe as feeling that I stand in need thereof as well as any in the world. You will not expect any thing from mee as to the publique, considering my present discomposure & payn under which I write most of these lines. Onely in generall such days seem to [be] hasting on as make life much less desyrable to mee. If I never write to you more, nor see you till wee meet in that great day of the generall assembly, Farewell, Dear Brother, farewell, the Lord bee with you & all yours, every way for good; to all whom I pray you remember mee, as also to dear Eleazar's children and Tims also; by no means forgetting him of whom might I hear before I goe hence, that hee seeks & knows the God of our

Father, it would revive mee though mouldring into dust. With that God I leave you, and rest my dearest Br.

Your most affeccõnate Br. N. M.

July 8.

Dear Br, — Since the within written, the Lord hath given mee some more ease than formerly. Yesterday I had not much payn, & the last night I slept without being waked with payn; which is more than I can say of some weekes before. By the Drs direccõn I changed my usuall drink, & drank nothing but mum,* presently on which I found some abatement of my payns, & g^{a} [*ergo*] I ascribe it to that as the principall means thereof. Mr Aubrey † & his wife are in health. Hee called on mee this day & tells mee that hee received a lr̃e from Mr Rawson, of Aprill 14, signifying that you & yours are in health. I got my picture for you just before this illnes took mee. But it needs mending, the hayr being too gray & the face too fat for myne. If God give mee health I shall get it done, & then it will bee ready for you by the first opportunity. Tho if it had, I could not have sent it by this, I not hearing of Mr Eccles his going till so late the last post day that I could not then write, & by my informaẽon I have cause to fear this may come too late. However, I adventure it. The Lord bee with you, Dear Br.

I remayn, Yors N. M.

NATHANIEL MATHER TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Reverend my dear brother Mr Increase Mather, Minister of the Gospell in Boston in New England.

9ber. 7th 1682.

Dear Brother — You will receive by this vessell, Mr Britton, my Picture. I think it is well done; & they that have seen it say it is; & you will say it had need to bee well done;

* A kind of strong beer.

† William Aubrey married in Boston, Rachel, daughter of Secretary Edward Rawson.

for it cost mee three guines, that is, 3li 9s besides the case & the frame. Such as it is you are welcome to it, and truely had it not been to gratify your importunity, I think I should hardly ever have been perswaded to have had my picture drawn. Nor can I now well bee at the charge, of which there is so little necessity save what your affeccon makes. My mayntenance falleth much short of what it was formerly, & I fear is like to decrease. Few are added to us; & the Devill hath stirred up unhappy instruments, both to beget prejudices against us, & to sow ill seeds of disaffeccon among us. Mr Weld yet preacheth with us & truely God is greatly with him. Hee increaseth & shineth more & more; none say any thing against him but his youth, hee beeing now about 22 & 3 months old. Others, & they the most by far, are earnest for us to call him to bee Teacher. The Lord guid & help us. If any such sad breach should bee under my hand as hath beene in some other churches, I should mourn under it to my grave. I can say nothing of publique matters. Mris Aubrey was with mee this day & is well, but concerned for her sister who is in London & was not well, & from whom shee hath not heard these sundry weeks. Mr Britton desyred of mee a testimoniall of what I heard Capt. Wilkie declare about his will, which I have put in writing, under my hand, & given him, if it may give any satisfaccon, or prevent any contention when it comes to New England. Rember mee & my wife to my Sister & Cosins. Blessed be God for His mercy to you in your children. Forget mee not to Nat & to Warham. Rember me in your prayers. I rest Dear Br

Your most loving Br. N. M.

NATHANIEL MATHER TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Reverend my dear brother Mr. Increase Mather Minister of the Gospell at Boston in New England. per Mr. Homer Jackson.

Dublin, this 10th of the 2d 1683:

Dear Br, — I had hardly finished myne yesterday by William Southwell, when Mr. Jackson, the minister mentioned in that,

eame to mee to desyre a line or two for his brother, the bearer hereof, Mr Homer Jackson. Hee was bred a scholar, but his genius lying rather for action & converse with men than bookes, hee comes for New England. His brother requests that you would have an eye to him, to advise & warn him as you may see him neede. Hee is but young, about 23 years old, hath been religiously educated, is not given to any debauchery or vitiousnes, as is too too [*sic*] common with young men in these lands, at this day. If there bee any merchant of your acquaintance that wants such a young man, I pray recommend Mr. Homer Jackson to him. It may prove a kindnes both to the one & to the other, & I hope that which you will have no cause to repent of. I have nothing of publique affayrs to write of. The D of York is at eort, & of as great influence as ever. The Nonconformists are generally, all over England, greatly persecuted all manner of ways. The Bps Corts themselves spare them not, (little dogs will bee yelping & snapping when great ones fight) but excommunicate them, & then get out the writ *De Excommunicato Capiendo*,* upon which many wee hear are taken up & thrown into prison. Thus doe they make the Sheriff the Devill, for him they cause to take whom they pretend to have delivered up to Satan. However, this is the reall trouble that followes on their excommunicating. There is some talk as if wee were like to have a rupture with Holland suddenly, on account of a great loss susteyned by our East India Company at Bantam by their means. The King of Bantam's Son rose up against his father. The Dutch took part with the son, the English with the father. The son taking Bantam, where the chief factory of the English was, the Dutch got the goods & persons of the English, & transported both the one and the other to Batavia. This is the story as I hear. Some say had not the Dutch interposed, the lives of the English had certeynly been lost, as well as their goods seized by the conqueror, hee being much incensed against them, that they, beeing strangers, should concern themselves against him. I suppose you will hear that Count Teekely [Tekeli] hath made an agreement with the Turk, is taken into his protection, and is made

* This writ obliged the sheriff to take the offender, and imprison him till he was reconciled to the Church. — *Blackstone*, iii. 102.

King * of Hungary, and that on good, very good terms, whereby that kingdome, so long harrased by the Emperor, is in prospect of some tranquillity. Michael Apafi, the prince of Transylvania, hath put forth a notable declaracõn directed *Universis orbis Christiani Regibus, Principibus, Rebus publicis, etc.* in justificacõn of the Hungarians herein. Hee hath the report of a serious, godly man, & truely his declaracõn was in a streyn somewhat unusuall among princes now-a-days.† Tis said, the Turk is falling in upon the Empire with a great power. Tho I have as little regard for such prophesyes as most have, yet it brings to my mind Drabicius ‡ predictions. However, the Lord's executing of the vengeance written by Him, & long prayd for by his people, on the house of Austria, I cannot but rejoyce in.

The French King increaseth his persecutions of the Protestants, having, as wee hear, lately put forth an Edict that no Protestant shall bee in any imployment under him, civill or military,§ yet he ratifyes the declaracõn of his clergy, of which I formerly wrote you word, and it was said they were to meet again this month, but I have not heard anything of them. Whether hee will break in upon Flanders, or turn his arms towards Italy, is variously discorsed. Either way the work of Christ shall goe on. I am sending your *Diatriba* ‖ to Mr. Brisco at Toxteth, to whom I wrote such a thing was come out, & hee desyres hee may see it. I have yet onely that one that you sent me by way of Bristoll, & it hath been so much out of my hand since I received it, that I have not yet read it through. I perceive you much follow Mr. Mede, and in sundry things without sufficient ground, as far as I see. Our Br Samuel's notes on the types, tho sent to London, yet would not there bee printed, unless some here would subscribe towards the charge of printing at least halfe of it. At last it will,

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* Some writers say "Prince." He called himself *Dux Hungariæ.*

† Apaffi afterwards came to terms with the Emperor.

‡ Nicholas Drabicius, a Moravian, a celebrated enthusiast, born about 1587, the author of "Lux in Tenebris," mentioned in a subsequent letter, and published by Comenius, in 1657.

§ On the 4th of March, 1683, it was ordered, that the Protestants holding places in the household of the king, or in those of the princes, should resign their offices within a certain time. Mather had undoubtedly heard some report of this.

‖ Diatriba de Signo Filii Hominis, et de Secundo Messiæ Adventu. 16mo. Amstelodami, 1682.

I think, bee done, some here concerning themselves therein. It will, as I ghess, by the account I have from London, & from Booksellers here, bee a folio of about 10 s. price. It eost mee considerable payns to fit it as it is, many places beeing hiuleous * in his notes, & many ill written, & many things left to [be] inserted from other & loose papers. There will bee an Epistle before it, by mee, & I think they will indeavor to procure another by Dr. Owen to further the sale thereof.

Wee yet enjoy our libertyes in this Kingdome as formerly, onely the Bps Corts have begun with some Freewiller Anabaptists of whom one preacher, a joyner, but a man of good knowledg & better spirit & savo^{r} than would bee expected, eonsidering his principles, is excommunicated, & another is cited into their Corts. Where there was lately menc̃on of some other Noneonformists in this Citty, & of mee by name, whom the Archdeacon then said they would think of in due time. Mr. Aubrey & his wife were a few days agoe in good health. I suppose Mr. Rawson will have some lr̃es from them by this ship. I sent them word of it yesterday. It was by aecident that I heard of it. If these persons, Mr. Jackson & Mr. Southwel had not intended to goe in it, I doubt I had not heard of it. I shall ad nothing further at present. Rem̃ber us in your prayers. I rest.

Your most loving Br. N. M.

NATHANIEL MATHER TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Reverend my dear Brother Mr. Increase Mather Minister of the Gospell in Boston in New England.

May 31 [1683.] I suppose at Dublin. — Prince.

Dear Brother, — The last I had from you was dated 9ber 15, 82, & with it Mr. Oaks his Sermon on Eeeles, and two of your son's Poems on him, for which I thank you. I have received also one of your Diatribes, & one of your Sermons on

* The writer probably anglicized the Latin word *hiulcus*, broken or gaping.

Prayer & the Sacraments & Sleeping at Sermons, as I have acquainted you in sundry of my former lr̃[es.]

I sent you my picture from hence about 9ber last, which I hope is in your hands ere this. And I have written sundry to you since that. This I send by Mr. Willy, who I hear is at Limerick, by whom also I had a few lines from you. Our Br. Samˢ's Sermons on the Types will, I think, bee printed at last in this Towne, but by stealth. Sundry have subscribed, to the valew of about 35 £, they beeing to have 5 books at the rate that 4 are sold by the bookseller. It is an imperfect work, beeing for the most part taken out of his owne notes, onely in some places filled up from his broken scraps of paper, or some other ways, which cost mee considerable payns, as also the correcting the press will doe. Some nocons in it I beleeve on second thoughts if hee had lived, hee would have altered, at least I think so, because I cannot assent to them, as perhaps may bee intimated in an Epistle before them. *E. g.* He frequently makes sundry of their ordinances typicall of ours under the N. Test, which I can see no ground for, and I know is denyed by Ames on Ps. 2. & again & again against Bellarmin, and as Mr. Jeans saith by Protestants generally against the Papists, tho: I know Mr. Cotton in his Holines of Ch. Members hath something that looks that way. As to publique affayrs, they are in the *statu quo* when I wrote last, onely the difficultyes of the N. Con. [Non Conformists] rather increasing in Scotland & England. I spake with one lately come from London who told mee that hee was on an occasion with about 40 Non Con. Ministers, all in strange disguises; few or none of them daring to bee seen in the streets, so as to bee known, & concealing also their lodgings. In the mean time wee hear of no masses or Popish meetings informed against by the Informers. The busines of the Charter of London is put off till the next term; but it is thought it will then bee adjudged forfeyted, especially if Sir George Jeffreys bee made Lord Chief Justice, in the room of Sanders, as is talked. Here wee yet injoy our liberty as formerly. Forget us not in your prayrs. Rembr mee to our sister & cosings. My wife doth the like to yourselfe & them. The Lord bee with you. I remayn

Dear Br, Yours, N. Mather.

Between Jan. 22, 1682–3, wn Sergeant Saunders was md L. Ch. Just. of the Ks Bench, & June 12 1683 wn ye Ct of Kt Bench gave Judgt agst ye City Charter. — Prince.

NATHANIEL MATHER TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Reverend my dear brother Mr. Increase Mather Minister of the Gospell at Boston in New England.

June 25, 1683.

Dear Brother, — I have written severall lr̃es to you, severall ways lately. The last was by Mr. Willye, by Limerick. I have therein signifyed the receit of all of yours that have come to my hands, and therefore have little now to say, save onely that through the Lord's mercy both my health & lib̃ty in the gospell is yet continued. In England & in Scotland there is so great a restreynt on the Nonconformists, that I hear hardly of so much as of one meeting. How long our present injoyments shall bee lengthened out is with the Lord. Our last lr̃es from England informe us that the judges have declared the Citty Charter forfeyted. What his Ma^tie will doe with them thereon, whether seize their revenues and appoynt a Governo^r of them, or give another Charter with some restrictions, or renew the former, pardoning this forfeyture, wee yet hear not, and conjectures are different. Many think the same corse of proceednre will be used to other corporac̃ons in England.* This is the state of publique matters there at present. I sent you by a New England vessel from this harbor, about 9ber last, my picture. One Captain Wilkey had been Master, who dyed here, & one Mr. Button took the charge of the vessel after him. One Mr. Chickley † of Boston, Merchant, was concerned in her. What kind of men they are, I know not. Captain Wilkye dyed in an ill house, but a very honest man, beeing a stranger, might fall into such an house. Hee here made his will, of which I sent you an account, beeing desyred so to doe by Mr. Button; and beeing sent for to him a few hours before his death. I hear lately, as if the said Button & company were idle fellowes, and had lyen at Waterford much longer then they needed. How trne it is, I cannot say. This lr̃e I design by Mr. Harris, who was here about

* This was done. London submitted to certain regulations, which made her subservient to the Court.

† Probably Anthony Checkley, merchant, of Boston.

2 years ago with one Douden, * or Dowdall, Merchant, whom I saw, & by whom I wrote to you then. One Mr. John Franklin, who saith he knowes you, and came out of New England a few months agoe, lately called on mee, & told mee hee intended to goe by this Mr. Harris, & this lr̃e I design to deliver to the said Franklin. I verily thought I should ere this have seen a good part of my Brs sermons on the Types, printed. They are in the bookseller's hands, & hee acquainted mee some time agoe hee had agreed or was treating with the printer about printing them. But what the cause of the delay is, I know not. Reñbr to my Sister & Cosings. My wife reñbers to you all. Mr. Weld is chosen & was ordeyned to [be our] Teacher on Febr. 2d last. Hee was marryed this day sevennight to the daughter of a widdow that is a member. The Lord bee with you. Pray for us. I remayn Dear Br.

Your most affectionate Br, N. M.

June 25. 83.

Mr. Aubrey & his wife were in health the 24th instant. Present my service to Mr. Rawson.

NATHANIEL MATHER TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Reverend my dear brother, Mr. Increase Mather, Minister of the Gospell in Boston in New England.

Dear Brother, — Both yours of June 13, with two of your books of Comets, one Diatribe, & one Almanack, I received by Mr. Smith, August 7th I happened not to be at home when hee brought them, & g^o [*ergo*] have not yet seen him, but hope I shall before he goes. Our publique meetings in this Citty are put downe, & the Non Conf. either meet not at all, or onely in private houses. In England it is generally so. Nor is there any appear-

* Perhaps Leonard Dowden, who was of Boston, 1679, and died, 1682; but may have been in Ireland in 1681.

ance but it will be worse & worse. Many persons in England have lately come in & sworn an horrible Treason and plot against sundry Gentlemen that were leading men in the late Parlt against the D. of Y, & others also not of the Parlt. The Lord Russel is already executed for it, & many others in custody, & as our publique newes tells us, more taking up dayly. The very last packet tells us some in Ireland are now charged, which wee never heard of till now. The K^s^ declaracon * is the fullest account that I have met with, of the plot. From abroad our newes is that Vienna is taken, sixty thousand on both sides slayn in the assault, the Citizens put to the sword, & the Citty burned to ashes; † the Emperor remooved from Lintz (whither hee had betaken himselfe when hee left Vienna) to Passaw in Bavaria. The confirmacon hereof is expected hourely. If it bee true, the Turk may, for ought I know, bee at Rome before winter. Tis said also that even the popish cittyes in Germany fall upon the Jesuits, & knock them in the head, as the causes of the Turks' coeing into Germany, at this time. Why may not the Turk bee the Executioner of God's vengeance upon Rome? If you have seen *Lux in tenebris*, put out more largely by Comenius, a little before his death, under the title of *Lux e tenebris*, you'l find both in Kotterus & Christina,‡ & more largely & expressely in Drabicius much that way: on which, tho I will not lay any stress, yet I rember I heard many years agoe that Dr. Owen was of that opinion, on scripture grounds, & afterwards I took an opportunity to speak with him of it, & found he did lean that way. I objected Rev: 17, 16. To which, as I rembr, hee answered that eating her flesh, is their taking away her revenues, burning her with fyre is not burning Rome, her seat, with fyre. And if the Old Testament Babylon was a Type of Mysticall Babylon, why may not the Turks & Tartars bee God's sanctifyed ones from the North & East, in like manner typifyed by the Medes & Persians? And that the ten kings should not bee the instruments of Rome's finall destruccon, seems to follow unde-

* July 27, 1683.

† A false report. The siege was raised on the 12th of September.

‡ Christopher Kotterus (a Silesian), and Christina Poniatowski (a Bohemian), were enthusiasts, who prophesied against the Emperor and the Pope. Their revelations were published by Comenius. Bayle says that the "Lux e Tenebris" was wonderfully sought after at the time of the siege of Vienna. Some curious specimens of these predictions may be found in Bulkeley's "Prophetical Extracts."

niably from Rev. 18, 9. Surely they that shall bewayle her & lament for her, standing afar off for the fear of her torment shall not bee the executioners & instruments of God's vengeance. The same prophecies in *Lux e Tenebris* doe foretell the conversion of the Turks, which I perceive by your book, Chap. 9, pag. 129, you judg contrary to the scripture, as well as that the Turk shall destroy Rome. But I must confess, as I know nothing in the scripture contrary to the former assertion, so nor doe I to this latter. The texts by you alleadged are far from convincing mee. The perishing forever in Numb. 24. 24. is, you know, by good interpreters ascribed to Chittim, and not to Ashur; nor will any Rule of Grammar evince the contrary. And suppose it bee meant of Ashur, yet that under that name is meant the Turk, is again as impossible to prove, & much may bee said against it. That Dan: 11, 45 speaks of the Turk is no less as uncerteyn. You know how Junius, Piscator, Polanus interpret it, & Calvin goes a way different from them. As to Rev. 9. 15, bee it granted that it speaks of the Turk, yet it speaks nothing of his perishing forever, but onely of the time of his continuance to bee a scourge to idolatrous Christians. And g^{o} [*ergo*] I doe not see that the ꝑphetaster whom you menc̃on hath in that poynt said any thing contrary to the scriptures. Nevertheless his grounding it on the Comet I look on as extremely idle & vayn, even like the rest of such astrologers' predictions. For I am perswaded Comets doe no more portend than Eclipses, and Eclipses no more than the constant conjunctions of the sun & moon, that is, just nothing at all, save onely as they may bee n^{tll} causes of alterac̃on of ayr or wether. And I doubt not but what is in your book & sermons to this purpose may easily bee answered.* Nor doe I beleeve any answer can bee given to many arguments against the portendency of them. I pray answer mee this one: If they foresignify they doe it *ex naturâ* or *ex instituto*. *Ab.*† g^{o}; & when I see an answer to that, I will give you more. I ghess that the Bruditius

* In 1683, Increase Mather published a volume entitled "Κομητογραφία, or a Discourse concerning Comets, wherein the Nature of Blazing Stars is enquired into," . . . "as also, Two Sermons occasioned by the late Blazing Stars." He believed that comets did "foresignify," but had no more faith than his brother in the special predictions of astrologers.

† Probably *Absurdum*.

menc̃oned in Keckerman, & from him by you, as having written against the signifying of Comets, is Andreas Duditius, that was Bishop of five churches, *Quinquec*[*c*]*lesiensis Episcopus,* to whom you'l find some lr̃es among the lr̃es of Beza & Calvin, if I forget not, & of whom you'l find menc̃on in the History of the Council of Trent. For if my memory fayle not, I have somewhere read that hee did write a book to that purpose tho I never saw it. But his name is misprinted in my Keckerman, as it seems it is in yours. And the same I think of other phenomenas in the ayr, as also of Earthquakes. Nevertheless I am far from the profanenes of some, to jest & mock at them. I think God should be feared before in them, as hee also ought in all his works of wonder, & unusuall impestions of his power in the frame of nature, such as Whirlwinds, hurricanes, lightning, thunder, etc. But to make any of these things teachers from God to ourselves, of what is in God's purpose to doe in the world is not, I think, a sanctifying of him in those works of his, but rather an abusing and perverting them, & so a taking of his name (which is upon them) in vayn, and also a sin against the second commandment, in devising to ourselves a means of knowledge & teaching which God never ordeyned to that end. But so much of that. My Br Sam's sermons on the Types are printing. They make but slow progress, not above 2 sheets a week, and seldome so much. Tis done in this Citty; the correcting lyes on mee. About 8 or 9 sheets are already printed. The whole will bee about 70 or 80 sheets. I have seen Mr. Clark's late book, and am ill pleased with that abuse of my Father's life. But it cannot now bee helped. I have formerly answered about my Brs New Engl. notes, that I find few or none of them. Hee lost, as I have heard, sundry of his notes. As to any passages of his life, I know not whether ever I shall have any leysure to doe any thing of that kind. Possibly I may prefix something of the kind before his discorses on the Types. As to myselfe, I have not any thing of that kind that is fit to leave behind mee. If I can find any of my owne Sermons, written any whitt legibly & fully, perhaps I may send them to you to gratify your importunity, & let you see what power you have over mee. And if I doe, you may doe therewith as you think good, onely if you publish them, signify withall that they are as they were prepared in my study for preaching, without any

thoughts in the least then of their being printed. I have not time to transcribe any of my notes, else you had ere this had my answer to your book about the subject of Baptism, which I had by mee, finished, sundry years agoe. And g^{o} [*ergo*], if I send you any sermon notes, you must take them as they are. As my picture shows you my outward visage, so by them you may see somewhat of my inside. I cannot now so much as review them, my head, & heart, & hands are full of other imployment, as you may well imagine, considering my circumstances. Reñbr to my sister, Br Tim. & Cosings. The Lord be with you all. My wife reñbrs to you. Forget us not in your prayers. It is a dark day with us, & much to bee feared the storm will grow sorer upon us ere long. With the Lord I leave you, & remayn Dear Br,

Your most affecc̃onate Br. N. M.

Aug^{t} 13. 1683.

NATHANIEL MATHER TO INCREASE MATHER.

Aug^{t} 18, '83.

Dear Brother,—Since the finishing of my former of the 13th instant, a poor woman came to mee, bringing the inclosed, & earnestly desyring I would send it to New England, & get an answer for her, whether her Brother, Abraham Bell,* a shoemaker, bee living, or to bee heard of in New England. Shee hath heard that hee did live in Boston. If you know, or c[an] hear of such an one, I pray send word. I wro[te] formerly to enquire if any of the Palmers† bee living in or about Salem. A good freind of m[yne] & an elder of our church, their relac̃on, desyres to hear of them. Our last packet from England brings word Vienna is not yet taken by the Turk a[lso] that a *quo warranto* is gone out against your Patent in New England,‡ of which perhaps you may hear before this can come to your hand, for Mr. Smith tells me

* One Abraham Bell died in Charlestown in 1663.

† Richard Palmer was at Salem at the date of this letter.

‡ The writ of *Quo Warranto* was issued June 27, 1683. Randolph arrived with it October 26. The agents of the Colony to England, Joseph Dudley and John Richards, reached Boston a few days before him, October 22.

hee hath sold his vessel, and intends to goe by Pensylvania Gover[t]. The Lord bee with you. I rest

Your affeccõnate Br, N. M.

Mr. Smith having sold his vessell here, and beeing to goe homeward as a passenger, I shall not send any of my Sermons by him as I thought to have done. Hee knowes not whether hee shall goe from hence to Pensylvania in a ship of Quakers, that hee hears is to come from Chester, & victual here, or whether some other way.

NATHANIEL MATHER TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Reverend Mr. Increase Mather, Minister of the Gospell at Boston in New England.

March 26, 1684.

Dear B[r], — I wrote a few lines to you, a few days agoe, by a maid nam[ed] Susan Salisbury. This I send by Mr. Joseph Allen,* the son of a godly woman, a member with us, whose husband is one of our Deacons. The young man himself is civill & sober, was never taynted with or inclined in the least unto the debaucheryes & raigning vices [of] the time & place; onely in this unhappy, that hee was bound prentise to an ironmonger, but hath so strong a naturall byass to ingenious handicrafts that hee is thereby mastered, & indeed so wholly carryed, that hee cannot thrive at buying & selling, but excells in those other things, & thence hath acquired good skill in watchmaking, clockmaking, graving, limning, [&] that by his owne ingenuity & industry chiefly, for he served an apprentiship faythfully to another trade. His design in comeing to New England is that hee bee under a necessity of earning his bread by practising his sk[ill] in some of those things. For hee, having a mother at hand, to . . . on

* A Joseph Allen was one of the "undertakers" at the establishment of Brattle-street Church in 1698. He may have been the person here mentioned. If he exercised in New England his "skill in graving and limning," he preceded Pelham many years.

his fancy, masters him so much as to carry him away from [one] kind of thing to another. My request to you on his behalf is . . . would countenance & advise him as you may have op[portunity,] & shall see him need. The account I have given you of him is his true character.

To gratify you, & that you may see how much power you have over me, I here send you by him a few of my sermons, as they were prepared for prèaching, without the least thought of their ever beeing published. Pr[ay do] you with them as you see good. If you suppress them, it will well please me, onely you send . . . , if you publish them, I will arran[ge] what will bee necessary before each of those on Zachary, intimating the time & occasion of their preaching. And the speech or charge annexed to that on Zech: 3, 9, you may also let pass with the sermon, onely all na[mes] must be suppressed & concealed by any means. That hands were laid on at Mr. W's* ordination, not in prayer as the directory orders,† & is by others generally practised, was on a former occasion introduced in this church by mee, conceiving it fittest to be done then, & best agreeing with the Apostles' practice, Act. 6., touching which you may give an hint in advertisement. Therein you will see some vacancyes & *lacunæ*, & also some curtness of expression, which should bee filled up, but I must leave them to you, as also I doe to detract or ad, or otherwise alter any thing as you think fit, so it bee not contrary to what I have written. I had thoughts to have sent you . . . sermons on Ps. 25, 6. 7; . . . of your . . . account of them & looking to the mercy & goodness of God . . . . . my notes of the 2 latter are so broken & imperfect that you cannot make them out, & I cannot yet get him to perfect them. As also some sermons on the Cov^{t} of God with fathers, comprising children in it, on Act. 3, 25. But I know not how some noc̃ons therein would be rellished by some in N. E, & besydes there is a piece of one of them at least that is not yet perfected so as to bee legible. For so it oft falls out with mee, & amongst many I could not light

* Weld.

† The language of the Directory was, "Every minister of the word is to be ordained by imposition of hands, and prayer, with fasting, by those preaching presbyters to whom it doth belong. 1 Tim. v. 22, Acts xiv. 23, and Acts xiii. 3." See Neal's "History of the Puritans," Appendix ix.

on many so perfect as these are. I confess some of these are not the subjects that my spirit & delight is most in. If I live, & the Lord will, I think I shall send you some on such subjects. If you publish these I now send, I think it best that that on Zech. 3. 9. have not my name to it, nor the land where it was preached, but rather goe as in company with the rest, but nameles. For tho wee had then more liberty than wee have now, it was judged necessary to meet for the occasion, in a private house; the Bishops are thought by some to bee more tender in that poynt of ordinac̃on, than in most others, & perhaps not without reason. For as Bellarmin argues that a Pope or œcumenicall pastor is necessary to send Ministers to convert heathens, so if Bishops bee not necessary for making Ministers, it may bee they think folks will conceit there is no need of them at all.

I sent you a piece of a specimen of my Br. S. on the Types by S. Salisbury.* I now send another, lest that miscarry. How it is with us as to our liberty, the bearer can acquaint you. Wee are forced to meet in private dwelling houses, sometimes one, sometimes another, sometimes within, sometimes without the Lord Mayor's jurisdic̃on. Thus it hath been with us ever since about the latter end of July last. Not but that the Mag^t^ knowes well enough wee meet, & could easily take us when at it, but the Lord orders their spirits so toward us, that they are yet willing to connive at what we practise, tho upon their signifying their pleasure so to be, wee left our publique places. Wee, beeing two of us, meet in 2 places at the same time, Mr. W. beeing in the forenoon where I am in the afternoon, & *vice versâ:* preaching to both the parts of the church the same sermon, which we doe, not for the numerousnes of the Church, but to accommodate others, tho to us it be a great inconvenience, especially in this hot summer wether to bee sweltered in such throngs as wee are, in such unayry places. My wife hath been under the afflicting hand of God about these 6 months, & for more than 3 hath not been out of dores, save that yesterday, the wether inviting, & once before, shee went out in a coach a mile or two. The Physicians are much at a loss about sundry of her complaynts, onely it is evident that an [heet?]icall heat & drought afflicts her, & hath greatly wasted

* Susan Salisbury, the "maid" spoken of in a former part of this letter.

her flesh, which was . . . before, but is much less now. Reñber us in your prayers day & night. The Lord bee with you and yours. Reñber us to our Br Tim: & sister & cosings. I rest

Your most affecc̃onate Br, N. M.

I received from you sundry of your books of Comets, as I formerly wrote you, wherein I suggested my differing from you about the portendency of them, as also that the Budritius whom you menc̃on is, as I take it, Andr. Duditius, *Episc. Quinque Eccles*. It is here said, tho I know not what grounds there are for it, nor whence it comes, that you in New England, & yourself in particular are turned Presbyterian. I pray if it be so let mee know, & the reasons of it, for as yet I cannot beleeve it, tho your notion of *Ecclesia visibilis catholica integralis*, your enlarging the subject of baptism, your essays about combinac̃ons of churches, & some other things seem to mee to look too much that way. I pray send mee whatever is printed in N. England lately; & if you could procure for mee all the Catechisms of New England divines, I should account it a great treasure. I have none but Mr. Norton's & Mr. Fisk's, that you sent mee, not so much as my father's, save that I borrowed one of his. But there was one of Mr. Cotton's, one of Mr. Noise's, one of Mr. Davenport's, all which, as I reñber, I have seen, & I think there are sundry others. I pray also send me your Collection of Remarkable Providences in New England. Our last packet from Engl. brings us newes of two very loyall addresses to his Majestie,* one from New Plimouth & the other from Connecticut, which were both very graciously received; by which I suspect you of Massachusets are more whiggish, & your neighbors more toryish; to express it in the language of late in use.

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* "The humble Petition and Address of the Governor and Council of your Majesty's Colony of New Plymouth in New England in behalf of the General Court there and the Colony," which was issued at the close of the year 1683 (Prince supposes that it was drawn in November), and signed by Thomas Hinckley, Governor, may be found in Mass. Hist. Coll., 4th series, vol. v, page 98. It is not noticed in the Plymouth Colony Records.

"The most humble Petition of your Maties loyall subjects, the Govr and Generall Assembly of his Maties Colony of Connecticutt in New England," was signed at Hartford, November 14, 1683. It is printed in the Colonial Records of Connecticut, 1678–1689, at page 136.

NATHANIEL MATHER TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Reverend Mr. Increase Mather, Minister of the Gospell in Boston in New England. Pr Mr. Baily.

May 19th 1684.

Dear Brother, — I have not any of yours by mee to answer, having written lately more at large by Mr. Joseph Allen, by whom I also sent you, to gratify your importunity, some notes of some sermons of myne. This I now write, I design by Mr. Bayly, whose wife is here, and goes away tomorrow. Shee is daughter to Mr. John Priee, whom I suppose yon remember; hee is and hath been many years, a ruling elder in this church. Her husband was Minister at Limerick, and had a people there, but having been hinderd from preaching there of late, hee now goes for N. E., beeing, as I hear, incoraged & invited so to doe by Mr. Willey, who was a member with him, and by Mr. Willard, the Minister at the Third Church in Boston. Hee is a person whom God hath much honored in the conversion of many, as I have heard, and hee hath great acceptance with very many in this Town. When hee came hither from Limerick, now and then in 2 or 3 years, the places where hee preached used to be so thronged as no other place was at any time, preach who would. How it is with us as to our liberty in the Gospell, you will understand by him & his wife. The Papists are in their Mass-houses agayn very openly & numerous, tho they were forbidden them at the same time that wee were put out of our meeting places. Wee have not yet adventured to return again into ours, tho the Government take no notice of them, and is pleased to connive at our meeting in private houses, tho in such numbers & so openly as that it is generally well enough knowne both that wee doe meet & where. I hear this morning that some Scotch Ministers in the North of Ireland, who had withdrawn from their former places of meeting, & did lately return again to them, are, by order from hence, taken up. The meeting of the Quakers * in this town, & of one small company

* It is an interesting fact, and highly creditable to the Christian temper of these Quakers of Dublin and vicinity, that, forgetful of injuries, they contributed liberally to the relief of the inhabitants of New England at a period of great public distress. Increase Mather, in his Diary, under the date Nov. 25, 1676, says, "A vessell from Ireland arrived here, being sent by *the Quakers* in Dublin for those that were impoverished by the war here."

of Arminian Anabaptists are not restreyned, the latter I suppose for their inconsiderablenes, the former for some other reason. Many think our Lord Deputy* here hath not of himself any keennes against our meetings, neither had his father, the D. of Ormond, during whose Lieutenancy wee were not troubled. But that is in obedience to orders from England that our liberty is thus streightned. For I cannot hear of any place in England where the Nonconformists are sufferd to meet unmolested, and in many places they are also otherwise persecuted, viz^t on the Statutes made against Popish recusants, and in the Bps' Courts. Nor is their case better, but rather much more difficult in Scotland. Tho the Lord hath hitherto spared us, & not put the cup into our hand, yet there is on many accounts so much cause to fear that it will come unto us also, that I cannot bee without thoughts, that possibly I may bee driven to remove, tho whither I know not. The earth is the Lord's. At present I see no place that is like to bee quiet, unless you in New England bee. But if your Charter bee gone, & other Governors appoynted, I expect not any other but that your Ministers must conform or bee packing. One that came from N. E. told mee the Ministers to the Eastward of Pascataqua were so dealt withall,† whether it bee so or not, I pray send mee word. My brother's book is printed to the 344 page. It will bee about 600 or 700, as I ghess. My wife is still languishing under bodily pains & weaknesses, nor is her complexion

* The Duke of Ormond was still Lord-Lieutenant; but in his absence from Ireland, his son, the Earl of Arran, was acting as Deputy.

† The writer had undoubtedly heard of the arbitrary proceedings of Cranfield, who, "ambitious to ape his royal master," then executing in England the penal laws against the Nonconformists with great rigor, determined to institute similar measures in New Hampshire. "He had attempted to impose upon the people the observation of the thirtieth of January as a fast, and to restrain them from manual labor at Christmas; but his capital stroke was to issue an order in Council, 'that after the first of January, the ministers should admit all persons of suitable years and not vicious, to the Lord's Supper, and their children to baptism; and that if any person should desire baptism or the other sacrament to be administered according to the liturgy of the Church of England it should be done, in pursuance of the King's command to the Colony of Massachusetts; and any minister refusing so to do should suffer the penalty of the Statutes of Uniformity.'" Belknap's "History of New Hampshire," vol. i. p. 205.

The Rev. Joshua Moodey was committed to prison by a warrant, dated February 6, 1683, for having administered the sacraments contrary to the laws and statutes of England. A fragment of a letter written by Mr. Moodey in prison is found in this volume. A letter from him to Governor Thomas Hinckley, also written from the prison, may be found in Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. v. 4th series.

recovered, tho it bee not altogether so bad as it was. The physicians are at a loss about her distemper, as far as I can perceive. It seems to bee an heeticall malady, for shee is much afflicted with intemperate heats & frequent feaverishnes, constantly after eating. Nevertheless, since the severity of the wether hath been abated, shee hath gone out, tho under great weaknes. My niece, Katharin, who dined with mee this day, saith shee will write to you by Mris. Bayly. Remember us in your prayers. The Lord bee with you. Our dear respects to Br Tim: his & your wife, & our Cosings, I rest, dear Br

Your most affeccõnate Br, N. M.

May 19, 84.

NATHANIEL MATHER TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Reverend Mr. Increase Mather, Pastor of the Church of Christ in Boston, New England.

Dear Br, —The last I had from you bare date 7ber 1, wherein you informe mee of the Lord's restoring you from a dangerous feaver, for which mercy I desyre to bless his name with you. I have also received by way of London one of your books of Remarkable Providences, and another of them for Mris. Anbrey with the *Dissertatio de signo filii hominis*, brought hither from Milford haven by a seaman that met with one of his acquaintance in a N. E. vessell, put into that harbor, but whither bound I know not. No letter from you came with it, onely on your book for her was written in your hand 7ber 16. Those other which you write of, sent by way of Liverpool, I have not yet heard of. Why did you not put in the story of Mrs. Hibbons witcherafts, & the discovery thereof, as also of H. Lake's wife, of Dorchester, whom, as I have heard, the devill drew in by appearing to her in the likenes, & acting the part of a child of hers then lately dead, on whom her heart was much set: as also another of a girl in Connecticut who was judged to dye a reall convert, tho shee dyed for the same crime? Storyes, as I have heard them, as remarkable for some circumstances as most I have read. Mrs. Dyer's & Mrs.

Hutchinson's monstrous births, & the remarkable death of the latter, with Mr. Wilson's prediction or threatning thereof, which, I remember, I heard of in New England, would have done well to bee put in, tho the story of their births bee printed already by Mr. Weld* & menconed from him by Mr. Baxter & others. Our London Observator hath of late entertayned his reader with descanting on a lre of yours said by him to be written to Mr. Gouge of Amsterdam wherein you invite over Mr. Ferguson,† telling him hee may be as safe as Goff & Whalley were, talk of purchasing your quiet by a bribe of 2 or 3000 *li* & that if that will not doe, you will defend your libertyes with their lives. But to mee it [is] not credibl[e] that you should be guilty of such a thing, and hee is not αὐτόπις[τος] with mee. [B]ut you see there are indeavors to represent you both as a fool & a knave at once. I pray God sanctify it to you, and guide & keep you.‡

I had not now sent this letter, nor indeed know of the opportunity for it, but that a good freind & neer relacon of myne, one Mr. Rich. Lob, merchant in London, who marryed my sister Thompson, desyres me to write in behalf of this gentleman, the bearer, his kinsman Mr. Penhallow§ of Falmouth in Cornwall, who designs to spend a year or two in New England, in the Colledg, for the perfecting of his learning, hee having lived 3 or 4 years under the instructions of one Mr. Morton,‖ a godly & learned man, whom I knew, who is constreyned to withdraw by reason of Capias's upon an Excommunicacon.¶ Hee is sober and godly, and an h[ar]d stud[ent] and therefore a person of promising

* Thomas Welde's "Short Story of the Rise, Reign, and Ruin of Antinomians, Familists, and Libertines, that infected the Churches of New England."

† This is probably the notorious Robert Ferguson, who fled to the Continent after the discovery of the Rye House Plot. See Macaulay's "History of England," chap. v.

‡ The letter falsely attributed to Increase Mather, which is here referred to, will be found in this volume, together with a letter from him repelling the imputation of its authorship. The judgment and indignant feeling expressed by Nathaniel Mather concerning the charge against his brother, are as just as they are natural, and ought to have weight in the scale against the opinions of those who set their mere suspicions against the positive denial of Increase, his acquittal by the jury, and the internal evidence furnished by the letter itself.

The subject of the "forged letter" will be more largely treated in a note appended to a letter of Increase Mather to Joseph Dudley.

§ Samuel Penhallow. Afterwards a Counsellor of the Province of New Hampshire, and Chief Justice of the Superior Court. Author of a History of the Indian Wars.

‖ Rev. Charles Morton came over in 1686, and was installed at Charlestown Nov. 5th of that year. He had been an eminent instructer of young men in England, and was made a Member of the Corporation of H. C.

¶ See note, p. 42.

& great expectac̃ons, & deserves your rather sing[u]lar incouragement, especially in such an age as this. My request to you in his behalf is, that when God shall bring him to New England, you would show him what kindnes hee may n[ee]d by advising him & recommending him in the Colledge, or any other ways as it may fall in your power. I promise myself you will gratify mee in this, and therefore shall not further insist thereon. By him I send you one of our Brs' books on the Types, in quires. I could not send it from hence bound. I design to send some more by the first opportunity from hence, which I expect will occur within a few months. The subscribers pay 7s. per book, in quires, having onely a 5th book gratis. The booksellers give mee but ten, which is so small a number that I cannot gratify my friends as I desyre. The sermons which you received by Mr. Allin, I desyre you would send mee back again by some sure conveyance; I mean such as you publish not. Those on Luk. 7, 38, & on Gal. 5, 17. I think as perfect as that which you publish. That on Zech. 3, & those on Hebr. 6, 2. are, or at least may easily bee perfected. Perhaps you are less willing to publish them because of the interpretation of the text, which is, I confess, differing from many, perhaps most, interpreters. But I am so well satisfyed therein, that for that very reason, I am the more willing they should bee published. However, doe therein as you please, onely, if you publish them not, I desyre you would return them, because I have no other copy of them. Mris. Aubrey hath been of late somewhat indisposed, but not so as to keep her chamber. My wife is still afflicted with weaknes & payns, but hath somewhat recovered her complexion. My niece lives with me, & is in usuall health. Our libertys in the Gospell are through the Lord's good hand to us still continued as formerly. Pray for us, that wee may improve our present mercyes, & bee fitted for approaching tryalls. The Lord bee with you. I rest, dear Br

Your most affec̃onate Br. N. M.

Decb. 31, 84.

My wife & niece remb[r] to yourself & relac̃ons with you.

There went lately from London, for New-England, a gentleman of much piety & worth, Capt. John Blackwell.* If hee bee

* Capt. John Blackwell purchased a large tract of land in Massachusetts, while in London, in 1684; and, in 1686, was a candidate for the office of Assistant in this Colony.

there, present my humble service to him, and you may acquaint him his son Harris & daughters here, & their children are all in health. I have known him many years. Hee did sundry years dwell in this Citty. For serious, reall piety, & noblenes of spirit, prudence, etc., I have not been acquainted with many that equall him. Hee is a member of the church in London to which Mr. Ny & Mr. Loder were Teachers. Mr. Allin's relacons are in health.

Indorsed, "Recd. Augt 12. 1685."

NATHANIEL MATHER TO INCREASE MATHER.

Aprill 26, 1686.

Dear Brother, — This is by Mris Gibson, who comeing to this Countrey to see her relacons here, knowing you, acqted herself with mee, & beeing now goeing back to England with a purpose to return to New England, I lay hold on the opportunity and send by her four of our Br Sam's books, on the Types, 2 bound & 2 unbound, for I have no more bound but one. Two of them are for your sons Cotton & Nat. the other 2, one for my nephew Sam, my Br. Tim's son; the other for Warham, son to my Br Eleazar. I hope they will, through her care, arrive at your hands. Possibly the officers of the Custom house, in England or here, may make her pay something for the duty of them. If they doe, you must pay her again. I would have done it, but that I know not whether they will demand any thing or not. But I doubt they will, because my Br Lob † lately wrote mee word that a man from New England told him hee had a little bundle of books for mee, but the wayter on board was troublesome to him, demanding some duty for them, & that hee would bring them to him if he could satisfy the wayter. But my Br Lob

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In July, 1688, he was commissioned by William Penn as Governor of Pennsylvania, and entered upon the duties of that office in December of that year. He resigned his commission, Jan. 1, 1689–90. He appears to have had a difficult and burdensome administration. His speech to the Provincial Council, on occasion of his retirement from office, may be seen in the "Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania," vol. i. p. 312.

† Richard Lobb, a merchant of London.

hath heard no more o[f] him, and therefore supposeth they are miscarryed. For time to come, therefore, you must send them by some freind that is fayth[ful] & will pay the charge of them . . . sham Churchill, book . . . . . .

[*Several lines destroyed.*]

. . . Norwich is in his place, and 3 other Judges, Reynel, Johnson & Hartstongue, in each bench one supseded, and, as is said, 3 Papists nominated to bee in their places. But they have not as yet their Commissions, as far as I hear, and phaps, unless they bee qualifyed according to law, *i.e.* will take the oath of supremacy, etc. they will not obteyn it. Our libertyes are continued as formerly, through the wonderfull mercy of God to us, tho not in our meeting places that wee built within the Citty. The Papists take heart at grass. They have lately built them a mass house, & a kind of Covent for Capuchin Fryars very near, almost contiguous, to Adoens * Church in this Citty, & their wor^p^ is open & publiq^e^. My niece is about 3 months agoe marryed to one M^r^ George Darby, an ironmonger. His eldest B^r^ & M^r^ Tho Bayly marryed two sisters. My wife continues still under much weakness and many pains. I injoy my health as usually, tho under decays. M^ris^ Gibson ꝓposed to joyn to this church a few months agoe if it were thought advisable, shee then beeing resolved within 3 months to remoov to New England. The Elders of this Church rather chose to advise her to joyn in New England where shee designed to fix her dwelling; with which shee was satisfyed. Reñber my dear love to my sister & Cosings. My wife doth the like. Forget us not in your prayers. I rest, dear Br, Your most affec̃onate & now onely brother

N. M.

Aprill 26, 86.

Myne & my wife's humble service to C[a]pt Blackwell & his Lady . . . & their familyes are all well. M^ris^ Hamilton is now in this town . . . lately marryed to one M . . . ing a shi . . .

. . . . . hope it will bee a com . . .

. . . . . had an oppo . . .

. . . . . to M . . .

[*Several lines destroyed.*]

* Probably St. Audoen's Church, called also St. Owen's. See the next letter.

NATHANIEL MATHER TO INCREASE MATHER.

[The first part of this letter is wanting.]

. . . and all the priviledges and spirituall mercyes that in New England you enjoye. But I fear they are not long lived. The method of these, & the last years Theses is in my judgm̃t better than an[y] I have seen formerly. But the grammar of some of [them] might bee mended, *e.g.*, in Thes. 2, . . . it should have been *producant*, not *producerent;* & I think some of the others are paradoxicall, *e.g.* Thes. 11, & 22 Phys., to say nothing of Thes. 21. But I perceive the Cartesian philosophy begins to obteyn in New England, & if I conjecture aright the Copernican System too. There should also in a thing coming out from scholars in an university, have been more care taken of orthography. *e.g.* Thes. Phys. 28, *nitrolis* for *nitrosis;* and *Phillipsius* * should not bee with a double p. A Dutchman of that name would have written himself *Philippides* or *a Philippis*. As to our condic̃on here, wee are yet in peace and liberty, through a wonder of the power & providence of God over us. The p[r]laticall men seem to fear the like measure may bee measured to them as they have measured to us. Though as yet no Papists that I hear of are gotten into any Ecclesiasticall promotions. But wee have already 3 Judges, one in each Bench, of that Religion in this Kingdo̅e; and the officers of the Army are, I think, generally of the same stamp, & so are many if not most of the private souldiers, the Protestants beeing laid aside, tho not at all unconformable. In this Citty the Capuchins have lately built them an house & Mass house near Owen's † Church, & say Mass as publiq̃ly as any others preach. There is also a nunnery in Oxmanton, & in Francis Street the Franciscans are building a large & spacious Church, and design a Monastery; as one of them that hath the oversight of the building told mee, and showed mee in paper the platform of what they intend; who told mee also, that the Jesuits expect to have assigned to them a magnificent and ample structure lately

* Rev. George Phillips took his degree at Harvard College in 1686.

† St. Owen's Church. See the preceding letter.

built, (in His late Ma^ties reign, for an Hospitall for deerepitt or wounded Souldiers of the Army) at Kilmainham adjoyning to the west on this Towne as the Colledge doth on the east; & that there they will have a School or kind of University. And there is an h[ouse] of them in this Citty, the house in the Jury* wherein Captain Blackwel sometime dwelt, besydes severall others, Convents and Mass houses. There was lately in this . . . a great Convocation of their Ecclesiasticks. What they did I have not heard with any certeynty. Many people in this Kingdõe are full of fears lest they break out into another Demonstrac̃on of their zeal for the Catholik religion like that in 1641, and I hear talk as if many were remooved & remooving out of the Kingdome on that account. But methinks those that have the conduct of the mo̅tions of the party should not think such a co^rse advisable till they have tryed & despayred of attayning their ends, by more peaceable & less hazardous means. And moreover, as to myselfe, God hath set mee here, and untill he doe as clearly loose mee from hence, I cannot see but I ought to abide, though there were more cause of fear than I apprehend there is. Some other ministers in this Citty I find are somewhat otherwise minded. One is gone to England & his return I doubt is uncerteyn; & another or two are disposing of their concerns, in order to a remoovall. Through the goodnes of God I injoy my health as well as ever onely I find the decays of age come on apace. The Lord fit mee for my great change, & for whatever hee will call mee to between that & this. Rem̃br us in your prayers dayly. Our own dear love to our Sister & Cosings. I had a letter lately from my Cos. Sam. at Windsor. I doubt I shall not now write to him, but purpose it as soon as I can. My wife rem̃brs to you all. The Lord be with you. I remain, Dear Br

Your affec̃tionate Br. N. M.

August 10, 86.

Myne & my wife's service to Capt. Blackwell & his lady. His four daughters are all in this Kingdõe, and were lately in health, & still are for any thing that I know. The youngest with her husband is lately come to dwell here.

Rem̃br mee to M^r Bayly & his wife. His relac̃ons here are well.

Note by Increase Mather. "R^d 11^m. 21^d"

* Probably Jewry.

NATHANIEL MATHER TO RICHARD LOBB.

These for M^r. Richard Lobb, Merchant, London. To be left with M^r Aunsham Churchill, bookseller, at the black swan neer Amen Corner, in Pater Noster Row, London.

Dear Br, — Yours of the 13th I received the 25th instant as also your former in due time, wherein you answered my enquiry concerning the King's dispensaẽon as to Penall Eccl^ll Statutes. I since received from another hand a copy of one of the dispensaẽons. But at present in the Kingdõe we have not any need to ask particular dispensaẽons, for truly there is no law in this land that reacheth us, save 9^d a Sabbath for not comeing to church; tho sõe of o^r late Judges talked as if they would make our meetings a breach of the behavior or of the Act for Uniformity. And besydes, His present Excellency, the L^d Tyrconnel,* o^r Deputy hath put out a ꝑclamaẽon a few days agoe, wherein hee gives all His Ma^ties Loyall subjects a free exercise of their religion, on which some of the N. Conforming Min^rs in this Citty will return to their meeting houses the next L^ds Day; having given such notice at their lecture yesterday, & having already carryed forms & seats thither; & I suppose the others will shortly doe the like. For they had convenient & capacious meeting places which they had built for themselves but were put out of them about 3 years & an halfe agoe, & had remooved (most of them at least) out of the L^d Mayor's Libertyes. As to the robberyes & murthers that I perceive you have heard of; it is true severall have been committed in the Countrey & one in this Citty besydes many attempts without success. But wee hope an effectuall co^rse will bee taken for punishing such outrages; nor indeed doe I at all doubt of it. For tho our Lord Deputy, Lord Chancellor, 3 of the Judges, in each Court one, & many of our Privy Counseli^rs, and generally all the Sheriffs of Countyes except ꝑhaps two, and many if not most of the Justices of Peace bee Roman Catholiks, yet I beleeve such things will bee as effectually & vigorously ꝑsecuted as formerly.

* The Duke of Ormond was succeeded as Lord Lieutenant by the Earl of Clarendon, who in turn was displaced by Tyrconnel, with the title of Lord Deputy, early in 1687.

Many indeed are remooved & remooving into England, beeing, as it seems affrighted on the L^d^ Deputye's cõeing, but for my owne part, as I see no sufficient cause for any man to remoove as yet on account of the publiq^e^ goverm^t^ over us, or the late change therein, so as to myself, after many serious thoughts about it, I am satisfyed that at p^r^sent this is the place that God hath called mee to; & under the shadow of His wings I have dwelt & desyre still to trust. I could, were I so minded transmit what I have in this land into England at 10 or 10½ ꝑ Cent, so high is the Exchange at p^r^sent. But I suppose it will ere long fall lower. And indeed the greatest part of my little estate is not at this instant at my Command, but out of my hands in other mens. But I shall ad no more. I have written thus largely for your satisfaeõn because I suspect that you in London have more dismall apprehensions of our case then there is as yet any just cause for; and it is like they that are gone frõ us will, many of them represent our case as sad and deplorable as may bee, to justify their owne fears. Let us not be forgotten in your prayers. Reñber us dearly to our sisters & Cosings. The Lord bee with you. I remayn,

Dear Br. Yors N. M.

Febr. 26. 86/7.

It is here talked as if there had been an Union almost effected between the Conformists & Non Conformists in London, but that by the liberty lately indulged there to the Non Conformists, it is broken, & the distance between them renewed. I pray you send word if there be any truth in this story. I suspect it is made by the p^r^laticall generaõn, who I hear are, some of them at least, I mean the Clergy, fretted not a little at the liberty graunted to us in the late ꝓclamaõn by our Lord Deputy here, and would fayn perswade us not to make any use of it. And some weake people that are full of fears and suspiõns agree with them herein, tho they are well wishers to us, imagining it hath in it I know not what mischievous design. The change in the Goverm^t^ here is no other then I expected long agoe, save that I thought His Ma^tie^ would rather have pitched on some other then the Earl of Tyrconnel, & I have been long, and am still of opinion that it is as good for Protestants that are cordially so, to live under wise & just Popish Governo^rs^ as such Protestants as wee have had many.

NATHANIEL MATHER TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Reverend my dearest brother, Mr. Increase Mather, Minister of the Gospell at Boston in New England.

London, Augt 2d 87.

Dear Br, — I wrote you a line or two from this place sõe weeks agoe, and now finding that Capt Ware is goeing I send this by him, at least, design so to doe. I am now returning to Ireland within 3 days, if the Lord will; hee having restored to my wife a much better measure of health since her cõeing to England then shee hath injõyed for sõe years in Ireland. How things are with us in that kingdõe I have formerly written. They still continue so, & the ꝑtestants apprehensions are still such as that multitudes remoove thence dayly. I here met with Mr Bromley but with no lr̃es from you. Hee gave mee hopes I should this day see the book you have sent over to bee printed & also the reasons agt goeing to cõon prayer. But I doubt, my time beeing so short, how I shall hardly see them or at best not read them over. This is onely to let you know in short, that I am yet alive & in peace & health, through the infinite mercy of God. I have sõe apprehensions that I may bee called to leave Ireland, though whither I know not. The King seems resolved to continue the Dissenters' Libty, & its thought will shortly call a Parlt. & indeavor therein the repealing of all the lawes agt the Papists, both incapacitating, muletative, & sanguinary, & establish by law the libty at prsent injoyed by his Declaracõn.* I can ad no more. Rem̃br us to or Sister & Cosings. The Ld bee with you. Pray for us. I rest

Your most affeceõnate Br N. M.

Mr Collins† is in a weak & wasted condicõn as to his bodily health (by a scorbuticall diarrhœa as the physicians agree, which

* The Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, published in April, 1687. A previous one, for Scotland, had appeared in February.

† Rev. John Collins, [H. C. 1649.] After graduating, he went to Edinburgh; was Chaplain to Monk before he moved to England for the Restoration of Charles II.; afterwards a minister at Edinburgh, and last in London, where he died Dec. 3, 1687. See Mr. Savage's Geneal. Dict.

hath hung upon him these many years.) Hee is now at Tunbridg, by which waters he hath formerly had reviving many times. Hee is one of the best p^r^chers in or about London as most agree, sõe say the best. The booksellers are generally here unwilling to print, at least seem so, unless they can get subscriptions, pretending the book will not sell. D^r^ Owen's second part of the Originall, N^r^ etc. of Churches * was finished by him in his life-time, but is not published, sticking there. If they can get subscriptions to the valew of what the printing will cost or more, then they will print any book. At this M^r^ Davenport on the Canticles sticks, as Coll Thatch^r^ told mee. Had not this co^r^se been taken, my B^r^ on the Types had never been printed.

The Ch. of England Clergy are exceedingly discontented at the p^r^sent libty of the dissenters, p^r^tending great fears of Popery, yea, are angry at them for add^r^ssing in way of thanks for it. Sundry Aldermen of this Citty are turned out. 'Tis expected sõe of the old stamp will be put in in their places, & that Sir Jn^o^ Shorter, who is a member of a dissenting Church, will bee made Ld Mayor by the King.†

* "An Enquiry into the Original, Nature, Institution, Power, Order, and Communion of Evangelical Churches." London, 1681.

† He was Lord Mayor in 1688.

LETTERS OF RICHARD MATHER.*

RICHARD MATHER TO ——— ———.

Beloved Broth[r], — I haue reed your lr̃e by broth[r] Wilton, but had not tyme to send you any answer by him; nor do I know well how to answere now bec. your lr̃e in some passages of it is so obscure that I am not able to apprehend your meaning; In your former lr̃e there were passages which I could not see how they did agree togeather, & so much I signified to you in my last, and yet you haue not cleared them in this your later wryting, but in this also do seeme to speake contraryes. I will instance in a p̃ticular or two, that if you think meet to write ag. you may set downe your apprehensions more pla[inly.] ffirst of all you say in one place that you nev[r] held that bapt: was the cov: † and yet in anoth[r] place you say the tyme wn a child becões a relatiue to the ch: [is] at the tyme w[n] his owne cov: is made, which is at vis: spir[ll] reg[r]ac̃on, which . . . bapt: & not bef: now if a childs cov: is made at his bapt: & not bef, . . . which you seeme to hold in the one place, doth it not follow that his bapt. . . . his cov: which in the other place you do deny? ffor my part, I understand not how these can . . . be reconciled. ‡ Agayne in one

* Richard Mather, the progenitor of the Mather family in New England, was born at Lowton, in the county of Lancaster, Eng., in 1596. At the age of fifteen years he was chosen master of a school in Toxteth Park, near Liverpool. Having afterwards studied at Oxford, he was settled, Nov. 18, 1618, as minister of the church at Toxteth Park. In 1633, he was suspended for non-conformity, but was soon after restored. The next year, being again suspended, he retired to private life. In 1635, he embarked for New England, and arrived at Boston, August 17 of that year. The church originally founded at Dorchester having been transplanted to Connecticut, another church was gathered there, August 23, 1636, by whose choice he became their teacher. He remained in this office till his death, April 22, 1669, in his seventy-third year, after a ministry of about fifty years.

He was distinguished for his sacred learning and piety, and was the author of several controversial and religious tracts.

† [Notes by R. Mather.] 1. That baptisme was the cov: a thing that I neu[r] held.

‡ 2. The tyme wn a child becões a relatiue to the Ch: is at same tyme w[n] owne cov: is made, which is at visible spir[ll] reg[r]acon, which is at baptisme & not before. Q: how can he reconciled?

place you say a deale against corrupt mens being in & g . . . the ch: how such can not but corrupt relig: maners, doctr: discipline, ordiñs, & all, so as . . . the ch: will become a den of theeues: & I suppose you meane all this will follow if child: be borne members of the ch: by the cov: of g. which their parts & the child^{n} themselves in them[?] and yet in the place afore alledged you seeme to yeeld them to be members, by the baptisme; which for ought I see doth as much endanger the Ch: to be corrupted as the other doth; and yet you grant the one & deny the oth. but if the ch: will be corrupted, if they be held to be membs at birth, by the rev. w^{g} & in the parents, & will not the ch: be as much corrupted if they be members by their . . . me? For ought I see this must needs follow, vnlesse your meaning be that none should be baptized w^{n} they are children, but the baptisme be deferred till they be growen vp and [ab]le to shew their reg̃racon by their owne profession & conv̄sacon; but this later I hope is not your meaning, & yet if it be the two former as it seemes to me can not stand togeathe^{r}. Wherefore I pray you [if] you des. any help frō me, set downe your opinion or the Question you would haue spoken vnto, in some short & playne expressions wthout gayne saying the same elsewhere, which yet you haue not done; There are oth^{r} passages also in this your last l̄re, which I am not able to apprehend your meaning in; as where you say, the Synod that set forth the book in print as against their mayne tenant, viz: about members children; now I know not what tenent about members children this should be; for as for the children of ch: members to be members of the ch: and so borne, this the Synod doth plainly acknowledge; p. 3, & p. 18. though not g^{e} fitt for the Lords Table. Ag. you say you know that Mr. Hooker were alive he would not allow of 2 passages that are in his book about baptisme; which speech of yours seemes to me to bee very confident & bold, and I know not the reason of it; nor whith^{r} you meane that those passages were thrust into his booke by others but never came frō himselfe, or whith^{r} you meane that he by conference or some other meanes if he were alive might be brought to see the vnsoundness of them now, though he once set them downe as his owne for sound & good; If you would haue me to say anything to these, you must plainly tell me what these 2 passages are, and where I may find them in his booke, and why

you are so confident that himself, if he were aliue would not allow of them, & how you cõe to know that he would not.

But though there be sundry things in your letter very obscure, yet there is one thing in it wherein I think I plainly vnderstand you; and that is, that . . . would haue no Ch. of Indians afore they be baptised: . . . for when you heard of such a thing intended you cried out . . . baptised? what rule of G. do this world walk by? Touching which point, though M^r Eliot is fittest of any I know in these parts to speak vnto it, because he hath had more occasion & reason to consider of it, yet I shall give you a briefe touch of something which you may consider of, whether it do not make for the inchurching of men afore their baptisme: ffirst of all I looke at baptisme and other church ordinances as priviledges given to the ch:, as circumcision and other ordinances were giuen to the ch: of the Jewes. Joh. 7. 22. Rom. 3. 2. now if bapt: be a priviledge & ordin: given to the ch: then the Ch: is presupposed, & must be before it; for the donees, or persons to whom a thing is giuen must needs be before the gift that is ginen to them. 2^dly, the nr̃e & use of baptisme is to be a token & seale of the cov: between G. & his ch. as circumcision also was, Gen. 17. 11. Rom. 4. 11. And if so then the cov: & the ch. with whom G. makes his his coveñt must needs be presupposed & be before baptisme; for els if baptisme be administred afore the cov: & afore there be a Ch: will it not follow that by this . . . the seale of G. is set vnto a blank or to a falsehood? 3^dly. If there may not be a ch: afore baptisme, then either baptisme must be obtayned & rec'd from such as are no ministers, or els it can never be had at all: The reason is because Apostles & such like extraordinary ministers are now ceased, & *g^o*. it cannot be had from them, and as for ordinary ministers, they are in order & tyme after the ch: seeing they are to be elected & chosen by the ch. & *g^o* if there can be no ch: afore baptisme, and yet there must be a ch. afore there be ministers, it must needs follow that this . . . baptisme afore there be a ch: must be afore there be ministers & consequently it must be rec'd from them that are no ministers, and if this be unlawfull & absurd that baptisme be dispensed by non-ministers, then it may be lawf: euen that there be no ch: afore baptisme. Consider what I say & the Lord give you under-

standing in all things. I commend you to God's grace & direccon through Jesus Chr̃, & rest yours in the Lord alwayes

R: MATHER.

DORCH. 2 of the 5th '55.

RICHARD MATHER TO —— ——.

REVEREND S^{R}, AND MUCH RESPECTED IN THE LORD, — I vnderstand by our honoured Governo^{r} that you haue had occasion of late to consider of that Q: Whether it bee of necessity that the Lord's supper should be administered in the church every Lord's day, & by him I haue bene desyred to signify in a line or two vnto yourselfe my apprehension in the thing, presuming it would not be vnacceptable if I should so do. Now though I do not doubt but that yourselfe are sufficiently able to resolve the Q: without need of any help that my weaknesse & tenuity can affoard, yet the moc̃on coming from one whom I do so highly hono^{r}, & because of the respect I owe & beare to yourselfe in the Lord I haue q^{o} adventured to sp: a word or two to the Question. And first of all I do acknowledge that there ought to be a frequent vse of that Ordinance, and that the word as oft as yee eate, etc., togeath^{r} with the remembrance of Christ, the shewing forth . . . his death, the confirmat: & increase of our faith and other ends and vses which . . . that ordinance . . . do evidently shew the cause? . . . nor would I on the same grounds condemn any church that shall observe it evry Sabbath. But if this degree of frequency be of necessity, so that if it be not so it will be sinne, this is more then yet I do apprehend, nor do I remember any word of G. or of the apostles, that doth so require; Indeed the disciples at Troas came togeather on the first day of the weeke to break bread, Act. 20. 7. & I would not deny but by breaking of bread is there meant the Lords supper, but it is not said that they came togeather evry first day of the weeke for this service, though at that tyme they did. The primitive Church at Jerusalem continued stedfastly in the Apostles' doctrine & fellowship & breaking of bread & prayers, Acts 2. 42., which may be true enough though they did not every Lords day ob-

serve the ordinance spoken of. And like wise they continued daily with one aecord in the Temple & breaking bread from house to house, Aets 2. 46. But 1. Is it by that eleare that breaking bread in this place is meant of the Lords Supper? Judicious Calvin thinks otherwise, *Quod hic fractionē panis*, saith he, *nonnulli interpretantur Sacram Cœnam alienum mihi videtur a mente Lucæ.* Calv: in Aet. 2. 46. 2. If it . . . meant of the Lord's Supper, yet the thing in Q: is not gayned thereby, unlesse we shall say the Lord's Supper must be administred, not onely every Sabbath, but also every day of the weeke; for it is evident that this breaking of bread from house to house was like the continuing with one aecord in the Temple, viz. every day, *Καθ' ἡμέραν* saith the text, So it is said Acts 5, last, that dayly in the Temple & from house to house they ceased not to teach & preaeh Jes: C^t Now will any man say that we are bound to sueh dayly preaching in public & in private houses? I suppose none will say so, & if not, then a necessity of administering the Supper every Lord's day is not prooved from Aet. 2, 46. though it were granted that the Apostles did so praetise, for the example if it proove the thing quæstioned, it prooves more, if that the supper must be observed every Sabbath, then, that it must be observed every day, which last, I suppose: none will urge from the Apostles' example, & yet their example, if it proove the one doth proove the other also. If it be said that Churehes now do not meet every day but only every Lord's day, and *g^o* every Lord's day they may eelebrate the supper, but then it is that many churches do meet on other dayes, besides the Lord's dayes, as Lecture dayes, if, *g^o* they must have the Supper on the Sabbath, beeause then they do meet, by like reas: they must have it on the Leeture dayes also, beeause then they do likewise meet, & meet for religious end, the preaehing and hearing the word. Yea, all ehurehes for ought I know do meet every Sabbath, both in the aforenoone & in the afternoone, & if the churches must have the supper every Sabbath because they meet togeather every sabbath, by the like reason they must observe it twiee every sabbath, because they meet twise. *A quatenus ad omnia valet consequentia.* But I eannot speake to the grounds alledged for this necessity, being not aequainted therewith. *Affirmanti incumbit probatio*, as you know: & yourselfe that know what is said for

the affirmative, may more easily speake thereto. It is more difficult, I conceive, in any Q: to proove the negative, though that be not impossible. I confesse some worthy divines speaking for a frequent vse of the supper do so speake as if they thought that in the pmitiue ch: & the Apostles tymes this ordin: had beene obsved *singulis Diebus Dominicis;* and that they did *nunquā convenire ad conciones, Quin simul Eucharistiam celebrarent.* Ames, Cas. Conse. l. 4, C. 28. Q. 1. Pareus in 2 Cor. 11, 26, and to the like purpose, writes Calvin, Instit. 4, 17, 44, 45, 46. And yet euen of these, the last menc̃oed, though he thinks that the Lord's Table should be set forth every L^s^ day; yet saieth he *nullus quidē necessitate cogendus, sed cohortandi c̄es & stimulandi, objurgandus etiā ignavorū torpor:* so that it seemes he would haue the table every L's day ꝑpared, but none to be constreyned to ꝑtake: & D^r^ Ames seemes to grant that *occasionis defectus,* or *justū aliquod impedimentū* or *in variis ecclesiis onerosa populi redundantia* may be just reason *varioris vsus,* for a lesse frequent vse of this s̃viee then every L's day. But sundry other judicious wryters do expressely say that in their judgm̃t no certeyne tyme for this ordin: is appointed by the Lord, of which sort I name P: Martin, Bullinger & Museulus, of whom the first hath these words, *de Tempore Cœnæ Dominicæ — præceptū de eo nō habetur,* and, *de tempore et aliis ejusmod: circūstantiis nō multū debemus esse solliciti, cum de iis nihil prorsus præcipiatur;* Loc: Com: Clas. 4. c. ii. Q. 14. And the sec. wrytes thus, *Quoties sumenda sit Eucharistia in anno, nihil revelata(?) definierunt Apostoli, sed ꝝqū reliquerunt in cujusq arbitrio:* Bulling: Decad. 5, Serm: 9; & the third sayth thus, *quoties celebranda sit cœna in anno, et quibus temporibus nec Domini nec Apostolorū præscriptum extat.* Muscul: Loc: Com: de Cœna. Q: Quando sit administranda Cœna. And in his judgm̃t it is not so much required how often, as how well, & how worthily men do rec. that ordinance. See also Zepper(?) de Polit: Eccles: L. 1, c. 14. Mead. Inst: Loc. 126. Alsted: Encyclop: p. 25. & de Cas: c. 8. reg. 3, memb. 12. It may seeme to be a ꝑt of the Liberty allowed by God in these tymes above what was in the Old Testam̃t that no præscript tyme is now appointed for bapt: & the Ld's supper, as then the[re] was for Circũcis: & the Passeov: of which the one was p^r^eisely tyed to

the 8th day after the child's birth, & the other to the 14th day of the first moneth of the yeare. But now we are not so limitted in resp: of baptisme, but may lawfully administer it, either sooner or later then the [8th] day as the[re] shall be occasion. And if the[re] be not the like libtie in resp: of the tyme of the L's supper, but a neeessity that it must be obsved every sabb: then let it be eonsidered whether in this point the[re] be not lesse libtie in resp: of the supper then in resp: of baptisme, & whether this be suteable to the state of the N: T., & whether we haue any more libty in resp: of the supper then the Jewes in resp: of their passeovr; or rather whether our libty in this be not mueh lesse than theirs, sith we by this aecount are not only tyed to a tyme as they were, but a tyme that eões about mueh oftener then they, theirs being but yearly, & ours weekely. It is true our Sabb: is weekely as theirs was, but the reason of that is beeause our sabb: is a morall duty, enjoyned by the 4th Com: whieh is morall, and in morall dutyes we are no more at libty then they, but for eeremoniall worp it is otherwise, & g^o as it is a pt of our libty, that we are tyed but to few eeremonies, only bapt: & the supper, whereas they were tyed to a far greater, so why may it not also be a pt of our libty that for our eeremonies I meane our ordinanees of divine worp, to wit, bapt: & the supper, we are not limited to any preseript tyme, as they were limitted for the ordinances then in vse, & if we be not tyed for these to any limitted tyme, then how ean it be that we are tyed to observe the supper every sabb: day? Thus, Revend Sr you haue a few thoughts of myne, sueh as they are, touchg this Q: I desyre you would weigh all in the ballanee of the Sanctuary, & if any thing be found too light, let me intreat you to eertify me thereof, for my better informaeon; for I would not be so wedded to any apprehens: of my owne, in sueh things as these, but that I may still liue & learne. I rem: him that said *senescens disco, discens senesco.* If any thinge in this seribblet be of any vse, let God alone haue all the glory, & me pt in your prayers, with thanks to our honoured Govnor, whose moeon it was that put me upon this vndertaking. I will trouble you no further, but eõending you & all your holy labours to the graee of God in X Jesus, take leave & rest

Your vy lov: brother, R: M.

11mi 9o 55.

RICHARD MATHER TO INCREASE MATHER.

To my dear Sonne Mr. Increase Mather, at Boston, be this del'd.

DEARE SON, — I desyre you would send to me, pr Rebecca, that lre from Nathaniel which speakes of Mr. Bellingeham our Governors Son, & also send my notes of Sermons on points of Catechisme. If you haue not done with them, you may haue them agayne the next weeke; & specially send me notice whether I may send you an horse to morrow morning, that you may here prea[ch] for Mr. Stoughton in the afternoone. Himself telled me the last evening that he was to be at Charlstowne, but he would endeavour to peure Mr. Thatcher to preach for you, that so you might preach here for him, a thing which I haue much need of, & the rather, because tomorrow is our sacrament day, & I knew nothing of his intended absence till yesterday at evening. So I rest

Your lov: father, R: MATHER.

5^{ti} 25^{o} 68.

See the Rev. Mr. Davenport's Letter of Charity in 1667. In M^{r} Hook's Letter of May 14, 1680. — PRINCE.

Bookes borrowed of John Johnson and William Parks,† of Rocksbury the 10th day of the 11th Mon. 1647. By me, Richard Mather:* ·|:.|

In Folio.

Musculus, Commentary on Matthew
——— on John
Chemnitius Examen Concil: Trident:
Cyprian's Works.
Marlorat on Esai.
Musculus on Corinthians
——— on Isaiah:
Seneca his Works
Rodgers on the Judges
Peter Martyr on Judges
Gualther on the Acts
Babington's Works
Harris Works

* John Johnson came probably in the fleet with Governor John Winthrop. Representative at the first General Court, 1634, and many years following. See Savage's Geneal. Dict.

† William Parks or Parke came in the Lion; arrived 1631; was Representative in 1635, and thirty-two various years afterwards. See Savage's Geneal. Dict.

In Quarto.

Elton on the Colossians
Preston, Faith and Loue
Goodwin, synopsis Antiquitat.
Prideaux Orations.
Vdall on the Lamentations.
Benefield on Amos. 1.
Bifield on the Creed.
Bilson's Perpetuall Goūnm^{t} etc.
Bunting Itinerarium
Preston Saints Qualification.
Malcolmus on the Acts.
Yates Arraignement of Hypocrites
Randall on Romans 8th 38 &c.
Taylor, Parable of the Sower.
Preston, 4 Treatises
Negus, Man's actiue obedience
Ayry on the Philippians
Elton on Romans 7th
Slater on 1. Thessalonians.
Parre on Romans 13th. 14th. 15th. 16th.
Smyth on Hosea 6th.
Whateley, Carecloath.
Bradshaw on 2 Thessalonians.
Dent on the Revelation.
Assertion of Goūm^{t} of ch: of Scotland.
J: D: Exposition of Lord's Prayer
Greenhill on 5 Chapters of Ezekiel.
Taylor upon Titus.
Luther on Galathians.
Stevartius Leodius in 2 Corinthians.
Neh: Rodgers on 2 Parables.
Elton on Romans 8th
Yates, Modell of Divinity
Downam on Hosea 1, 2, 3.
Beard, Theater of God's Judgements
Parre on Romanes 8th. 9, 10, 11, & 12th.
Preston Remaynes.
———, New Covenant. God's Allsuffic, Man's Vpri[ghtness]
Downam, Christian Warfare.
——— Second p^{t} of Warfare.
——— Third p^{t} of Warfare.
——— last p^{t} of Warfare.

In all 90 bookes.

In Octavo.

Ferus, Exegesis on Romanes
——— on Job
Rollock, de Vocatione Efficaci.
Topsell on Ruth
Hofmeister on Mark & Luke
Bythner Manipulus Messis Magnæ.
Alsted Lexicon Theologicum.
Crooke Guide to True Blessednesse.
Sibbs Soules Conflict
Rich: Preston of Sacram^{t} of Lords supper.
Winckelman on Small prophets.
Gerard Conquest of Temptations.
Dietericus Analysis Logica Evangeliorum, etc.
Tossanus Pastor Evangelicus
Ferus Enarrationes in Genesin
Bucan Institutions.
Orsinus, Explicat: Catecheticæ
Symonds Desertions.
Ferus on Johu: & 1 Epist:
——— Opuscula:
Ward, Sermons & Treatises.
Theodoricus Analys: logica in Evangel: ps Hyemalis.
Bastingius Catechism:
Fox Eicasmi on Revelat:

In 16^{o}

Jo: Rodgers, Doctrine of Faith
Bayne Helpe to Happinesse.
Ames, Reseriptio adversus Grevincoviū.
Practise of Christianity
Rollock in 1 Thessalonians.
Lewis, Right vse of Promises
Moulin of Loue of God
Sedgwick, Bearing & burden of the Spirit
Prick, Doctrine of Superiority & Subjection.
Salomons Sermon, Ecclesiastes.
Culverwell of Faith.

pr. me RICHARD MATHER.

LETTERS OF JOHN RUSSELL.*

JOHN RUSSELL AND OTHERS TO SARAH MATHER.

To his worthily esteemed freinde Mr Mather, senr at her house at Dorchester.

Hadley, Aug. 13th 1662.

Worthy and much esteemed freinde, — Your Reverend Son, Mr Increase Mather, being among us at the Springe, we, after some converse with him and some tast of his labours; made an enquiry to him whether he might not be more to us than a wayfaring man, viz: one that might come and dwell with us, and settle in the worke of the Lord here. To which we soone after received such answer as caused us wholly to surcease the pursuite of any such motion, so that we looked at it as a thinge wholly issued, insomuch that those of us that were since in the Bay, spake not any thinge thereof to yourselfe or Mr Mather, accounting the scale wholly waighed down to Boston; & your sonn there setled. But having bin since informed that it is not so altogether, and perhaps much otherwise, we haue thereupon renewed our motion unto your Reverend sonn, and do likewise enquire whether it may be, and request that it may be with your good liking. We would not that our helpe should be his hindrance, or our joy his sorrow, it being cross to the rules of true freindship and to our desires to wish for any thinge that may not be for mutuall comfort.

We are a poor and afflicted people in a remote corner of the wildernesse, yet if the Lord will dwell with us it will bee all things; and in this day wherein God is not onely arising but already risen to shake terribly the earth; the meanest corner may

* Rev. John Russell [H. C. 1645] was born in England about 1626. He was first settled at Wethersfield, Conn., but removed to Hadley, Mass., in 1659, carrying with him the larger part of his church. "At his house in Hadley the regicides, Whalley and Goff, were long concealed. They died there, some years apart." See note to letters and papers relating to the Regicides.

in some respects to some persons be preferred, and to be preferred above the greatest high places: but desires are earnest and universall to it, if the Lord will in mercy vouchsafe it to us. If it please the Lord to incline your hart and his to it, we hope the Lord will give us harts to testify and expresse that honor towards him which is becoming the Gospell. That the Town hath hitherto said in the case is, that if the Lord send him to us, they will do for him, as they haue done for him that the Lord hath already placed among us. Not else at present but desiring the presence of the Lord with, and his blessing upon you and yours, we rest

Your Freinds in Cht.

JOHN RUSSELL
WILL. GOODWIN
ANDREW BACON.
PET. TILTON:
SAMUELL SMITH
THOMAS MEEKINNS
WILLIAM ALLIS.

JOHN RUSSELL TO INCREASE MATHER.

These ffor the Revrend Mr Increase Mather Teacher of a Church of Clt in Boston.

HADLEY, Apl: 18, 1677.

REVREND AND DEAR SR, — Its long since I haue heard from you and too long since I haue written to you, having been this winter much tak'n up among sicke ones, whom the Lord hath multiplyed among us, of whom sundry haue beene long languishing, and divers taken away; the Lord hereby speaking aloud to us that enemies had not done enough against us, nor we by that they had done gained the good we should, not answered the Lord's expectation, which had we done, he would not haue added to proceede against in so sore and severe a manner as he hath done. We haue lost considerably more by sicknesse than by the warr. Oh that we could truely say that either or both of them had purged out the dross & prepared the remnant to serve

the Lord in a more humble, holy and watchfull walke of obedience, or at least to mourn and be in bitternesse for the want of it; but I feare the generall failure in both. I waite and long to hear that its' better otherwhere, that the Lord is powring out a spirit of conviction & conversion, or at least a spirit of tendernesse, deepe sence of a reall trembling at the Lords mighty hand, lift up against us, & mourning for our sins, at least for our sorrows & suffrings, that we might not shew ourselves sottish in regard of both: My poor family hath thro the Lord's goodnesse escaped the contagion and frequently deadly disease among us; the same I thinke that hath beene some yeers at Maldon, & as I judge brought hither by some souldiers of that town, who were first taken ill here, and then it went furthest in these & the neighb^ring families; having beene almost wholly in one end of our Town; the other end almost quite free. The disease thro mercy abated so that I know not of any sicke now, in the town. I had a very sickly winter my selfe, being weakly and full of sore paine tho spared as to the com̄on disease. My wife also grown very crazy, & fallen into a languishing state, so that I fear her recovery. Lett us not faile of your prayers that all may work together for good at last. My son hath beene at home this winter; and beene a comfort to us. I trust the Lord hath drawn and engaged his hart to himself. He was joyned to the Ch here in full Com̄union with gen^rall (I think universall) good acceptance.

This is all the good news that I haue to write. If you haue opportunity to cherish or blow up his spark I pray use it. We haue had a day of respite, a quiet winter, but what haue we done or what are we the better? We haue heard of your or rather the com̄on flames (for com̄on sins) of N: E. We haue heard of the Eastern war, and the driving out of soe many poor persons, familyes, [and] plantations, but hath that which our ears haue heard been, (or is it like to be) more availeable then that which our eyes haue formerly seene? Truely there appears little hope, but only in the right hand and arm of the Lord. We now hear the voice from heaven, threatning, plucking up, rooting out, bereavem^t of all our pleasant things; But tho Israel see from Egypt to Canaan; yet unlesse the Lord give them eyes to see, and ears to hear, they will still be the same after that they were before all the signs & wonders.

Me thinks the tydings we hear should make all that bear good will to Zion to sitt as Eli trembling for the arke of God and watching what we shall hear next. Oh that it might make all N: E: examine what they hold and haue, and how they hold and value it, being so likely to be putt to it shortly to see what they will do and suffer for their profession and enjoym^{ts}. Assuredly it will be an hono^{r} & eomfort to them that haue beene tryed, and they and the tryall of their faith found unto praise & hono^{r} & glory, but what cause to fear that many will not abide the tryall and day of his coming. The Lord who hath s^{d} when he comes, shall he finde faith on the earth; give us faith & make his prayer for the not failing thereof effectuall. And teach us to use our day that is given us to meet the Lord in. We haue no Indians appearing among us at all; but within this month some tracts have beene seene of small eompanies, it may be five or six in a company, severall times, moving Westward; as if their design were toward Albany or the Maquaes.

On the 26th instant, early in the morning, Major Pynchon,* M^{r} James Richards † of Hartford & some others with them, being about 20 horse in all, sett forth from Westfeild toward Albany; to treate the Maquaes, encouraged thereto by a message which one of Uncas his Indians sent from Uncas to them brought (as he s^{d}) from the Maquaes, giving large assuranee of their stedfast freindship to the English. The good Lord go along with ours, prosper, & return them with a blessing. I finde nothinge considerable mistaken in your history; nor do I know whether you proceed in your intended 2^{d} Edition. That which I most fear in the matter. is least M^{r} B: or some of Connectieute should elash with ours & contradict each other in the story as to matter of fact. Should that appear in print which I haue often heard in words, I verily fear the event would be exeeeding sad. The good Lord be with you according to all changes & tryalls, make up your partieular great losse (as well as your share in the generall) in the awfull

* John Pynchon, born in England in 1625, came over in the fleet with John Winthrop. He was Representative in 1659 and subsequently, and an Assistant from 1665 to 1686; also a member of the Council of Andros, and major of the Hampshire militia. He was eminent alike in civil and military service.

† James Richards was an Assistant in 1665 and afterwards, and a Commissioner of the United Colonies of New England in 1672 and 1675. He was held in the highest esteem, and left a large estate.

Conflagration; and prepare us all for the further tryalls we haue to meete with. In [which] I am with cordiall remembrances; and earnest request of your continued fervent pray^rs for me and mine,

Your Assured ffreinde & Serv^t in Cht,

JNO. RUSSELL.

JOHN RUSSELL TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Rev^rend M^r. Increase Mather Teacher of a Ch: of Ch^t in Boston.

REV^REND & DEAR SIR, — Its now a new year, besides the great part of the old one past since we have had any opportunity of sending forth, or receiving any account of providences. What changes the Lord hath wrought in this space abroad we know not. At home we haue cause to lament our bereavings. Our old desciple, & faithful freinde to the interest of religion, Leiftenant Smith went joyfully to his rest January 8th.* The Lord hath been aloud alarming all of us by the awfull stretching out of His sword over us in the late Comett, the most tremendous appearance that ever my eyes saw, which was visible to us *vespertine* Dec: 12^th^ (tho some here saw it *matutine* in Novem̃, & forward till Februarẏ). Other portentous warnings the Lord is giving us. I thinke I am credibly & abundantly informed, that on the last Tuesday in ffebruary, about two hours before sunsett, was heard at Milford, New-Haven, Branford, Middletown (& I thinke at Guilford, & more toward Say Brooke) the report of a gun in the aire, & soone after the noise of a volley of shott; then the beat of a drum; which was followed with another volley. The motions of the Indians are such as minister cause of suspition;

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* Samuel Smith came from Ipswich, England, in the Elizabeth, in 1634. Not long after his arrival he went to Connecticut, and was a Representative there during nearly every session from 1641 to 1653. He subsequently removed to Hadley, where he was highly esteemed, and honored with various public offices. He was often chosen a Representative from 1661 to 1673, and was lieutenant in the militia from 1663 to 1678. See Savage's Geneal. Dict.

Mr. Savage says that he died in "December, 1680, *or*" (as it appears he rightly conjectured) "the next month."

not only for that Uncas is said to have received a present from the Maquaes; but also from sundry hints dropping from Indians about Hartford, & from the certain observation that from each Plantacõn of Indians in those parts, & so along Connecticute Colony Westward: there be two Indians gone forth in the beginning of the winter, upon some designe. The pretence is, the finding out a Town or City said to be upon the West sea, inhabited by white men, &c. But gone they are, & with a signification that their return is not to be expected till the latter end of summer. What is in the bottome of it we know not, tho some are apt to fear. Our good Brother Stoddard * hath bin strenuously promoting his position concerning that right which persons sound in the doctrine of faith, & of (as he calls it) a holy Conversation, haue to full Coñunion. It now stands them in hand, who were of the Synod in 62, to looke to the maintaining of that defence which they ꝑpared in their 4th Proposition † for the securing of the chs: from pollutions by unꝑpared ones incroching upon full Communion in the Lord's Supper & voting. I take the great care of that matter (if any thinge be doable in it, which I utterly despaire of) to be upon your selfe. But if any thinge be lett us see it. When the objection was that the owning such for members would corrupt the Chs: the answer then was it was [not] that bredth in admitting to membership that would corrupt, but such a breadth in admitting to full Coñunion; but now the say is the admitting to full Coñunion will not pollute the ch: provided discipline be maintained, tis that that must maintain the ch: in its purity. But

* Rev. Solomon Stoddard, of Northampton, [H. C. 1662], son of Anthony Stoddard, a linen draper of Boston, was born in September, 1643, ordained at Northampton, Sept. 11, 1672, and died Feb. 11, 1729, aged eighty-five years. He was one of the most celebrated divines of his period in New England, and published many sermons and religious tracts. There is in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society a small volume published by him in 1709, entitled "An Appeal to the Learned; being a Vindication of the Right of Visible Saints to the Lord's Supper."

† The Synod of 1662, summoned by order of the General Court, first met in Boston, March 10th, and the next day adjourned to June 10. After a session of several weeks, they again adjourned to the 9th of September, when they reassembled to the number of above seventy elders and messengers. The answer to the first question which came before them, namely, "Who are the subjects of Baptism," was given in seven propositions. The fourth proposition, referred to by Mr. Russell, is in these words: "These adult persons" (namely the adult children of visible believers, who were regarded as members of the same church with their parents) "are not therefore to be admitted into full communion merely because they are and continue members, without such further qualifications as the Word of God requireth thereunto."

alas! upon the admission of these to full Cõmunion what discipline shall we haue or can we expect. Surely none thats like to preserve the ch: or help them that would keep it pure.

I do every day sorrowfully increase in satisfaction, that the doctrine of those propositions in the Synod 62 doth tend in the end of the worke (how good soever the end of the workers was) to shake & undermine the fundamentall doctrine & practise of the Congregationall way, viz. that visible Saints are only matter of a ch: of Cht; which if it prove not to us (except some thorow means of healing be applyed) *immedicabile vulnus*, I am utterly mistaken. When thats said its but a little mätter. But the day will make manefest. The Lord in mercy bring light out of our darknesse & cause all things to worke for good to his poor people.

We hear nothing of what was done in our winter Generall Court, but only a report that Mr Stoughton & Mr Nowell were chosen to go messengers for the Country.* Whether it be so or noe; or they be gone or like to goe we hear not. Lett me request a few lines from you. I have not to adde, but dearest love & respects, my own & wive's to yourselfe & Mrs. Mather, & therewith eoñending you to the Lord remain in Him

Your unworthy Brother & Servt.

Jn° Russell.

Hadley, March 28, 1681.

JOHN RUSSELL TO INCREASE MATHER.

These ffor the Revrend Mr Increase Mather Teacher of a Ch of Cht in Boston.

Hadley, Ffeb: 20th 1681.

Revrend & Dear Sir, — After our Winter's inclosure, the Lord having again opened our passage & given us liberty to send abroad, I was desirous to salute you in these few lines; that thereby also you might know our state, & what the goodnesse of

* William Stoughton and Samuel Nowell were chosen by the General Court as its agents to England, January 12, 1681. Stoughton excused himself, and John Richards was elected in his stead.

the Lord hath beene towards us. We have had a milde winter, very dry till the end of December, on the last of which the snow fell & winter sett in. Since which we had frequent & much snow & rain. January 15 & 16 at night was seene the streame as of a Comet thro the mids of the moon; extending east & west about as far as the moon moves in an hour. My Brother Stoddard saw another stream erosse that, & I hear that Mr Glover saith that in the morning he saw it extending thro the whole hemisphere. Whence it is, or what it may portend I know not. We have had a peaceable time for a season; tho some Indians (I beleeve our enemy Indians, tho they call themselves Albany Indians) are up & down in our woods, & some of them have come into our Town. We understand that a considerable company, viz. about 40 of them together, and 30 mo not far from them, are about a place called Totapoag, midway between us & Lancaster. The Bevers have drawn some of our men thither, who say they are a gathering of Western Indians, Narragansetts, Naticks, Connegticuts & Maquaes; whether on any design more than hunting I know not. We hear nothing of our public concerns at home or abroad; only that Randolph is returned.* We had a sickly time in the begining of winter, when we buried two of our bretheren. If your leisure will serve please to favor me with a letter or two by this bearer, Samll Porter† of Hadley. Lett my loue be remembred to my cousin Wa . . . lett him know his mother was delivered three days agoe‡ . . . what his name is mo[re] then Potsherd I have not yet heard. I have not to adde but dearest respects to yourselfe & Mrs. Mather & all freinds with you.

I am Your Brother & Servt

Jno. Russell.

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* Randolph arrived in Boston, Dec. 17, 1681, and sailed again for England March 15, following.

† Probably son of the first Samuel, of Hadley, at one time representative, and also judge and sheriff of the county; an extensive trader with England, and a man of great wealth. See Judd's Hist. of Hadley.

‡ Esther, widow of Rev. Eleazer Mather, and daughter of Rev. John Warham, married, in 1670, Rev. Solomon Stoddard. Their tenth child, John [H. C. 1701], was born Feb. 17, 1681–2.

JOHN RUSSELL TO INCREASE MATHER.

These ffor the Rev^end Mr. Increase Mather, at his house in Boston.

Hadley, Aug: 2^d 1683.

Reverend & dear Sir, — I haue not been unmindfull of what you wrote to me in your last, tho my long delay might minister occasion of imputing neglect to me, in not returning a more speedy answer. But the reason of it was for that (altho I accounted my information that I had formerly concerning the solemn providence to be good;) I knew by writing to Hartford, I might receive such account of the matter as would be more distinct & every way satisfactory. I therefore wrote to a freinde there, & received not his answer till the evening before Mr. Chaun[c]y came down; & he going early in the morning, I had not time to write then, nor have since had opportunity till now. The account I have now received is as followeth. There liveth at Hartford an aged man called Nicholas Disborow, whose wive's daughter being married to one Jn^o Androsse, has born to the said Andross one daughter, & deceased, or at least, left one daughter. Whether she had more children, I know not. Some time after the mother's decease, Androsse sends his daughter to live with Disborough, & her grandmother his wife. The childe hauing lived with them some yeers, is drowned in a pond neer the house, being about 7 or eight yeers old. To this childe had Androsse given her mother's cloths, & sent them in a chest to Disborough. The childe dead, the father demands the clothes. Disborough pleads a right to them, having kept the childe three or four yeer. Thus matters continued, from about the begining of June, till the end of August, or begining of September, when Disborough, who had formerly said he would consider & take advice about the matter, resolves he will keep the cloths till fetched out of his hands. Within two or three days after this resolve declared to Androsse, the said Disborough began to be visited with a strange providence, stones & dirt being thrown at him, at first, small peices. A son of the said Disborough's being with him, his father examines him about it; he saith himselfe had mett with the like. He thought

it was Mr. Lord's * Indian, for he saw him & spake with him that day in the Lott. The man went to Mr. Lord, & was satisfyed that his Indian was in a place far distant that day. This providence becomes amazing; things being thrown at him & his boy, night and day, in house and feilde; sometimes in open places, where one might see a quarter of a mile about, & no appearance of hand or person to throw them. The things were stones, dirt, Briekbatts, eobs of Indian Corn. When in the house, & doors shutt they would come down the ehimney, & fall upon them, & upon others that were in the house. Sometime they would eome in at the door, sometime at the window, not hurting any body, tho they fell on their hatts and eloths, tho most commonly they fell on him & his son; whieh was his wives son. One thinge was very remarkable. A peiee of elay of the bignesse of a mans two thumbs came down the ehimney, fell on the table which stood out of the chimney. They threw it on the hearth, where it lay a considerable time; they went to supper, & while at supper that peice of clay lift up it selfe & fell on the table. They tooke it up, found it hott, havin layn so long on the hearth as to make it hott. This asserted by the man, his wife, & wive's son. One stone that hitt him on the arm putt him to some little pain. Another on his leg drew a little blood, whieh appeared thro his stoeking. Thus it continued till November, about whieh time the said Disboroughs barn was burnt; no man knew how, but very strangely; & eonsiderably to his losse. After this burning, from Tuesday to Thursday, nothing thrown; & then went on as formerly till December, when upon more discourse of the elothes, the matter was referred to Major Talcott & Capt. Allyn,† who, upon hearing the case determined the eloth[es] be returnd to Androsse, which done, the next day two or three small stones or peices of d[irt] fell upon the hatt of the said Disborough, sinee which time he hath not been troubled in like manner. Some of

* Richard Lord, of Hartford, was a representative in 1669, and often after. He was lost at sea in 1685. See Savage's Geneal. Dict.

† John Allyn, of Hartford, born in England in 1651. He was a long time Secretary of the Colony; was an Assistant in 1662, and several years after; and in 1687, was one of the Council under Andros. He held various military offices, was a man of ability, distinction, and large estate. Dr. Palfrey calls him "the leading spirit in the Colony," and says: "The gentle genius of Winthrop bent before the coarser and more resolute spirit of John Allyn."

the stones & briekbatts aboue a pound waight that fell down by them, yet they received no considerable hurt. It was a strange & awfull Providence in the rounds of it, & more than naturall, which occasioned great thoughts of hart: whether the child's death were merely casuall, or, &c. But how, or what the cause of these motions was, the Lord only knows.

This is the account I received from Capt. Allyn, a neer neighbour to Disborough, a diligent & wise observer of the providence, & one that by hearing the Case as an Arbitrator, was acquainted with the thinge in its full compasse; as to what openly appeared, matter of mr instrn̄con it contains, to lett us see what our preserving, unseen mereyes are. Oh what troops of sorrows would be rushing in upon us, if not secured by the hedge of divine power & goodnesse, & surrounded with the shield of his favor. Its now a very sickely time at Hartford, & the neighboring Towns. Sundry dead of late; Major Talcotts * eldest son buryed this week. The late excessive rains have raised, & long continued a flood, here & upon most of the Towns upon Connecticute, to the great losse of hay & some corne, & damnifying of most of the corn. The Lord humble & teach by all to know his will, & yeild obedience. To his graee I com̄end you, & with deerest respects, my own & wives, to yourself & Mrs. Mather: remain

Your obliged ffreinde & servt

Jno: Russell.

* Major John Talcott, of Hartford, born in England, and brought to New England by his father in 1632, in the Lion, was a man of great influence, and held various offices, civil and military; was treasurer of the Colony, and an Assistant; also a commissioner at the Congress of the New England Colonies in 1669, '70, '71, '73, & '76. He was of much service in Philip's war, and sometimes had command of all the Colonial forces. He died July 23, 1688. His son John, whose decease is noticed by Russell, died July 30, 1683. See Savage's Geneal. Dict.

LETTERS OF INCREASE MATHER.*

INCREASE MATHER TO JOHN MAYO.†

These for the Rev^d Mr. Mayo, at his house.

Revd Sir, — I perceive some of the brethren are desirous of my presence at the intended church-meeting; yea & that some suspect that the Journey which I purpose (if [the] L^d will) is to avoid it, which is a great mistake, for this Journey I purposed before I either knew or thought of this meeting. But being in some measure sensible of Satan's devices, I am willing to sute those Jealousies. If g^{o} you can think of any way to give notice to all the brethren (else those that have not notice will think thems. wronged) & think convenient to meet at my house on the 5th day about $9^{h.}$ afore I begin my Journey, I shall readily attend, with the best helpfulness I am able to affoard. But if you think

* Rev. Increase Mather [H. C. 1656], son of Rev. Richard Mather, was born June 21, 1639. At the age of eighteen years, he went to Dublin, Ireland, to join his brother, Rev. Samuel Mather; and, having studied there till 1658, received his degree of A.M. from Trinity College in that year. After preaching in several places in England, he returned to his own country in 1661. He was ordained Teacher of the Second Church in Boston, May 27, 1664, and discharged this office till his death, August 23, 1723. He was offered the presidency of Harvard College in 1681, but refused the office, because his Church would not consent to part with him. In 1685, at the solicitation of the Overseers, he accepted the office, and remained at the head of the College for sixteen years. In April, 1688, towards the close of the oppressive administration of Andros, he went to England, to bear the addresses of the churches to King James II., and solicit the royal clemency and protection. He embarked in disguise in the ship "President," April 7th. Through his arduous and well-directed efforts, he obtained a new charter — that of William and Mary — with which he returned to New England, May 14th, 1692. His character, and the principal circumstances of his life, have been too often the subject of remark, to render any more extended notice of him necessary.

† Rev. John Mayo came from England (Mr. Savage thinks, probably, in 1638). He was first ordained as colleague with Rev. John Lothrop, at Barnstable, April 15th, 1640. From thence he removed to Eastham in 1646, and afterwards to Boston, where he was installed pastor of the Second Church, November 9, 1655. In 1673 he was dismissed, on account of his advanced age, and returned to Barnstable, where, and in the neighboring towns, he preached occasionally, and died at Yarmouth in May, 1676.

it more convenient, that the meeting as appoynted should stand, I shall onely desire you, S^r^, to excuse my absence bec. of the necessity of my going to the waters without delay, having delayed the time too long already; which I wish I may not repent of all the winter, if my life be continued to me. Thus with respects to Mrs. Mayo, I rest

Yours in the Lord vnfaignedly I. M.

8. Aug^t^ 1670.

INCREASE MATHER TO ——— ———.

S^r^, — I rec^d^ your l̃re, and in confidence of your p̃forming your p̃mise in remitting my Mss. to me agāī with c̃venient speed, I herewith send an answer to your script which you delivered to me. The printed page I doe not meddle with for the p̃sent, though hereafter it may be I may, because it came not into the light here till such time as I had finished what I have done in way of Answ^r^ to your Mss. which indeed is much worse than your print, that being onely touched vpon there, which is your grand design in the writing I have endeavored to confute. As for your erro^rs^ respecting discipline, saĉrts, theyr Cov^t^ &c. I can bear with them, yea & these Arminian Heterodoxia respecting Christ's dying for these Rep̃bates doth not so much trouble me. But your denying the meritorious obedience of Christ is such desperate Heresy as no man that liveth with Jesus Christ or the Christian Religion in sincerity, can without some sense of zeal for C^t^ & his Holy Truth bear with. Nevertheless I desire still to respect you, & earnestly to beseech Christ to let you see your error. And if the payns I have taken be any way successfull for that end I shall rejoyce. However I trust that my desire & indeavo^r^ for your souls good, will find acceptance with him, vnto whom I have looked for gracious Assistance in mayntaining the Truth of that Gospell which Hee hath called me to defend. So beseeching the Lord to be with you, I rest

Your affectionate freind I. Mather.

Boston, 3^d^ of 11^th^ 167$.

INCREASE MATHER TO JONATHAN TUCKNEY.*

Dear Cousin, — I wrote to you a few dayes since, & then I desired you would send the first opportunity, both what was due to my mother both for rentes,(?) as also what is since become due to my cousin Tim. This cometh to you onely to entreat that you would affoard any helpfullness you may to the bearer hereof, Mr. W. Hubbard. Hee is a worthy ꝑson, and hath approved himselfe a faithfull minister of the Gospell for many years at Ipswich in this Countrey. Some matters of consequence about his temporal estate there necessitated him to engage in this voyage for E.† Possibly, some advice frõ yourselfe may stand him in some steade. And I shall willingly account any kindness done to him as if it were done to myselfe, & shall, I hope, be ready to serve you or any of yours, wherein I may, as you shall desire. So comending you to the grace of God in Christ Jesus, I rest,

Your loving Cousin .

Dec'br 28, 1677.

My aged Cousin Whiting ‡ is yet alive in Lyn. She is dead, & he by reas. of age can not continue long.

RESULT OF A COUNCIL AT CHARLESTOWN, 1678. §

Wee the Messengers of the churches, being orderly called and assembled as a Council of churches upon the request of the Brethren

* Jonathan Tuckney was son of Rev. Dr. Anthony Tuckney, assistant to Rev. John Cotton, in Boston, England; and, after the removal of Cotton to New England, Vicar of Boston. A further notice of Jonathan Tuckney may be seen in connection with his letters in this volume.

† Rev. William Hubbard, the historian, had inherited from his father an estate in Tendring Hundred, in Essex, England.

‡ Rev. Samuel Whiting. His wife died March 3, 1677. His death took place December 11, 1679, at the age of 82 years. See a more extended notice of him in connection with his letter in this volume.

§ This paper, in the handwriting of Increase Mather, relates to a division in the church at Charlestown, which occurred after the death of Rev. Thomas Shepard, December 22, 1677, in relation to the choice of his successor. See Budington's "History of the First Church in Charlestown," p. 79 *et seq.;* and also Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. i., series iii.

in Charlestown, after solemn addresses to the Lord, the Great Counsellor, that He would be pleased by His Holy Spirit to direct us unto a right answer on the case, propounded to our consideration. Having heard and weighed what hath been alledged both by those deputed to speake, on the behalfe of the gathering (?) of the brethren & by those few that have not seen cause to concurr in the last votes which have passed in that church respecting the choice of Teaching officers to be over them in the Lord. Upon the whole subject wee judge & declare as followeth, —

1 : Wee doe not see cause to charge the Major part of the Brethren in the church of Charlestown with sinfulness or as going out of God's way in their late votes for election of officers, since the persons their eyes & hearts are upon, wee hope are both of them such as will prove blessings to the place & people that shall enjoy them. Nor doe we see but that the Brethren, when light or peace is wanting, are willing to seeke for the help of counsel from neighbor churches, as in such cases both the Scripture & the principles of the congregational way (by us professed) Teach that it ought to be.

2. As for the beloved brethren that have hitherto in part dissented from what the majority hath concluded, wee entreat & advise them in the Lord, if they cannot be active, yet to be passive, & not to make any disturbance with the churches proceedings, in calling the persons whom their desires are upon, unless greater reason for their opposition should appear than as yet hath bin mentioned unto us. And wee doubt not but those Brethren have that respect for us and esteem of Councils, as that they will readily be prevailed with to hearken unto this advice thereby considering such Scripture as 2 Sam. 20, 18, Phil. 2. 3, 4, 14.

3. As there hath long bin a motion towards . . . on the account of that love, peace, unity which flourished there under the conduct of their late blessed Teacher, so we exhort, that they would abound more & more therein. That they would be very careful to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, so that q^{e} ex . . have fallen fr . . . wherby offence . . . given or taken . . . forgiven & forgot . . . of one mind . . . & the God of lo[ve &] peace shall be with you.

INCREASE MATHER TO JOHN WHITING.*

Boston 1 mo. 10 day, 167$\frac{8}{9}$

Reverend & Dear Sir,—I receiued your lre (with Capt Allyn's† name also subscribed) wherein you desire information concerning Mr Isaac Foster.‡ I beleeve hee is truly godly. I know that hee is of good parts, both natl & acquired; & indeed more ꝑsed in preaching than most that I have known of his standing. As for his judgt respecting church order I have not heard him fully declare himselfe. When he joyned to the church in Charlestown he . . . that he was not satisfyed in that practice of imposing . . . respecting the work of grace, upon such as they admitted into full cõunion; when some here regarded him to be a Presbyterian. This day, hee was with me in my study. I desired him to tell me playnly what his notions were as to matters referring to church govt. His answer was, that he believed he knew the reason of my proposal, for . . . had acquainted him with what yourse[lf had] written to Mr. Oakes & me, & upon that account hee was not so free to express himselfe; onely sd that he had never upon any occasion declared against the way Congregational. To be sure he is as large respecting the subject of Baptisme as the Synod in 62. You cannot expect that Mr O. & myselfe (being members of the Corporation) shld be forward in removing any of the Fellows from the Colledge, that are desirable; of which nũbr Mr. Foster is one. And I question whether his friends will be willing that hee shd goe so far as Windsor is from these ꝑts. Yet if you see cause to promote an invitation that way, I shall not discourage you. The Grace of the Ld Jesus be with your Spirit.

I am yours vnfeignedly I. M.

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* Rev. John Whiting [H. C. 1653]. See note to his letters in this volume.

† John Allyn, of Windsor, and also of Hartford. See note on p. 87.

‡ Rev. Isaac Foster [H. C. 1671] was son of William Foster, merchant, of Charlestown. He was Fellow of Harvard College, minister of Hartford in 1680, and died August 20, 1682. See the letter referred to in this volume.

INCREASE MATHER TO MICHAEL WIGGLESWORTH.*

These for the Revd my respected friend Mr. W. Pastor of the Church in M.

Revd Sr, — Since I saw you the last in B. one that doth vnfeignedly desire your welfare hath bin with mee, expressing grief of hrt with reference vnto a matr wherein yourselfe is concerned. I owe you that respect (& much more) as to informe you what I have bin told. The Report is, that you are designing to marry with your servant mayd, & that she is one of obscure parentage, & not 20 years old, & of no Chch, nor so much as Baptised. If it be as is related, I wld hûbly entreat you (before it be too late) to considr of these argts in oppositiõ. 1. For you to doe this, which will be a grief of hrt to your dear Relacõs, if it be not a matr which God doth command to be done, (for no man will deny but one ought rather to grieve his friends, than to pvoke the Lord) is not advisable. Now I hear that they are much troubled at your intended pceedings, & I suppose there is no divine precept requiring your marrying with such an one. Is it not then better to desist? 2. I doubt that considering her youth, & your age, & great bodily infirmities, such a change of your condiçon if that which is intimated by the Holy Apłe, 1 Cor. 7, 3, sd be attended, your days would be shortned, & consequently the 5th Coñdm̃t broken. 3. Such general Rules as those, Phil. 4, 8, doe concern as all chns, so most eminently Ministers of Ch. And doubtless it will *male audire* for you to doe this thing, yea, I fear it will leave a blott vpõ your Name aftr you shall cease to be in this world. 4. The ministry will be blamed, which wee should be very carefull to pvent. 2 Cor. 6, 3. The mouths of carnal ones will be opened, not onely to censure you, but your brethren in the ministry will be condemned also. The world will say, theres such an one, Hee was as justified a man as any of them, & yet wee see vnto what his affections have carried him. 5. I am

* Rev. Michael Wigglesworth, of Malden [H. C. 1651], and also a Fellow of the College. He was married for the second time at about the period of the date of this letter. Mr. Savage says that his second wife was "probably Martha, daughter of Thomas Mudge, of Malden." By her he had six children. She died in 1690, at the age of twenty-eight years, and he, in 1705, at the age of seventy-four.

afraid that if you s^d ꝑceed, that Rule, 2 Cor. 6. 14. will be transgressed. It vseth to be said *nube pari*, but to marry with one so much your Inferio^r on all accounts, is not *nubere pari*. And to take one that was never baptised into such neerness of Relac̃on, seemeth contrary to the Gospell; esplly for a Minist^r of Ct to doe it. The like never was in N. E. Nay, I questiõ wheth^r the like hath bin known in the chr^n world. 6. Doth not that Script. 1 Tim. 3. 11, with others of the like importance, ꝑhibit such ꝑceedings?

Thus have I made bold to suggest my thoughts unto you. And if I had not respected the interest of Religion, & your credit & comfort, I should have bin wholly silent in a matt^r that concerns another & not me, furth^r than as I am bound to seeke your welfare, & doe what I may to prevent trouble from coming vpõ my neighbo^r, & broth^r esp̃lly such an one, whose Name hath bin, & I hope may still be of precious esteem with the L^ds people.

Though your affections s^d be too far gone in this matter, I doubt not but if you put the object out of your sight, & looke vp to the Lord Jesus for supplies of grace, you will be enabled to ov come these Temptac̃ons. The Lord be with you, I am

Yours vnfeignedly, I. M.

3 ^m 8 ^d. 1679.

INCREASE MATHER TO MICHAEL WIGGLESWORTH.

TO M^R M. W.

Reverend Sir, — Since the enclosed was written and sealed, M^r Blackman brought mee your papers, which state the case & mention the Reasons inducing you to marry your servant. I have communicated your script to M^r Eliot, M^r Nowel, M^r Allen, M^r Willard. They are not very forward to give advice in the case, as supposing that it is now too late. It is not good after vows to make enquiry. Had you advised with them before your treating with the party concerned, you may be sure they would earnestly have disswaded. Nor is there any of them that dare encourage your proceedings as things are now circumstanced. I have heard

such uncomfortable Reflections since I wrote the enclosed as that I see no cause to alter my mind as to what is therein expressed. Indeed if the good people in Malden did approve of your proceedings, & if there were an eminency of the fear of God discerneable in your Damosel, notwithstanding her obscurity upon other accounts, there would be less of scandal in proceedings. But I do not hear any one but yourself speak much concerning that matter. And it is thought that your Affection doth biass your Judgment, & that therefore in this case you are not so competent a Judge. The Lord in mercy be with you, & direct you to do that which shal be pleasing in His sight, & for the honour of His name, yea, & of your own name, & the comfort of those that are concerned in you.

I am yours to my power, I: M.

Boston 3^{m} 12^{d} 1679.

INCREASE MATHER TO SAMPSON BOND.*

For the Rev^{d} M^{r} Sampson Bond Preacher of the Gospell in Bermudas.

Rev'd S^{r}, — I send herewith the Result of our late Synod,† which I doubt not will be acceptable vnto you; as also a poor discourse of mine, being a call to the Rising generation. I sent one of them formerly, but whether you received it I have not heard. If you have, I would pray you to give one of them to M^{rs} Stow, who was once my neighbor.

Concerning your call from the old church here, I am at some stand what to say. I know it cannot but be a great object^{n} and discourag^{t} in your way, that so many of the church, and those

* Rev. Sampson Bond was invited, on the 26th of September, 1682, to the office of Assistant Preacher with Rev. James Allen, of the First Church in Boston. Rev. William Emerson, in his history of that church, says, that "the vote, for some reason, was never carried into effect." Hutchinson, in a note on p. 427, vol. i., of his Hist. of Mass. Bay, says: "To preach a sermon, which was not composed by the preacher himself, was looked upon, if not criminal, yet highly disreputable. One Mr. Bond, having taken this liberty, and being discovered, presently after removed to Barbados."

† In 1679 a Synod was appointed to meet in Boston, to revise the Platform of discipline agreed upon in 1647.

in some respects the most considerable persons amongst them, doe not act in this Invitation; and there is reason to doubt that it will be a great discouragᵗ unto them that now may doe (as Mr Allen informs me) onely invite you to come to them again upon further trial. To mee it seems hard that a man of your years, soe well known in the world and whose gifts themselves have had such experience of, must now . . . tried whether fit for them or no. The greatest objection which I ever had as to your settlement there, I acquainted you with when last in Boston, lest there should be some publick contest between yourself & the Eldrs there, which would greatly tend to the disgrace of the Gospell; but you did abundantly satisfy in that matter. If *g°* it shall please the Lord to bring you hither, you may rest assured that I shall (the Lord helping) doe what is in me to strengthen your hands in the work of the Lord. I return you many thanks for your profitable labrs in our congregation when last with us. Thus presenting respects (mine and my wives) to yourselfe and Mrs. Bond, I beseech the Lord to be with you, and to direct you to doe as shall be most for His glory & your own everlasting comfort. I am, Sir, Yours to love & serve, I. Mather.

Boston, December 1, 1679.

INCREASE MATHER TO SAMUEL WILLARD.*

These for the Reverend Mr. Willard at his house.

Revd Sir, — I am still of the mind, that some judicious readers will think your discourse of the Covenant more accurate, if you doe not mention the Lord Christ as a party in the Covt of Reconciliatn considered as distinct from that of Redemption, & that mentioning the same thing under both those heads, will be judged as a transgression of the Rule *καθ' αὐτό*. It will make no breach upon your discourse to omitt those few words which concern that ꝑticular. Likewise, if you word your Assertions

* Minister of the Old South Church in Boston, and Vice-President of Harvard College.

so as that they be not contradictory to those that looke upon the distribution of the Covt into that of { Redemption / Reconciliation } to be *distributio in subjectis*, it will, undoubtedly find the better acceptance with many Learned & judicious.

I could wish that vnto what you assert p. 31, 32, you would add but this pticular, (which I am sure may be made good from Scripture & experience) viz. If the Lord doe (& sometimes he doth) help a godly parent not only to pray, but also to believe for grace & salvation in respect of his children) that Faith shall not be in vain. Your discourse, as expressed, looketh as if you thought it hardly lawfull for a man to believe down grace into his children's souls; & will be a discouragement to some, whom I know you would be glad if the Lord should see meet to stirr vp Faith in their hearts concerning other men's children as well as their owne.

Make hast with your Animadversions on the Narrator, who is *sutor ultra crepidam*. I would faign have it printed before the next Ship goeth for London. Some papers I hope by Thursday may be transcribed for you.

I here send the Epl^e you desired. Doe what you please with it. The Lord be with you. I am,

Yours unfeignedly I. MATHER.

BOSTON, Feb. 1, 1680.

INCREASE MATHER TO SAMUEL MATHER.*

DEAR COUSIN,—I rec^d yours of 24 May, and since that I had a lre subscribed by the Committee in Windsor, whose communicat^n you are not vnacquainted with, wherein they signify to me that the Church & Cong. there have bin very vnanimous in their desires towards yourselfe, & entreat me to encourage you to accept of their call. I cannot speake fully concerning this matter, unless I could first discourse with yourselfe, only this much; I am apt to think that the Lord calls you to remove from Brain-

* See note on p. 34.

ford, nay though you be setled in office there; yet the air of that place not agreeing with your constitution, you ought to remove. All casuists so far as I can learn that handle that Question in what cases a minister may leave his people, mention this for one, in case he cannot enjoy his health in such a place, but may ꝑbably in another, then God calls him to remove.

I think you will be in your way to give Windsor a visit, & when you have so done, consult further with your friends in those parts, & here also. I wish you would not upon any excuse, delay your coming to Boston, if your health permitt you to travell. There is a great opportunity of service for Christ in Windsor. If after you have bin with them, they continue vnanimous in their motion to you, I know not but the Lord may call you thither. But as I said, I cannot absolutely advise untill I see & speake with you. The Lord, the God of your Grand Father direct you to doe as shall be most for His glory, & bless you forever. With Him I leave you, & rest,

Your loving uncle: I. M.

June, 1681.

INCREASE MATHER TO THE ELDERS OF THE CHURCH IN WEYMOUTH.

To the Rev^d Elders of the Church in Weymouth. To be communicated to the Church there.

Rev^D & much respected in the Lord, — Your Addresse by way of letter unto the Overseers of the Colledge in Cambridge, is come to hand, whereby wee perceive that you are not unacquainted with what motions have been, both among the Overseers & Fellowes of the Colledge, who have unanimously chosen your Rev^d Pastor, M^r Torrey,* to bee President of the Colledge. It is also manifest by your letter, that there is a

* Rev. Samuel Torrey, of Weymouth. He was twice chosen President of Harvard College, but declined. A more extended notice of him may be seen in connection with his letter in this volume.

present unwillingness in you to give up your Pastor unto that service. The continuance of your respect unto a person so worthy & desirable, & in whom you are so nearly concerned, is to bee commended. Nevertheless it is to bee hoped, that upon further consideration of all circumstances relating to this affair, you may bee prevayled with to deny yourselves, out of respect to the publick, and generall good of these churches; who are all concerned in the settlement & prosperity of the Colledge; & that not only as to the present butt future generations. It is therefore hereby earnestly propounded unto you, that the decision of the question relating to your Rev^d^ Pastor's being removed from you to the Colledge, & whether it bee not your duty to give him up unto that service, may bee referred unto counsill from Neighbour churches; who will (by the help of Christ) bee ready to hear & to consider your objections, & to give you rationall Satisfaction, & clear your way & duty before you in this great concernment.

Thus desiring that wee may receive an answer from you, touching your readiness to comply with this proposall (whereof wee are not willing to doubt) with all convenient speed, wee intreat the Lord to incline your hearts to do that which shall bee most conducing to the glory of His name, & the good of His people. So wee rest

Yours in our Lord Jesus I. M.

At the desire & in the name of a Committee appointed by the Overseers of Harvard Colledge.

Boston Im. 3^d^ 168$\frac{1}{2}$.

INCREASE MATHER TO JOSEPH DUDLEY.*

Worthy Sir, — I returne you my humble thanks for your civility, in letting me have a coppy of a letter pretended to be dated at Boston, the 3: 10: 1683, & subscribed I: M.† which it seemeth to some that know me not, to have supposed me to be the

* H. C. 1665. See note affixed to his letters in this volume.

† A copy of the letter here referred to is contained in the Collection of Mather Papers, and is printed immediately after this letter.

Author of it, but I assure you it is none of myne. The forger of it begins with a lye, in the first line, for he speakes as if Mr. Gouge had written to me by our Agents, which he never did, and as if he had informed me as if the Earle of Shaftsbury died in Mr. Kiek's house, when as no man ever writ any such thing to me. He represents me as a person well assured of Shaftbury's happiness, and as esteeming him the great freind of God's cause. They that are acquainted with me knowe that I never had an high opinion of that Gentleman. This manifests the letter to be a peece of forgery. As for that reflection on his majty, and what is added concerning the Lord Russell & Essex, they are the Expressions of the forger, and none of mine. He pretends as if I sent to Amsterdam for the New Covenant of Scotland, Carill upon Job, and Mr. Owen's last works. Now herein he has so grossly played the fool, soe as to discover the letter to be a meer peece of forgery. As for the new Covenant of Scotland, I never heard of such a thing, untill I saw it in this wicked letter, nor do I to this day vnderstand what is the meaning of it. Carill have been in my study this fiveteen years, & if I had him not, it is likely that I should send to Amsterdam, for Mr. Carill & Doct. Owen's works, which are here sould in Boston. I might obtaine them sooner and cheaper from London, then from Holland, and whether such books are to be bought in Amsterdam or no, I knowe not. By this then onely he spitts some of his vennome against some of those excellent men, of whom the world was not worthy: but he addeth with some of the Geneva prints, that I may collect of all to sweeten the milke to the pallats of those good Christians, who receave with cheerfullness our administrations. This is extreemly foolish. I hope no man that is acquainted with me, can suppose such ridiculous stufe had dropt from my pen. He farther represents me as that I knew by the signes in the Heavens, that the heathens should destroye the whore of Babilon. In this also he hath acted like a fool, for now all men may know that this letter was never written by me, since my judgment is declared in print express contradietory;* soe what is here pretended in my books of

* The passage referred to is as follows: "There is an anonymous Astrologer in London that has published his sentiments upon this Comet; presumptuously determining not only what the events are which shall attend this, &c. . . . No man of wisdome and judgement can relish the boldness of such a Prophetaster; especially considering that he does

Commits, page 129 & 130, I endeavor to prove by the scripture that Rome shall not be distroyed by Mohemet, but by other hands; and how often have I declared that the appearance of a blazing star is not to be slighted, that mortalls cannot tell what the particuler events are, that shall followe, yet such Phinominas are seen, when the forger of lies goes on & tells how Randolph was suspected to have had a hand in the last fier in Boston, & that if he had not gon out of towne, the tumultuous sufferers would have ended his dayes. Now these are things I never heard of before, therefore I could not write them. The letter forger saith that Randolph has perswaded two Collonies to fall of from vniting with us. This is a great vntruth, & some upon reasonable termes conjecture that no man except Randolph could tell such a impudent lye, when the whole Contry knowes the contrary. What he farther adds of the Governor & Dep^ty^ Governor, as concerning the Hon^ble^ Govern^r^ is a scandelous falsehood, & so discovers the malice of the forger, not onely against me, but against this Collony, nor is it likely that I should speake of mens venturing their lives & fortunes, that being an expression no wayes sutable to my genius. He also sheweth himselfe to be a child of the Divill, by what he writeth concerning Doct^r^ Oates, & S^r^ L: J:, of neither of whom did I write any thing. He pretends, in the close of his forgery, as if I had sent the letter by a Jew by way of Barbados. This doth moore fully demonstrate the forgery; for I knew not that there was any Jew in Boston the last winter, nor did I learne that any Jew did go from thence to Barbados; to be sure, I saw none, nor did I ever send a letter by any Jew in my life. Belike the Jew's name that carried the letter was either Edward, or Bernard Randolph. I shall take notice but of one passage more in this letter, which in sume respect is moor wicked then all the rest. He brings me in sending keind salutes to Mr. Ferguson, & assuring him of hearty welcome to New England, if he held his resolution of coming hither. Furguson is a person with whom

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prædict things that are contrary to the Scriptures of Truth . . . The vain Astrologer likewise affirms that Rome shall be destroyed by the Turkish power, when, as the holy Scriptures assure us, that it shall be done by some of those horns which have given their power to (the Pope) *Antichrist*, which the *Turks* never did. Rev. 17. 16. If men did with understanding read the Scriptures more, they would mind Judicial Astrologers less."

I have no manner of acquaintance I never sent salutations to him by any one, or at any time, nor did I ever heare that he had thoughts of coming to New England, vntill this letter-forger, who is not to be believed, said it. Whereas he addeth, we had power by our Charter to protect those, who flye for Protection sake, as we did Goff & Whaly, this dos suffitiently intimate who was the authur of this forgery, viz^t^ that it was Randolph himselfe, for it is well knowne, he did once exhibit a complaint against this Collony, because in their Law-book it is declared, if men fly thether, being persecuted, they shall finde favour, and [the] lying comment that Randolph made vpon it, was by virtue of this law of the people in New England, in showing kindness to Goff & Whaley. Let all rationall men judge whether any one but Randolph was the Authur of this Forgery. Besides there is so much said of Randolph in this spurious letter, that giveth just cause to suspect him to be the Father of it. It is reported that he has a notable art in imitating hands, that he can doe it soe exactly, that a man cannot easily discerne the knavery, & that one of the Randolphs being detected of such villany, is lately fled, to save his ears. Whether, as some say, he has imitated my hand, in his forgery, I know not, or whether he has forged any moor letters with this, and fathered his Bratts upon me, only I hope that good will come out of it. However, tis good that all mankind will be convinced that Randolph is a great knave, for he that will forge such a bloody letter, that so he may do mischiefe, not only to an Innocent man, but to an honnest People, what wickedness & inhumanity will he not be guilty of, if he doth but think that his villany shall not be discovered. But I am not the first that have been thus abused. I finde in the History of Sham Plotts, in page 16 & 17, that treasonable letters w[ere] forged and laid to the charge of severall Nonconformist ministers, Mr. Baxter, Doct^or^ Conant, and other men of great worth; but the impious Authurs thereof were detected, to theire shame. And soe I dought not but it will be in this case, and rather because the forger has highly abused the Glorious name of the blessed God, not onely by a profane Cotation of many scriptures, which were not mentioned by me, but by mentioning the sacred title of the most high God, to serve a wicked designe. In the superscrition of his forgery he mentions the name of Jesus Christ, and four times he mentions the dreadfull

name Jehovah, which is a name that for some reasons not needfull here to be exprest. I doe verry rarely mention, and that is a farther manifestation, that this letter was not of my Composure. Such has been the desperate prophaness of the Atheisticall Authur of this forged letter, that rather then not attempt the doeing of mischiefe to New England, and to me, who am one of the least of the ministers of God therein; he will attempt God himselfe, to vindicate his owne name upon him, but I beleeve as to your selfe, S^{r}, to whom I am knowne, I am certaine that before ever you spake with me about it, you were perswaded the letter was none of myne, since it was not written in my stile, and there are things in it obhorrid to my knowne Principles. You may communicate this to whome you please.

I am s^{r}, y^{r} humble serv^{t} INCREASE MATHER.

BOSTON, the 10th November, 1684.

(Superscribed in the handwriting of Randolph)
"Copy of Mr. Mather's letter to Mr. Dudley."*

—— —— TO —— GOUGE.

[The following is the letter which has been imputed to Increase Mather, but the authorship of which he denied.]

To my worthy ffreind Mr. G: in Amsterdam By way of Barbados.

BOSTON in New England,
the 3th of X^{ber} 1683.

S^{R}, — I am obliged to you for your favour in writing me by our Agents return, which letter I have received, and observe what you write concerning affairs in England, and how our friends are there wrongfully abused. I am glad God hath preserved our good friend Mr ffergusson,† and sent him over to your side the water, where their malice cannot reach him. Wee have (before yours came to hand) heard the great sufferings of several of the servants of the Lord. What you say as to their intentment to root out God's word from amongst us, I will say with the Lord's

* The orthography of this letter is that of the copyist, and not of Mather.
† See note 1, p. 59.

Prophet, The Righteous also shall see this and fear, and shall laugh them to scorn. I am well assured of the happiness of that great freind of God's cause, the Lord of Shaftsbury, who you say, dyed in our freind Mr. Kick's * house. If they could, wee should certainly have bin cut off by those Evil doers, for they can now mould the lawe as [they] please, and make it their study more to please men then God. Corrupt are they, and are become abominable in their wickedness. There is none that doeth good. Jehovah looked down from Heaven upon the children of men, to see if there were any that would understand, and seek after him. No, all are seeking after vanity, and have not God before their eyes. Truly, I must say with you, never was any age gone so farr in whoring after their own lusts and pleasures. Yea, from the King that sitteth on the throne to the beggar. An unwise man doth not well consider this, and a fool doth not regard it. It was a great greife to mee to hear the death of that good Lord Russel, and how barbarously the Earle of Essex was murthred in the Tower. Wee may see with halfe an eye which way they intend to drive poor England. Well, we can oncly say with holy David, Our God shall come, and shall not keep silence, there shall go before him a consuming fire; A mighty tempest shall be stirred up round about him, to whom wee will committ all our concerns.

I thank you for the care you have taken in getting those prints in readiness to send me by the next shipping. Pray lett mee have the following books sent me with them. The new Covenant of Scotland, Caril upon Job, and Mr. Owen's † last works, with some of your new Geneva prints, that I may collect of all to sweeten the milk to the pallats of those good Christians, who, praysed bee God, receive with cheerfulness our administration. I am glad the Lord hath raised up a defender for his People in Hungary,‡ and I am certain of opinion, the Lord's work will bee done by those heathen, and the whore of Babylon shall fall. His late signs in the heavens did foretell such works.§ My prayer shall bee continually for their victory, for certain it is his will it shall bee

* See note attached to his letters in this volume.
† Dr. Owen had died in August, 1683.
‡ See above, pp. 42, 43.
§ See note to the preceding letter.

so. As to affairs in these parts, which you desire to have an account of; I shall tell you. The same week as our Agents arrived, Randolph did also arrive with a Summons from the King for our Charter. The next day after hee arrived, hapned a sad fire, which burnt down the richest part of the Town, which some believe was done by his means; for hee went out of Town, or certainly hee would have ended his dayes through some of the tumultuous sufferers. Hee has made it his business to spread the King's declaration all about the Countrey, and perswaded two Colonies to fall off from uniting with us. A General Court hath bin called here, which has been held fourteen dayes. The Governor and several of the Magistrates, not regarding their oath to God and the Countrey, esteeming rather to please his Majesty, have voted to surrender up their charter, butt the Deputy Governour with other Magistrates, and most of the house of Deputyes, who fear God more then man, are for keeping our priviledges, which is my opinion also, for I cannot understand why wee should give away what the Lord God hath afforded; and whatever the event may bee, wee ought to stand by them with our lives and fortunes, for so Ahab required Naboth's vineyard. Wee have had great encouragement from England, for several good and worthy men among the Law Doctors have counselled us to stand it out at Law, which most give us hopes wee shall bee able to maintain, though the Charge bee very great. Butt in England Money will do much.

This Randolph hath been a mortal enemy to our Countrey, and most say, if hee had not moved his Ma^tie^ it would never have been his Concern, for hee was satisfyed with our sending away the Commissioners which came over some years past. It hath cost these people a great deal of money, and if two or three thousand Pound will buy it off, wee have those who will give it. Wee have good friends in England who will largely contribute, butt dare not bee seen, for fear of troubles. Wee expect great quantitys of our friends to come over from England; God will certainly avenge the blood of his Saints, and those who live shall see it, and fear our Great Jehovah. Oh, that wee may not bow the knee to Baal, nor worship any graven image. Our God is the Great God, and Jehovah is his name. Hee hath strengthned his people in the Wilderness, and made his Power known amongst the heathen. Yett wee have some who run a whoring after their own

inventions, and fall off from our Church. Oh that God would send a Daniel to interpret the visions which our King may dayly see in the Heavens, least it be said no more, beware, beware, butt vengance fall upon the nation: I will say with John the Divine, Here is Wisedom; lett him that hath understanding count the number of the Beast, for it is the number of a man, and his number is six hundred, threescore and six, and God will certainly fulfill his sayings. Pray when you see Mr. fferguson, give him my kind salutes. If hee continue his resolution of coming over here, hee may bee sure of an hearty welcome; butt I fear hee must bee forced to change his name, for though wee have power in our Charter to receive and protect who fly for persecution sake, as wee did Gouff and Whaley; yett wee fear that priviledge will bee forced from us. God grant wee may have the enjoyment of our heavenly Charter, which Jesus Christ hath purchased for us, and would also bee demanded, if some dare venture, butt there wee shall meet, and the sheep shall bee known from the goates; butt now a Jesuit is a Courtier, a servant, and what you will, so as hee bee no enemy of the Court, hee may bee any thing. Some report here that Mr. Oates is out of favour for discovering the Popish Plott. Had hee but sworn for them, hee would certainly [have] been a Bishop, if S^{r} L. J.* had pleased. This comes to you by way of Barbados, a Jew going thither, and so for your place, has promised to deliver it into your own hands. Pray give my hearty respects to good Mr. Kick, to whom I will write by a ship that may sayl about three weeks hence. Mr. Kick's son is a hopefull young man, and one, I dare say, that fears the Lord. Randolph returns upon a ship which will sayl about three weeks hence. God will certainly follow him wherever hee goes, for hee has much prejudiced us. If hee should miscarry, it is God's just Judgment. Pray let mee hear from you by all occasions, and lett your prayers bee for us as wee continually pray for you, and all the true servants of the Lord. I will conclude in saying the Lord liveth, and blessed bee my Strong Helper, and praysed bee the God of our Salvation, Jehovah is his name. To him I commit you, and in all sincerity am

Yours in Christ Jesus, I. M.

Coppied out October 24, 1684.

* Sir Leoline or Lionel Jenkins. He was Secretary of State from 1680 to 1684.

Note. — Dr. Palfrey, in his excellent History, vol. iii. p. 556, *et seq.*, expresses a strong doubt as to the correctness of the opinion of Hutchinson and other writers, that this letter was a forgery made with Randolph's privity. "I cannot imagine," he says, "that he should have thought it worth his while to resort to such a trick. For him, as far as I can see, the play would not have been worth the candle." He further says, that there is nothing in the letter, whether in respect to topics or opinions, which might not have been written by Increase Mather in 1683; and that "*if* not his, it is certainly a very clever specimen of the *Mathersc* style." He therefore suggests a conjecture, that it might have been a freak of the son, Cotton Mather; although he adds, that "he is not ready to believe that, had he been the writer, he could have made up his mind to use the language which he has used in treating of the subject," in his "Parentator."

We cannot refrain from expressing regret, that Dr. Palfrey, if he would not discredit, and cannot dispute, the truth of Increase Mather's positive assertion, that this letter was not written by him, should have opened a discussion of the question, whether it may not be possible that he could have been the author? It seems to us hardly consistent with Dr. Palfrey's usual impartiality as a historian, to give his readers any ground for the impression that he reluctantly relinquishes the suspicion that the letter might have been from the hand of Increase. "Repelled," he says, "from this supposition, the next conjecture would refer us to . . . his son Cotton." Why is this the next conjecture? Is it necessary to fasten the stigma upon one of the family? If the father cannot be proved to have been guilty of falsehood, does it naturally or reasonably follow, that the son must be suspected of forgery? Randolph himself, as we know, and as Dr. Palfrey himself admits, "had done roguery enough to justify the suspicion of any amount of more."

It is with reluctance, on account of the high respect which we entertain for Dr. Palfrey's general fairness and correctness of judgment, that we find it necessary to object to the manner in which he has dealt with the reputation of Increase Mather in the treatment of the subject of the letter in question. It is, however, an unavoidable inference from his words, that he supposes the father to have been capable of abetting the son in a forgery. "When it" — the letter — he says in his note, "got into the hands of the Secretary of State, and brought the ostensible author" — Increase — "into trouble, the relations between him and the real author" — of course meaning Cotton — "might have made the latter afraid to avow it; and a natural resource would be to charge a forgery upon Randolph." To believe the possibility of this, is to believe Increase Mather to have been little better than a knave. The words in the text, to wit, "Mather, brought to bay, insinuated that it was a forgery of Randolph," certainly seem to indicate such a belief.

It is important to remember, that Cotton was only twenty years old at the time when he is supposed to have committed the forgery. Though he was a precocious youth, it is hard for us to believe that he could have been so precocious in rascality as to have forged his father's name to a letter that might involve him in trouble. Among all the faults with which he has been charged, no man is able to find any evidence of his lack of filial affection and reverence. On the contrary, his warm and devoted love to his father was one of his amiable characteristics. It is not probable that he would have indulged his fondness for "freaks" at his father's expense. Moreover, it is difficult to conceive of any motive which he could have for forging such a letter. We must also confess, that the epithet which Dr. Palfrey has applied to Increase, in calling him an "*alter idem*" of his son Cotton, strikes us painfully. Although he has somewhat qualified the phrase, yet the use of it, in connection with a suspected instance of petty knavishness, cannot but be regarded as a slur upon his fair fame.

The Mathers may not have been the most discreet of men, but they were not idiots; and it is difficult to conceive that any man in his senses should have intrusted so fatal a letter to the hands of a Jew, to be carried to Holland *viâ* Barbadoes.

The letter, we think, furnishes internal evidence that Increase Mather was not its writer, notwithstanding the remark of Dr. Palfrey, that he finds nothing in it which he may not have written in 1683. One of the books which the writer asks his correspondent to send, had been in the library of Increase Mather for fifteen years; and another was on sale in Boston. There are opinions in the letter which Increase denies that he ever enter-

tained, and which we can find no authority for attributing to him. There is, moreover, one peculiarity of the letter which appears hitherto to have escaped notice, but which has an important bearing upon the question of its authorship. There are several texts of Scripture interspersed in it. These are quoted almost literally from the Psalter, in the Book of Common Prayer used by the Church of England, of which Randolph was a zealous supporter, and not from the version of King James, which was used by the Mathers.

Received Version.	*Psalter.*
PSALM 52. 6. The righteous also shall see, and fear, and shall laugh at him.	PSALM 52: 7. The righteous also shall see this and fear, and shall laugh them to scorn.
PSALM 14. 1, 2. They are corrupt, they have done abominable works, there is none that doeth good. The Lord looked down from heaven upon the children of men to see if there were any that did understand and seek God.	PSALM 14: 1, 2, 3. They are corrupt and became abominable in their doings: there is none that doeth good. The Lord looked down from heaven upon the children of men, to see if there were any that would understand and seek after God.
PSALM 92. 6. A brutish man knoweth not, neither doth a fool understand this.	PSALM 92: 6. An unwise man doth not well consider this, and a fool doth not understand it.
PSALM 50. 3. Our God shall come and shall not keep silence: a fire shall devour before him, and it shall be very tempestuous round about him.	PSALM 50: 3. Our God shall come, and shall not keep silence, there shall go before him a consuming fire, and a mighty tempest shall be stirred up round about him.
PSALM 18. 46. The Lord liveth, and blessed be my rock, and let the God of my salvation be exalted.	PSALM 18: 47. The Lord liveth, and blessed be my strong helper, and praised be the God of my salvation.

Should it be objected, that if Cotton Mather wrote the letter, with a view of fastening it afterwards as a forgery upon Randolph, he might have been cunning enough to quote from the Psalter, for the purpose of giving additional weight to the charge; it is a sufficient answer, that neither he nor his father subsequently referred to this evidence of Randolph's authorship. Had it been part of the trick in the inception, it is not conceivable that it could have been entirely left out of notice in the end. See in connection with this subject, note ‡, p. 59, and also a letter of Simon Bradstreet, dated Dec. 8, 1684, and a letter of Randolph, dated Sept. 4, 1684.

Oliver, in his "Puritan Commonwealth," says, "The zealous Increase Mather, whose sacred character had not preserved him from the sin of defamation," &c.; and in a note he makes this statement: "He accused Randolph of forging a letter from him, and an action was immediately brought by the latter, in which damages were laid at five hundred pounds. *He recovered costs only.* — HUTCHINSON."

We cannot charge Mr. Oliver with intentionally misquoting Hutchinson, for the purpose of sustaining his groundless aspersion of the character of Increase Mather; but we are forced to call in question his accuracy as a historian, in view of the fact, not only that Hutchinson himself treats the letter in question as a forgery, but that, instead of saying that Randolph "recovered costs only," his words are, "The jury gave the *defendant* costs."

We should be unjust, both to the character of Increase Mather and to the truth of history, not to take notice here of another statement in the same sentence of Mr. Oliver from which we have already quoted, which, though partially true, is substantially false, and leaves upon the mind of his readers, who are not familiar with the early history of New England, a wrong impression. He says, that Increase Mather, "to avert the consequences of the sin of defamation, from which he was suffering voluntary concealment, was smuggled by night on board a ship, and, ere morning dawned, was on his way to England."

It is true that Increase Mather embarked for England in disguise, because the service of a second writ, which Randolph had issued against him, would have prevented his voyage. But Mr. Oliver does not allude to the real object of Mr. Mather's voyage, to wit, that he had been appointed an agent, by the principal men of the Colony, to represent their grievances to the king. He did not flee across the ocean to escape from the consequences of his "sin of defamation," but as an authorized and honored agent of the Colony,

that he might serve its interests abroad, as he had always faithfully and zealously labored for them at home. Hutchinson praises his activity and earnest efforts in behalf of the Charter, and says that he "behaved with so much prudence as to give no room to take hold of any part of his conduct."

The facts of the case are, that Increase Mather was chosen to go to England, with the addresses of the churches to the King, before Randolph brought his second suit. So far was he from fleeing in disguise to escape punishment of a "sin," which he had not committed, that he had openly submitted the question of his going to England to his Church, who unanimously assented. He had, moreover, waited on Andros, and made known to him his intention to embark. He also gave public notice of his voyage, at the Thursday lecture. The simple truth is, that Randolph's suit was a pretext to prevent his going to England, and not that his going was to escape from the hand of justice.

Several documents, relating to the action against Mather, may be seen in the Appendix.

INCREASE MATHER TO JAMES ALLEN.

These for the Rev^d M^r James Allen.

Rev^d S^r, — I did not vntill the last night hear that Richard Tout* was joyning to your church, or like to find acceptance with you. Tho it is not the first time that persons who have bin refused admission into our church have found acceptance in yours, which is vncomfortable. As for the yonng man mentioned, you cannot plead ignorance; for I told you formerly that wee did not judge him a person fitt for church comunion. There hath bin no orderly healing of what was objected against him. At the South Church they do allwayes refuse such as have bin by us rejected. You may g^o please to consid^r whether it be not better to suspend R: Tout's admission than to do that which tends to the imposing a church comunion justly gravaminous to your neighbors; & so in the issue to breake comunion. I must in plainess say to you such actings are really offensive, not only to myselfe, but others, & I am certeyn if old M^r Cotton had bin alive, hee w^ld not have acted so. I am, Sir,

Yours in the Ld. I. M.

Aug^t 22, 1686.

You may please to advise with M^r Moody & your Eld.

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* There was a Richard Tout, or Toute, in Boston, a lighterman, in 1663. See Savage's Geneal. Dict.

INCREASE MATHER AND OTHERS TO JOHN EMERSON.

These For the Rev^d M^r John Emerson, Pastor of the Church in Glocester.*

Rev^D Sir, — Wee vnderstand that yourselfe hath without any leave obtained from those vnto whom the Instruc^n & goverm^t of the Colledge is comitted, ordered your son's † Removall frō Cambridge to Charles Town. Wee are sorry that wee have occasion to inform you that wee have found your son to be too negligent in his studyes, & that for cont^ll misdemeano^rs hee hath bin publickly punished, tho much less than his faults deserve. Wee have only further to acquaint you that in case you remove your son from this society, *copiâ vel a Rectore vel a Tutoribus illi non factâ*, the penalty which the Colledge Law on that account doth inflict, will not be remitted.

Wee have no more to add, but comitting you to the divine protection, Wee remayn S^r

Your affectionate friends,

I. M. Rector.
J. L.‡ } Tutors of
W. B.§ } Harvard Colled[ge.]

Dated at Harvard Colledge in Cambridge, December 15, 1686.

INCREASE MATHER AND OTHERS TO CHARLES MORTON.‖

Rev^D Sir, — Wee vnderstand that some of the scholars (unto whom the discipline of the Colledge is not pleasing) hope that yourselfe will receive them under your Tuition. And more ꝑticularly that Emerson has obtained (as himselfe sayth) a promise from you in order to his reception. Wee therefore think ourselves

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* [H. C. 1656.] Ordained Oct. 6, 1663, and died Dec. 2, 1700.

† John Emerson, [H. C. 1689]. He was minister at Manchester and Newcastle, and installed over the Second Church in Portsmouth, March 23, 1715. He died June 21, 1732.

‡ John Leverett. § William Brattle. ‖ See note ‖, p. 59.

constreyned to informe you that it will be very offensive to vs all if yourselfe entᵗteyn any of the scholars without the approbatⁿ of those unto whom the instruction & government of the Colledge is comitted. As for Emerson, wee have found him to bee too idle, & one that for other misdemeanors has bin publickly punished. And it is needles to say that if such as have not bin diligent & of good behavior in the Colledge should find instruction with yourselfe, in hopes of more libty to live as they please, it would be no small reflection on you. Thus much wee thought necessary to acquaint you with. So wee remayn

Your friends to serve you I. M.
J. L.
W. B.

Dated at Harvard Colledge [i]n Cambridge, . . . r 15, 1686.

INCREASE MATHER TO JOSEPH DUDLEY.

These for the Honorable Joseph Dudley, Esq. in Roxbury.

Sʳ, — I have for many years showed all the respect to yourselfe & yours which I could do, & have wished for an opportunity of doing more. Providence has so ordered that it is now in your power to do me a kindness. I desire nothing but what is just & righteous, & therefore am confident you will hearken to me. I then pray you to consider whether it can stand with justice in Mʳ R[andolph]s case to find for him at all. For 1. I never did positively charge him with the forged letter; only declared my suspicion. Now, except the charge be positive and particular the case is not actionable as a slander. The truth is I never thought that hee (& therefore could not charge him,) but a brother of his was the forger, only I wish he can *bonâ fide*, clear himselfe from being privy to that wickedness. 2. No man can say that my name was subscribed with my owne hand, or that the Scribe might not mistake several words, & send a wrong copy to yourselfe. 3. Mʳ R. is legally guilty. Hee that has falsely to the Secretary of State and others, charged me with a letter which is a forged thing, is legally guilty of that Forgery. But

Mr R. has done so. In his letter to Mr Bradstreet,* (who has bin so kind as to give it to me) dated 7ber 4, 1684, he confesseth that hee informed Sir L[eoline] J[enkins] & several of the Lords, that I was the Author of that letter to Mr Gouge. And in his letter to Mr Shrimpton † dated July 18th 84, (which I have by me likewise) hee accuseth me with that treasonable letter. I have little knowledge in the Statutes of the Land, but some acquaintance with the Laws of God I ought to have. If that statute, Deut. 19, 18, 19, 20, may take place, Mr R. ought to dye the death for having falsly & maliciously accused me with a capital crime.

These things I thought it my concern humbly to suggest to you. I comend you to God, and rest, Sir,

Yours to serve you I. Mather.

January 24, 1687.

Sr, — I must entreat you to be as kind to me as Mr Bradstreet has bin, in giving me Mr R.'s letter to yourselfe with which hee sent the Forged Letter of mine.

PETITION IN BEHALF OF HARVARD COLLEGE.

[This paper is in the handwriting of Increase Mather.]

Suppose for June 1. 1688. — Prince.

Some who are dissenters from the Church of England did erect a Colledge at Cambridge in New England for the benefit of themselves & posterity.

Several donations were bestowed on this Colledge by sundry persons; also a revenue setled by the former Government for the incouragement of a President & Fellows to govern that Society.

It has bin governed by a President, five Fellows, & a Treasurer, who had power to make laws for the government of their own Society, & to dispose of all moneys given, or that should be given, as should be most advantagious to the use of the Colledge;

* Gov. Simon B. † Samuel S., proprietor of Noddle's Island, Beacon Hill, &c.

also in case of death or removal to chuse another President, Fellow, or Treasurer.

At the time when the Civil Government was changed, the Colledge was (nor is it that wee know of, as yet put into other hands) under the Inspection of Increase Mather as President, John Sherman, Nehemiah Hubbard,* John Cotton, John Leverett, William Brattle, as Fellows, & John Richards as Treasurer.

Wee now petition that the said Colledge may be confirmed in the hands it has bin in, & that they may have the same power which formerly they had, as is above expressed.

MEMORIAL OF GRIEVANCES PRESENTED BY INCREASE MATHER TO JAMES II.

Mr Increase Mather's 2d audience of King James II was private on June 2, 1688.† Wo sailed à Boston the Beg. of April, 1688. — Prince.

For June 1, 1688.

1. As to matters of Religion, they are inhibited the free exercise thereof, for they are not allowed to set dayes for prayer or Thanksgiving when the ministers in B. had agreed with their congregations solemnly to praise God because of the K's Declaration of Indulgences. Sir Edmund Andros enterteyned them with threatening words, saying it was faction in them, & bad them meet at their perill, & told them that hee should then send souldiers to guard them and their meeting-houses too. And the worship of the

* The person intended was undoubtedly William Hubbard.

† Colton Mather, who derived his information from a diary kept by his father, says, in the "Parentator," that the first audience took place May 30, in the long gallery at Whitehall; on which occasion he presented addresses of thanks from the ministers and churches of Massachusetts and Plymouth, for the King's Declaration of Indulgence. The second audience was in the King's Closet, "two days after," *i.e.* June 1. At that time no petition was presented, but only a conversation held, in which the King bade him to prepare a written statement of what he wished to be done for the Colony. He immediately drew up a Memorial of grievances, and also a Petition for their redress, and waited on his Majesty, July 2, and presented them. We infer, from the language of the "Parentator," that a petition in behalf of the College — perhaps in substance that which is printed above — was presented at the same time.

Church of England has been forced into several of their meeting-houses. Some have been fined & imprisoned, because they were afraid to act against the scruples of their consciences in swearing by the Booke, yet willing to swear (when called thereto) according to the custom of the country, by lifting up their hands. 2. The property of His Majesty's loyal subjects there has been invaded by their present Rulers. The Governor has taken away the Lands belonging to some particular persons, & given them to his owne creatures. As also the Lands belonging to sundry Towns. And there are divers whole Towns threatned to have their common Lands disposed of to such of the lowest there as have petitioned for them, which will prove the ruin of hundreds of families who have for scores of years had a peaceable possession of their rights. The present Rulers there, some of them, declare, that the K's subjects in N. E. have no property belonging to them, but that all is gone with their charter, and they promise Patents to such as will give a sum̃ of money to purchase their owne lands. They discourage His Majestics subjects by asserting that they are no better than slaves, and that the priviledges of English men do not belong to them. And in many particulars they act contrary to the Laws of England. They might sell where they will without assigning any cause. Inferior officers extort what Fees they please.

3. Disregard has bin shewed to his excellent Majestics declaration. When a Bookeseller desired that hee might have license to print it in N. E., that could not be granted. And when the ministers in Boston informed the Governor that they were ingaging their Congregations to make an humble Address of thanks to the King, hee bad them have a care what they did, & was greatly displeased.

If His Majesty shall see cause to empower any as Com̃issioners, requiring them to administer oaths to sundry in N. E., as they shall receive direction; the truth of these complaints will be made to appear. New England is now *

* The manuscript abruptly terminates here.

PETITION OF INCREASE MATHER AND OTHERS TO THE COMMITTEE FOR TRADE AND FOREIGN PLANTATIONS.*

To the Right Hon^ble the Lords' Committee for Trade & Forreign Plantations.

The humble Petition of Increase Mather, Sa: Nowell & Elisha Hutchinson — Sheweth

That since your Lord^ps seem to bee of the opinion that His Maj^ty will not at present grant an Assembly to be held within his Dominion of New England, for the making of Laws or raising of mony, The Petitioners humbly conceive, That it will be as much for His Maj^tys service as the peaceable government of his subjects there; that untill His Maj^ty shall be graciously pleased to grant an Assembly, the Council should consist of such persons as shall be considerable Proprietors of Lands within His Majesty's dominions; and that the Countys being continued as at present, each County may have one, at least, of such of the Inhabitants of the same to be a member thereof. And that no Acts may pass for Law but such as have or shall be voted by the manifest consent of the major part of the Council. And that all Laws so made may by printing be published for the Generall Instruction of all the Inhabitants.

Your Petitioners therefore most humbly pray that your Lordships would be pleased favourably to report the same to His Maj^ty for His gracious direction & order therein.

And your Petitioners shall pray, etc.

[Suppose in 1688, sometime in July. — PRINCE.†]

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* This Petition, with slight verbal variations, is printed in Hutchinson's "History," vol. i. p. 369, and also in Dr. Palfrey's "History," vol. iii. p. 566, where the reference is to Hutch. Hist. i. 229–230.

† Dr. Palfrey, who probably obtained his information from the Colonial Papers in the British State Paper Office, dates this petition as in October.

INCREASE MATHER TO SIR HENRY ASHHURST.

These for the Worshipfull Sir Henry Ashurst, Baronett.

Sir,—I have a Great Request to make to you. And I am perswaded you will not deny me.

The last night I was at Whitehall; & my L^{d} Shrewsburyes (the Secretary of State) Clerk informed me that this day about 5 a clock in the afternoon, our New England affair will be before the Comittee of forreign Plantations. Hee advised me not only to attend there myselfe; but, to ingage some other Gentlemen to be with me; & of his owne accord mentioned your selfe.

I therefore humbly pray that you will favor (not me but) New England so farr as to condeseend to this proposal & desire of,

S^{r}, Your Servant, Increase Mather.

February. 18. 1688[–9.]*

REPORT AND ORDER IN COUNCIL.†

A report from the Honorable the L^{ds} of the [Com]mittee for Trade & Forreign pl.

Wee have in obed. to your Maj. Com^{d} of 13 instant consid^{d} the Pet[ition] of Sr W. A[shhurst] & M^{r} I[ncrease[M[ather] praying that the Col. of Mass. N. Y: Con: Rod. I. in N. E. may have their respective Charters restored to them, & choose Magistrates ꝑmitted to take upõ them the Gov^{t} of s^{d} Colonies, wee have also heard what the pet. could allege by their Council learned in the Law, & bin informed by S^{r} R. S.‡ of the p̃ceedings relating to those charters.

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* William and Mary had been proclaimed in England five days before.

† This paper is in the handwriting of Increase Mather.

‡ Undoubtedly Sir Robert Sawyer, former Attorney-General, who is known to have given to the Committee the reasons for which the charter of Massachusetts had been vacated. Colonial Papers quoted by Dr. Palfrey, vol. iii. p. 592, note.

Whereupõ wee most hûbly offer that as well in reference to your Revenue which is very much c̃cerned therein, as in c̃sider^n of the neighbo^rhood of the French, who have lately invaded your Maj^s dominions in those p^ts, your Maj: w^d be pleased to send forthwith anoth^r Gov^r to N. E. in the place of S^r E. A. with a pvisional coñission & impowered to pclaime your Maj. in those Collonies, & to take the p^rsent care of the Ad. of Gov^t of those pts till furth^r ord^r In which Coñiss^n & instrucc̃o^ns it may be exp^rssed that no money shall be raised by the Gov^r & Councill onely, which they w^r lately empowered to do. And wee likewise most hûbly advise that your Maj: do thereupõ give ord^r for ꝑping, as soon as may be, such furth^r establish^t as may be lasting, & p̃rsve the Rights & ꝑglies of the people in N. E. & yet reserve such a dependence on the crown of E. as shall be thought requisite.

Council Chamb. 22 Febr.

His Maj: taking the same into consider^n was pleased to coñ^d that it be referred back to the Coñittee to c̃sid^r of & prꝑe a draft of a new charter to be granted to the Inh^ts of N. E. with such ꝑt^s & clauses as may suit with & be agreeable to the Laws & Gov^t of this Kingd. & may ꝑserve the Rights & ꝑties of the Col. & reserve such a dep. on this Cro[wn] as is advise[d] & that instead of [a] Gov^r to be sent in the room of S^r E. A. there be appointed 2 Coñ^rs [to take] upon them the Ad^n of Gov^t there, with direcc̃^ons immediatly to ꝑclaime K. W.[illiam] & Q. M.[ary]. And his M. is graciously pleased furth^r to ord that such of the Merchants & plant^rs as are at present here in E. do forthwith attend the s^d Coñittee in ord^r to their recommending to their L^dps of s^d Coñiss for his M.

At a Court at Whitehall, Feb. 26, 1688[–9], by the K^s most ex. M. & the L^ds of his most hon. privy council.*

* This order of the King in Council is printed in a slightly different form in Palfrey's "History," vol. iii. pp. 592, 593, note.

INCREASE AND COTTON MATHER TO THE CHURCH IN CHARLESTOWN.

Honnoured and beloued, — Your Letter is come to hand wherein you aquaint us that you have Agred for the ordaining Mr Simond Bradstret * to be your pastor, and desired that the church whereto we stand related would send theire Elders and some of theire brethren to countenance your procedings with the right hand of their feloship.

We vnderstand that the person whome you haue thought of ordaining hath in soe many words declared that he doth not find that God requires persons to enter into covenant with a perticular church, and that therfore he cannot with a good conscience comply with it, vnder the notion of a divine institution. Our church has likewise been informed that one of us, hauing sent ouer within these few days to be satisfied about that matter, hath received answer that although Mr Bradstret hath sent vnto Andouer, (but is yet unknowne to vs how far or what way he became a member of the church therein) for a Letter of recomendation, hee is nevertheless not inclinable to enter into a perticuler couenant with yow, the church in Charlestowne.

Now the doctrin of the church covenant is a thing soe aboundantly Asserted in the Scripture, and a thing soe fundamentall and essentiall to the congregationall church dicipline, that wee cannot see that the person, which will vpon all ocasions decric it as a meere human invention, is qualified or capable to be with Edification, the pastor of a Congregationall church.

And that they who ar chosen in to office in the church, ought to be members of the church whereunto they are to be afterwards ordained, is not onely what the churches of our Lord in this country have comonly practised, but what the word of God assures

* Rev. Simon Bradstreet [H. C. 1693], son of Rev. Simon Bradstreet, of New London, Conn., and grandson of the Governor of the same name, was ordained at Charlestown as successor of Rev. Charles Morton, Oct. 26, 1698.

vs was the practise of the primitive christian church. Act: 6: 3: Brethren looke ye out among yourselues. The holy Appostle reioyced when he beheld the order in the church of Collosse, as well as the stedfastness of theire faith Coll: 2: 5: but it is matter of great sorrow that there are Attempts by any vnreasonable & vnprofitable innovations to ouerthrow the order of the gosple, which the Lord Jesus Christ hath owned in these churches when they did faithfully Adhere to it.

Giue us Leane in Loue and faithfullness to reeomend vnto your serious consideration that Scripture 1 Cron: 15: 13, where it is said the Lord our God made a breaeh vpon us because wee sought him not after the due order. It is an awfull word which is written in 1 Timo: 5: 22: Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be partakers of other mens sinns. Wee are afraid that if a person be ordained your pastour who asserts your church covenant to be but an humane invention, the effect of it will be much sinn, from which wee ought to kepe our selues pure; nor ean wee behold the holy truth and wais of the Lord Jesus Christ formerly owned in these churches now struck at and Trampled vnder foot, and treated with many fold contempt, and not looke on our selves concerned. If the contempt of a church couenant must prevaile, it is easy to foresee what will become of our churches, which wee would not have to bee while wee ar alive to doe what wee may to prevent it. And considering the great and Long variety of meanes that haue ben vsed to obtain from the person whome your eyes are now vpon, a due compliance with the most Moderate proposals made vnto him, and his continued and obstinate aversion to eomply, if hee should now at last onely out of intrist goe contrary to his declared perswasions, wee feare that this alsoe would now not bee without vncomfortable consequenees. Upon the whole, the church wherof wee are ouerseers, hath with much vnanimity (though with greife of heart that they are nececitated therevnto) deelined the sending of their elders & Messengers to aprone your proceedings, as your letters hath desired; wee dare not countenance them with the right hand of our ffeloshipp given therevnto, vntill wee receiue a better satisfaction about the things that wee haue mentioned.

Wee commend you to the grace of Christ, and subscribe, your brothers in the faith and feloship of the gosple,

INCREASE MATHER.
COTTON MATHER.

Boston July y^e^ 2. 1698.

Indorsed, "D^r^ Increase and D^r^ Cotton Mather's Letter to the church in Charlestown July 2^d^ 16. . ."

[This letter is not in the handwriting of either of the Mathers.]

LETTERS AND PAPERS RELATING TO THE REGICIDES.

[It has been thought best to bring together, in a regular series, all the papers which relate to the Regicides in this country, comprising the letters of General Goffe * and his wife, Colonel John Dixwell,† Rev. John Davenport,† Rev. William Hooke,† and Edward Collins,† and also portions of several news letters, which we have placed in their chronological order at the end of the series.]

WILLIAM HOOKE ‡ TO WILLIAM GOFFE?

S^r^, — I suppose you will vnderstand before this comes to your hands how it is with your old freind that was wont to be your Intelligencer, yeerely. You will heere how [h]is letters miscaried, &

* William Goffe, the son of the Rev. Stephen Goffe, a puritan divine, rector of Stanmer, in Sussex, was, as is well known, one of the judges of Charles I., who signed the warrant for his execution, Jan. 29, 1648–9. He was a zealous Congregationalist and partisan of the Parliament, in whose army he enlisted, and raised himself, by merit, to the rank, successively, of quartermaster, colonel, and general. He was a member of Parliament, and also of the Protector's House of Lords, or "Other House." He fled from England, in anticipation of the restoration of Charles II., in company with Edward Whalley, whose daughter he had married.

Edward Whalley, who is several times referred to in the correspondence of Goffe, and

† See notes attached to their respective letters.

‡ Rev. William Hooke [M.A. at Trinity College, Oxford, 1623] was several years vicar of Axmouth, Devonshire. He was forced to flee, for nonconformity, to New England, and settled at Taunton in 1637. Having removed to New Haven about 1644, he was chosen the pastor of the church in that place. One of his correspondents was his wife's near kinsman, Oliver Cromwell, with whom he was on terms of intimacy, and who, when he became Protector, drew him back to his native country. He sailed from New England in 1656. Cromwell made him his domestic chaplain, and conferred upon him the mastership of "the Savoy Hospital in the city of Westminster." At the Restoration he was ejected, and lived in obscurity and trouble. He died, not as Trumbull supposes in 1667, but March 21, 1677–8.

He is the correspondent of Goffe who writes under the signature of "D. G." Jane Hooke, his wife, was sister of Whalley. The wife and children of Goffe appear to have resided, for a time at least, in her family. She refers, in her letters, to the Regicides, to whom, and to several poor ministers, she often sends contributions of money and clothing. Her correspondence shows that she was a lady of sincere piety and compassion. She deserves to be remembered among the benefactors of New England. See her letters in this volume.

into whose hands they fell, vpon occasion whereof he is obscured & cañot write to you as formerly; yet knowing your love and neerenes betweene you, & supposing you may be carefull concerning him,

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who shared in the varions fortunes of his exile, was also one of the jndges who signed the death-warrant of the king. Though bred a merchant, he took up arms in the service of the Parliament, in the contest with Charles, and so distinguished himself in many battles and sieges, that the Parliament voted him thanks, preferment, and pecuniary rewards. Cromwell, who was his cousin, held him in high regard, and committed the person of the king to his care. He also entrusted to him the government of several counties, under the title of Major-General.

The two exiles arrived in Boston July 27, 1660. Though they did not conceal their characters, they were at first courteously received by Governor Endicott and the principal citizens. They took up their residence at Cambridge, and attended public worship and lectures without disguise. When it was known that they were not included in the Act of Indemnity, the government became alarmed; and on the 22d of February, 1660–1, the Governor summoned the Court of Assistants to consult with reference to securing their persons, but the Court did not agree.

Finding it unsafe to remain longer at Cambridge, they left that place February 26; and, having passed through Hartford, where they were hospitably received by Governor Winthrop, they reached New Haven March 7. A warrant was issued for their arrest, March 8, and sent to the western towns of the Colonies, but without effect.

They remained concealed, for a short time, at New Haven, in the house of Rev. Mr. Davenport; but the Governor, having received a royal mandate for their apprehension, dated March 5, 1660–1, the Court were compelled to take more active measures, and gave commission to two zealous loyalists from England, Thomas Kellard and Thomas Kirk, to go through the Colonies in search of them. In this emergency they concealed themselves in a cave in a pile of rocks on a hill, about two miles and a half from New Haven, called West Rock. When they heard that Mr. Davenport was in danger of suffering, for having harbored them, they would have surrendered themselves to the Government, had it not been for the strenuous opposition of faithful friends; but they publicly showed themselves in the town to clear him from suspicion. Afterwards they retreated to their hiding place. In August of the same year, they went to Milford, where they lived in less seclusion for two or three years. In 1664 they removed to Hadley, travelling only by night, and found a safe asylum in the house of Rev. John Russell, who had made arrangements in advance both for their concealment and comfort. Here they remained during the residue of their lives. Whalley died about 1676, and Goffe probably in 1680. [See Hutchinson's Hist. of Mass. Bay, vol. 1; Stiles' Hist. of the Three Judges; Judd's Hist. of Hadley.]

Governor Hutchinson had in his possession the diary, papers, and letters of Goffe, which were once in the library of the Mathers, but were probably destroyed when his house was rifled by a mob, in 1765. The originals, from which the letters in this volume are selected, were preserved, by having been previously separated from the larger mass, and bound together by Rev. Thomas Prince.

Goffe and his wife corresponded, secretly, under the assumed names of Walter and Frances Goldsmith. He usually addressed her as his mother. A letter from him to her may be seen in Hutchinson's Papers Relating to Mass. Bay, p. 453, one from her to him oo p. 432, and another io Hutchinson's History, vol. i. p. 532. There is also a letter from his wife in Mass. Hist. Coll. 3d series, vol. i. p. 60.

Goffe usually called his place of concealment "Ebenezer." He appears to have received frequent communications from England, keeping him well informed concerning important public events. The extracts from such communications, which are bound up with the Mather Papers, were generally copied by his own hand, and are here printed, with the exception of those which are mutilated or of no especial interest.

Several extracts from Goffe's journal, in 1660, found among the "Winthrop Papers," were printed in the Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Society for 1863–4, pp. 281–283.

I was willing to write these lines to you in his behalfe, & to wright somethᵉ of the matter on occasion whereof he is now with drawne, &c. After a relation of the reason of his wrighting 2 sheetes of paper close on every side, still seeking the Lord for his direction therein, & that the Lord would make it a blessing to His people, &c. & how he had dealt with Mr W: about the saffe convayance of it, & of his miscariage in the bussines, & of ones playing Jack a both sides. He concludes with these words, — I pray pitty the poore man that miscaryed in his trust, &c., and then proceeded to some other matter of Intelligence as ffolloweth. Severall censures there haue beene of this letter, but many vnderstanding men haue thought it might be a testemony, &c, & God might answer the prayers of the pen-man in that way. The Secretary spake his apprehensions of the stile in which it was written, & in that respect comended it, but saide it was as pnicious a letter against the Goverment as had beene written since His Maᵗⁱᵉ came in. It is saide that P: Rupert should say it was not treasonable, but an History of things, &c. It seemes it hath beene throughly skañed. They say of it also that it is seditious. I dare say the Authers hart was honest & upright in wrighting it. But I hartily desire he may neuer come into there hands. They say there are severall coppies of it. I doe not yet heere of any Warrants out against him, but the bearer of this letter is bound to appeare againe after his returne. There was a speciall hand of God in this thing. The like hardly falling out in the memory of man. I once reade a story somewᵗ like it in the History of Mr Fox, concerning Mr Bartlet Greene. You may find it in the Booke of Martyrs. I thinke it is the next story but one after that of Mr Philpots. This freind of yours & mine was well the last time I saw him, & I hope the Lord hath hid him as he did Jerrimie after his Roule was read. Severall meetings & ministers have beene of late discouered & scattered. Mr Bridge was lately in the Cytty, & at his last meeting found out with the Company, by the offycers; & by the courage & wisdome of a deare freind of his & mine there present was well brought off. The offycer would haue dismissed all but him, but he was preuailed with through the goodnes of God. But Mr Bridge was faine to leave the Cyty the next day. Yow will heere of the Acts in preparing against refusers of conformity, & such as haue private meetings. Men speake of great

fynes, imprisonm^{ts} p^{r}muniries, and losse of estates, & lastly Banishm^{t} into fforaigne partes, except N: E: & Virginia. It is saide allsoe that there shall be noe making over of deeds of Trust of houses or lands to others after the Act is passed. The people of God are very sad, not knowing what to doe nor whether to goe. Yet many will forsake the land, make ouer estates, &c. They say there was lately a conspiracy in Ireland. Whether soe or not I know not. But seuerall there are apprehended & imprisoned heereupon. Many things I could tell you. But my purpose especially was to give you some acc^{o} of the afores^{d} letter according to the knowledge which I have of it, out of my respect to the Author, & likewise to yo^{r}selfe, having sometimes had the hapines to be acquainted with you. I understand allsoe that your freind hath some relations not far from you, knowne to you, who would be glad to heere he is well, & he the like of them. I doubt not but he would be willing you should cõmunicate this intelligence with them. I beleeve he did cõmunicate knowledge of affaires formerly, that they allsoe might partake with you. I doe know his mind, & am therefore the more bold thus to wright to you. But I must breake off. It is long since that I saw yo^{w} in this land, yet you may please to remember mee. I once heard you at Stratfeild-sea, & have heard you allsoe in the Citty; * & have beene allsoe at your house there, & I have beene with you severall times at M^{r} Thomas Eaton's and M^{r} Goodyeers. You may know mee heereafter by D: G: Letters are soe often broke up that many are loth to write there names. Sir, The Lord be your protection, & shew mercy & kindnes to you & yours, now & euer, Amen. Yours to serue you, D: G:

June 24: 63.

The letter was thought to be a ministers, but what his name was, or where he lived they could not tell, & though many ministers were sent for, as it is saide, & inquired of, whose hand they thought it was, they could not tell.

There are many in the country heere & there excomunicated & imprisoned, ministers & others.

* Wood, in "Fasti Oxonienses," Bliss's edition, iv. 136, says that Goffe was a "frequent prayer maker, preacher and presser for righteousness and freedom."

JOHN DAVENPORT* TO WILLIAM GOODWIN.†

♌ to ☊ᴿ / .. ☽ 8 · n. ‡ 2 9 mº 1665.

Most of the intelligence recᵈ by ☊ᴿ ♌ || ♂ — 8·♐ § vs before, but that miracle of the Dumbe Boy I never heard till by his report. Did ever God speake soe loud, & shew soe cleerely, by multiplied signes, in heaven, earth, & sea, & in the Bodyes of men, giving speech to the Dumbe, & hearing to the Deafe, noe man knowes how? & causing an Infant 18 weekes old, yea, an Oxe to speake, & foretell callamities approching, as he hath done to England since the late change of government? Noe history hath recorded the like, in soe few yeares. And the next age will

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* Rev. John Davenport, one of the most distinguished of the New England divines of his period, was born in Coventry, Eng., in 1597. After having studied five years at Oxford, he commenced preaching in London at the age of nineteen, and was not long after made Vicar of St. Stephen's Church, in Coleman Street. Here he distinguished himself by his "accomplishments as a minister and courageous devotedness to his people in a time of pestilence." Forced to resign his pastoral charge for nonconformity, he went over to Holland, and was settled for a season as colleague with Mr John Paget, over the English Church at Amsterdam; but a difference between the two ministers, in respect to the indiscriminate baptism of children, to which Mr. Davenport was opposed, led to a separation. He had been a patron and benefactor of the Massachusetts Colony from the beginning; and was at length induced, by letters from John Cotton, to remove to New England, and arrived at Boston, in the "Hector," June 26, 1637. He was cordially welcomed by the ministers and churches, and invited to a seat in the Synod, which assembled at Newtown August 31 of the same year. The next Spring, at the head of a company of families from Massachusetts, he removed to New Haven. On the 11th of October, 1668, at the advanced age of upwards of seventy years, he was installed pastor of the First Church in Boston. His death took place on the 11th of March, 1670. He was buried in the tomb of his old friend, John Cotton. A full account of his life, and an admirable historical portrait of his character, may be found in Bacon's "Historical Discourses."

His connection with the Regicides has been already briefly referred to in a preceding note. We have ascertained that he is the person designated in the Goffe correspondence by the character ♃

* Two letters of Mr. Davenport bearing his own signature may be found in their order among the miscellaneous letters in this volume.

† William Goodwin came over in the "Lion," and arrived at Boston, Sept. 16, 1632. He was a Representative in the first General Court of Deputies in 1634, but removed, probably in 1636, to Hartford; and thence, about 1659, to Hadley. He was ruling Elder both at Hartford and Hadley, and died March 11, 1673. Several of his letters are printed in 4 Mass. Hist. Coll. vii.

‡ *Mr. Davenport to Mr. Goodwin.* We have deciphered the characters used in this correspondence, as follows: —

· 6 ☾ ☽ · \ / ? · < | ☊ ☋ . 9 ♌ — 7 . v 8 ♈ ♐ ♑

a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p r s t u v w y th ng

§ By *Mr. Russell was with* vs before.

wonder at the Dedolency, & stupidity of this age, wherein soe few discerne the signes of the times. If that of the Jewes be true, wee may easily see what God is bringing about in the world, even the greatest changes that have beene since the 1st coming of Christ. The witnesses that are now killed, shall arise shortly, Rome shall be ere long ruined, Christ will take vnto himselfe his Kingdome, which hath beene vsurped by Brutish men, the vilenes of whose spirits hath appeared in scattering the churches gathered vnto Christ, in sylencing the faithfull Ministers, in imprisoning & banishing the inocent, in corrupting Religion with Antechristian superstitions, in killing sundry that deserved better vsage for theire zeale for God, and ffaithfullnes to the publicke good, & in adding to all these, manifest contempt of God, & of the Covenant, for the quarrell whereof God hath brought a double sword vpon them, the sword of the Angell, in the noysome Pestilence, which hath slaine above 100,000 persons throughout the land, in 3 or 4 mounthes, & the sword of war. By these God is making way for his anger, & his hand is stretched out still. N. England allsoe hath cause to tremble, whose day is coming, if speedy repentance & reformation prevent not, for our backesliding, & changing our waies, from the ancient pathes, to comply with Old England, in theire corruptions: But ah, alas for the distressed ministers, that want food, & rainent, for whom sister Hooke * hath written to me that a collec[tion] might be made, & releefe speeded to them, wherein I bele[eve] you & sundry with you will not be wanting.

It would exceedingly refresh me, if I could speake freely & fully 8·z z.se zree 8.rthyes your U j?b.urs.† But I had allmost forgot that I am wrighting a letter. The Lord lengthen your dayes, to see better dayes for the people of God.

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* Mrs. Jane Hooke, wife of the Rev. William Hooke, and sister of Whalley, the regicide. See note attached to her letters.

† "*With those three worthyes* your *neighbours.*" Col. John Dixwell, one of the Regicide Judges, was at that time with Goffe and Whalley at Hadley, having joined them there in February, 1664–5; but no trace of him there can be found after that year. See note to letter of James Davids.

WILLIAM GOFFE TO —— ——.

. . . 6: 1671.

. . . not only a stranger, but a poor exile stranger, . . . divine . . . eeve into . . . ple of God within . . . a rock among the p . . . it therefore greatly coneerns [us to a]ttend to that wise saying, Strangers must be no needlesse medlers. Yet as [P]aull, who was not only a stranger but a prisoner in that ship that was sayling in a dangerous season towards Rome; tho he had by Divine Revelation tould the company their should be no losse of any man's life, yet, (knowing he was to share in the coñon danger) when he saw the mariners about to leave the ship, he made bold to say to the Centurion & to the Souldiers, Except these abide in the ship, you cannot be saved. Euen so it faireth with mee at this day. That tho. I do beleeve the Lord hath a peculiar merey for his poor people in these ends of the earth in this great Houre of Temptation, yet seing this N: E: Ship (whilest it is sayling not towards but from Rome) tossed with a tempest, & not without danger of being overwhelmed, and perceiving her ffaithful, laborious Marriners at some disagreement among themselves, I am constrayned in my spirit to ery out, Oh yee Blessed Churches and people of God in N: E: except those worthy Marriners (cutting off every bone of eontention, letting it dropp into the sea) do agree in the shipp, you eannot be saved. I say it again, Except the Reverend Elders & Churches, with the Honored Majestrates & Deputies do vnite both heades & hearts & hands, in the earying on the work of Christ, in which you are all agreed, & vnanimously oppose every eoñon adversary, you cannot be saved. I need not mind you that possibly there may be reason for you to say, one to another what the Prophet saide to the King of Israell, 1. Kings, 20. 22.

As for the things wherein you differ, Alase, Dear Sirs, tho: Blessed be God, you are feeding with Christ among the lillies, yet it is night, & a dark night too, wherein both your selues & the S^ts^ elsewhere are conflicting with stormes & foggs, whilest dangerous rockes & sands are lying on both hands of you, and (with them in Paull's shipp) you are wishing for the day; have patiene therefore one with another untill the Day breake

and the shaddowes flee away. Then shall you behould the Lamb standing vpon Mount Syon, feeding & ruleing in the strength of the Lord, in the majesty of the name of the Lord his God. And then shall the true hearted Israelites abide and see more clearly to follow the Lamb whethersoever he goeth. Rev: 14. 1 to 6, compared with Micah 5. 4, 5. In the mean time I desire to be found among the n^{o} of those praying saints that are dayly crying vnto Jesus Christ, with the spouse in the Canticles, Turn my Beloved, and be thou like a Roe or a young hart upon the mountaines of Bether, or Division, as the margent renders it. Chapt: 2. 16, 17. My Beloved is mine & I am his: He feedeth among the Lillies, untill the Day Breake and the shadowes flee away. Turn, my Beloved, &c.

Postscript. You have another freind yet alive, that desires to give his hearty Amen, to these weake Breathings after love & peace among Bretheren, and commends to your meditation that sweet scripture: psall: 133. *tot:*

Since the writeing of thes poor lines, I haue pvsed the Reuer^{d} Sy[nod's] preface to the plateform of Discipline agred vpon in the year 1649, (not remembring that I euer read it till now) and cannot but be much affected with what they vrge with respect to there Brethren of Differing Judgem^{ts} in England & Scotland in refference to a Brotherly forbearance one of another in disputable things, not onely frõ the Scriptures but their own example, & the euill consequences that were likely to ensue to the churches, both in O: & N: E., by their Divisions, and do heartily wish that yourselves may be now moved to attend therevnto, not onely by the example of these your worthy predecessors, but also by the sad examples of those Brethr^{n} of whom they then spake, whose continued Divissions haue since brought vpon them, in a great measure, the Distraction & Destruction of all the churches in both Nations, which, (as it were with a propheticall spirit) that Reuer^{d} Synod did then forewarn them of. But my sp^{t} faileth me & my heart is overwhelmed within me, while I am lookeing vpon the languishing spouse: I must therefore turn me, & poure out my soul to her Dear Lord. Oh, Blessed Lord Je: shee whom thy soul loveth is sick, yea, so sick, that many of her phesitians & ffreinds, that stand weeping about her, say there is no hope, others indeed say,

there is yet some hope: But O thou the Hope of Israell; and is this thy mournfull voyce, (Oh Blessed spouse) vttered from the clefts of the rock & secret places of the staires, so sweet to Christ? as he is graciously pleased to say it is, vers. 14, Oh then, How will thy heart ere long be ravished with his joyfull voyce, when he shall come to call thee out of those clefts and say vnto thee, Rise vp my love, my faire one & come away, for loe the winter is past, the rain is over & gone, the flowers appear on the earth, the time of the singing of Birds is come, and the voyce of the turtle is heard in our Land, &c., arise my love, my faire one, & come away. ver: 10: 11, 12, 13.

Oh that our Hearts were inflamed with love! for tho many waters cannot quench love, yet I am assured that were the Hearts of Christians inflamed with sincear loue to Christ, and all the saints, it would certainly Drink vp & consume many waters, even those Bitter waters of strife, which are so apt to arise in every society. I shall therfore conclude with that well known (oh, that it were as well practised) exortation of the apostle, Finally Brethren, farewell. Be perfect, be of good comfort, be of one minde, Live in peace, and the God of Love & peace shall be with you. 2 Cor. 13, 11.

Quere: 1. Are you satisfied in Judgement, and Conscience, that the War against the Duch, as caried on by France & England is a just War?

Q: 2. If you be not satisfied upon good grounds that the War is lawfull, if you partake therein, are you not in danger to draw upon your selves the guilt of much innocent blood, and of all the evill consequences of an vnjust Warr.

Q: 3. Consider also 1: K: 22. 4. &c. See how Jehosaphat's hasty joyning with Ahab, though he afterwards enquired of the Lord, had like to have cost him his life: But when his ships were broken at Ezion geber, then he had learned another lesson, verses 48. 49. with 2 Cro. 20, 35, 36, 37. May not N: E:'s lost ships teach them a like lesson?

Q: 4. What did the United Colonies intend by the publick reading of the King's Declaration? Did they intend to proclaime Warr

against the Duch; or onely to inform theire people that the K. was ingaged in a warr against them, that so they might not be ignorant of what concerned them in the matter of their trade, &c? If the former, then they have no cause to complain of any wrong the Duch have done them in taking their ships, or any other spoyle they have or may do upon them till a new peace be concluded with them, that declaration of War preceading any act of hostillity done against them by the Duch. But if they intended onely the latter, it seems to be necessary that they do declare the same for their own vindication; since it seems that the Duch do look upon them as enemies that have declared open War against them.

Q: 5. Whether it be not one main priviledge, which the United Collonies have from the K. by their respective Pattents, to take up armes in such cases onely wherein they themselves judge it necessary, and therein to have no officer, superior or inferior imposed upon them but such as they themselves shall constitute, in theire respective jurisdictions, &c.

Q: 6. If the United Collonies, should by force of arms keep any Town or Towns on Long Island from becoming subject to the Dutch, the now masters of N: Y:, can they also assure to them any other priviledges respecting either Civill or Spirituall liberties, then what the K. of England or his Pattentees will allow them? If not what will those Townes be the better for such a reskue or assistance? &c.

Q: 7. Whether therefore since the late governours of those Townes upon Long Island are no longer able to protect them, they were not better to submit to the present prevailing party from whom it is probable they may obtain as good Liberties both spirituall and civill, as they [for]merly enjoyed then to engage their bretheren of the United Collonies in a warr for their sakes, who when with great charge & hazard to themselves they have freed them from the Duch, cannot assure them of better liberties then are, it may be, offered unto them by the Duch.

Q: 8. If the United Colonies in N: E. shall judge it most for the safety of that great interest of religion and the hedge thereof (the Civill priviledges granted them by Pattent) not to interest them selves in the present war, notwithstanding the reading of the Ks. Declaration; and thereupon may be quarrelled with by both partyes, by the one for publishing the said Declaration, &

by the other for not prosseeuting of it. Whether (they abiding faithfull to the great interest of religion which the Lord hath above all nations, betrusted them with) may not promise to themselves safe protection from Him who is both King of Saints & King of Nations. Who hath put words into theire mouths to answer every adversary that shall adventure without just cause to attempt upon them, viz. in Esa: 14. 32. What shall one then answer the messengers of the na[tion] That the Nation's Lord hath founded Zion, and the poor of His people shall trust in it, that is, in Jesus Ch. who is the onely and cheefe corner stone, that God hath laide in Zyon for a foundation, a stone, a tryed stone, a precious corner stone, a sure foundation. He that beleeves shall not make haste. Esa: 28. 16. The true interest of N: E. is founded upon this stone, & if the poor people of God in N E be true to it, and trust in it, it may with confidence be affirmed, that it shall stand as a rock immoveable, tho: all the people of the earth were gathered together against it. Zach: 12: 3; and one would thinke that every gracious soule should ever long for an opertunity to be venturing both estate & life or whatever else is dearest to him in the defence of it.

Sir,—I desire you to pray those deare & honored freinds to whom you shall deliver the paper I put into your hands to write vpon it, an affectionate voyce from the cleft of a rock to the people of God in N. E., and desire both yourselfe & them to weigh whether that affirmative precept mentioned in 2 Cor. 13, 11. if it be considered in the negative, be not sufficient to warrant the repeated conclusion before asserted in that weake paper, for surely if the God of love & peece do not abide with us in the ship, we cannot be saved.

MRS. GOFFE TO HER HUSBAND.

For My Dear friend Walter Goldsmith, these.

13th of October, 1671.

Deare Child, — I have ben abvndantly refreeshed by thy choych letter of the 10 of Avgvst, as allso by the boock yov toock the pains to writ for me. I bles the Lord, it eame in very good time to my hands, I being now with my deare Aunt Jane,* to home we are ingaged for her kindnes, she tock it very kindly that you wrot to her & returns thanks, throw marey we are all in health & dooe experañe mueh of the love & eare of our good God, in soporting & providing for vs in shveh a day of tryall as this is. I regoyce to heare that the eontry agre's so well with yov & that you thrye so well, it tis the Lords blesing, & it tis marvosly in our Ies, that we shold be provided for, when many of his dear children want. The Lord make vs trvly thankful, & give vs hearts to be wiling to be without what he will not have vs to inioy, thov never so mveh desiered by vs, we are to be at the dispose of ovr Hevenly Father, & tho he exersise vs heare with hard things, Heven will make amens for all, it will not be long before we shall se him as he is, & be mad like vnto him hoe suffered for vs, that throv his riehovsnes we may be made righovs. I know not whether this may com to yov safe, & therfore shall be the brefer, bvt I am wiling to take all opportvnityes to let yov knov hov it tis with vs, & hov dear yov ar to me & yovr 3 sisers, longing greatly to se yov, if the Lord se it good for vs, he will bring it to pase in his one time. The Lord help vs to svbmit to his will, & kep ovr hearts clos to him selfe. I have no good nvse to revife yor frend, bvt that all relations are will: by reson of Abvndane of rane & great winds, that hath ben with in this 6 weaks, hath don as is reported on good grovnds, as mvsh hvrt to the natishon as the great fier in London did. Oh the many wase God hath taken with pore England, fvrst in a way of marsy, & of lat sore Joygments hath follod ovne vppon another, that mveh of the svbstane of the land is destroyed, & yet the hearts of pepell are not awakned. Oh that all that fear the Lord would ery mytyly to God for pore Ingland,

* Undoubtedly Jane Hooke, wife of the Rev. William Hooke, and sister of Whalley.

for the sens of his one pepel are great, & my sens in perticeller, bvt I trvst the Lord will paseſi him self vppon his dear son. I bles the Lord yovr sisters ar not taken with the vanitys of the times. I am glad yov reseved what was sent. We are fain to be thrifty & therfore I shall forbare sendin tell I hear what it tis yov want, bvt if in anny thing I can sarve yov, pray command me, for I shall dov it to the otrmost of my povr, if the Lord permit. I beg yovr prayers & promis mine, & with my indeared Love to thy self, & dvty & sarvis to all frinds, committing yov & them to the safe protexon of the Allmyty, I take my leve, & tell deth remaine

Yovr dear & Loving Mother to my povr,

FRA: GOLDSMITH.

Shovrly tobaco is very good for yovr frend, bvt by the next I hop to send som perticeller dereesion, for I pvrpse to aske advise of a ovld frend, bvt this is so svdden that I have not time. Yovr frend that hath not wrot so long, intends to writ at the spring, if the Lord permit, many frends desire to be remembred to yov, & prays dayly for yov. The churches inioy mveh pes att London, bvt ar sorly parseevted in the contry, the Lord apear for deleverane.

By reson of the eold if yov wore a perreweg yov movt inioy more of the Are, if so pray send for one.

I hear the Ingens have chalenged the Engleeh in to the feld, the Lord stand by his pepell.

EDWARD COLLINS* TO WILLIAM GOFFE AND EDWARD WHALLEY.

These For the Hon^r^ Gentlemen, at their Lodgings wheresoever.

MUCH HO^R^ & BELOVED GENTLEMEN, — These are to lett you know, that God hath moued the heart of that worthy & gracious

* Edward Collins, freeman 1640, was deacon of the First Church in Cambridge, and representative for many years, from 1654. He purchased the plantation of Governor Cradock at Medford, sixteen hundred acres of which he sold to Richard Russell. He died at Charlestown, April 9, 1689, aged 86 years. See Savage's "Geneal. Dict.;" Newell's "Cambridge Church Gathering."

gentleman, Mr Ritchard Saltonstal,* who cals himself your brother, who is now gon for England, whom the good Lord prosper in his voiage: hath left behind him for your use, the sum of fivty pounds, which according to his purposs and intention should have bin double the sum, but mett with an unexpected disapointment, but posiblely some addicion may be made afterward: but for present my order is, that the said fivty pounds be delivered into your own hands. Therfore this are to disire yow by the first convenient mesenger yow can meet with to give me your positive order about it, how or by what hand it shalbe convayed to yow: Not els: but my Humble servis presented, commend yow to God & the word of his grace, & rest

Yours to serve yow as able

EDWARD COLLINS.

CHARLSTOWN, Jun: 1; 16:72:

WILLIAM GOFFE TO EDWARD COLLINS.

To our Deare & honor^ed^ ffreind M^r^ Edward Collins at Charlestowne. These.

DEARE S^R^, — Being informed by yours of the 1^st^ June 1672, that it hath pleased the Lord to move the heart of our much Honor^d^ ffreind & Dearely Beloved B^r^ in Christ, M^r^ R: S:* to leave a sume of money for o^r^ use, but how much it will amount vnto, is (it seemes) vncertaine. These are therefore to signifie that it is o^r^ Desire that the saide money, be it more or lesse, may be put into the hands of our Deare & Reverend ffreind, M^r^ John Russell, Pastor of the Ch^ch^ of Christ at Hadley, or such person or persons as he shall appoynt to receive the same, & for so doing, this paper with the receipt of the s^d^ M^r^ Jo^n^ Russell of his assignes shall be a sufficient Discharge to yourselfe or any

* Richard Saltonstall, jun., son of Sir Richard, came to New England, with his father, in 1630, having been matriculated at Emanuel College, Cambridge, Eng., in Dec. 1627. He was admitted Freeman of Massachusetts Oct. 18, 1631, and the next month went back to England. In 1635 he returned to Massachusetts; was chosen representative in 1636, and Assistant in 1637. He sailed again for England in 1649. In 1680 he was once more in Massachusetts, and was again made an Assistant; but in 1682, returned to England, and died in April, 1694.

other pson therein concerned. We haue not more at present; But for all your greate & vndeserved kindnesses (which the Lord will not faile to requite) to subscribe ourselves

Your most affectionately loving & oblidged ffreinds,

W: G:

July: 1th: 1672.

WILLIAM GOFFE TO HIS WIFE.

Deare & Honor[d] Mother, — Yours of the 14th Octo. & 23 Feb: 71 came both together to my hands on the 12th June last, with which I have been abundantly refreshed, rejoycing gr[t]ly to heare that it is so well with you, & your little ones, that the Lord is still pleased to keep & provide for you; & that all mine to yourselfe last sum̃er came safe to yo[w], a great mercye, espeeially considering how many hands they passed through before they came to yours, which I was not aware of. I am glad you haue informed me of it, for I would not make my letters too chary, to you. Some days since your additionall paper of news came also to my hands, wherein there is someth. that seems a little strange to vs who are affarr off. But surely there is a pad in the straw which God will in due time descover. I am very glad to heare that you are gotten so near to dear Mrs. Janes * & her good husband. The Lord requite all theire kindness to you & yours, I have written a large letter to her as yo[w] may see. Pray when yo[w] have read, seale & deliver it. I hope having been so large to her you will be pleased ther[efore] give me leave without offence that I be the briefer in this to yourselfe: His Ma[ties] Declaration against the Dutch having been published at Boston, the merchants & others are much discouradged frõ trading, so that I can hear of no ship going for England, yet I shall as soon as I can, send this to Boston, that it may be ready to go with the first opportunity. But in what postnre it may find yo[w] the Lord knowes, for I cannot but tremble to think what may become of poor England, whose sins are grown to a great Heigth. Yet the Lord that would have saved Sodom for the sake of 10 Righteous, will,

* Undoubtedly Mrs. Jane Hooke.

I hope, be gracious to our poor native country, for the sake of the many thousands (as it may be reasonably hoped) that are therein. There is a great stock of prayers going up for you in this countrey, which I doubt not the Lord will answer, tho: it may be by terrible things in righteousnes: Oh my Deare Mother, now is the time, if ever, to enter into these chambers of safety mentioned, Esa. 26: 20: 21, or rather to shut the doors about you, (for I hope you were long agoe enterd into them,) & to abide therein till the indignation be overpast. For yourselfe, Dear Mother, & your little ones (whom the Lord hath hetherto so graciously sheltered under his own wing) I cannot but hope, yea I do in some measure confidently beleeve that as Hee hath deliuered & doth deliuer, so he will continue still to deliuer you in the approaching storme which many feare may be more Dreadfull then ever yett the nations haue felt. But He that hath His right foot upon the sea, & His left foot upon the land, will so overrule all these motions that the issue of them shall be the advancem^{t} of His own Kingdō in the ruin of Antich: & his adherents. It shall be known that He is the Govern^{r} among the nations. Psa: 22, 28, & that the Kingdoms of this world are the Kingdoms of our Lord & his Christ; and tho: the nations be never so angry at it, He will take to Himselfe His great power, & reigne. Rev: 11, 15, 16, 17, 18; and the 24 Elders (that is, the members of the true gospel church) that sit vpon their seates, shall fall upon their faces, & congratulate His majesty; for in that day there shall be a shout of a king among them. But this place makes me sometimes to feare, that at the first sounding of the 7th Trumpet the churches may by reason of the foregoing tryalls be very much stript of their officers, or at least many of them. Because I find in this place, & no other in the whole booke of the revelation the publick worship of God celebrated by the Elders onely, heres no mention of the 4 Beastes (which are the ministers & officers of the churches.) Why whats become of the 4 Beasts, that should be the leaders in the publick worship, as yo^{w} may see, Rev. 4, 9, 10. Surely think I, The gr^{t} storme that was imediately to preecde the 7th Trumpet hath driven them into sorrows & someway or other devided them from their congregations, that they are not at hand, in an orderly way at least, as officers, to celebrate the prayses of the Lambe att the first Blast of the 7th Trumpet, & what you write of the losses the

churches & peo. of God haue lately sustayned of that kind, & the Difficulty of getting men duely quallified to succeed in the rome of those taken away, doth not a little increase these my apprehensions. But I am againe ꝑswaded frõ Chapt. 14, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, that these Breaches shall soone after the sounding of the 7th Trump: be made up, for that chapter carying on the history of the Church fro: thence where the 11th ended, it appears plainely that a little after the sounding of the 7th T:, the Lambe shall stand upõ Mount Syon (that is in a firm, stable condition, &c) with his 144000; & then the Breaches made upon the churches shall be made up. There eyes shall see their Teachers, as it is Esa: 30, 20, and then they shall sing a new song before the throne, & before the 4 Beasts & the Elders, ver: 3, now that the 14th chapter begins where the 11th ends, may thus appeare, for tho: the 12. & 13 chapters come between, yet they have the same ending with the 11th, for the 12 chapter is a breefe repetitiõ of the whole state of the chch from the primitive times till about the slaying of the witnesses, or the end of the 1260 dayes of the woman's being in the wildernes: and the 13th chapt. treates of the rising of the Beast (that is Antich:) & his 42 mo reigne, & making warr with the saints, during which time he makes the 2 witnesses prophesy in sackloth 1260 dayes, & at last overcomes & slayes them, of which the 11th chapter speakes, upon whose riseing & assending after a great earthqnake, the kingdom of the Beast shall be noumbred & finished, & therenpon the 7th Trumpt sounding, Or Ld Jesus takes to himselfe his grt powre & reignes, so that the 11th 12th & 13th chapters seem to have all one & the same ending, bringing the story both of the church & of Antichrist unto the period from whence the 14th chapt. doth proceed: But a little time may make these things more plaine. I do but touch vpon them, that you may a little see how my poor weake thoughts are working about these things, & upon what grounds I cannot but think the Lord is about to do grt things in the world, and therefore it concerns every one of vs in ꝑticular to be vpon our watch, & to keep our garments least we be found naked, & not be able to stand before the Son of Man, when he shall come to take vnto him his greate power, & to execute righteousness & Judgemt in the earth. Deare Mother, I cannot but be Deeply sensible of your greate and long continued affliction. But it is a great joy of

heart to me to find such sweet Breathings of the Sp^t^ of God in all your previous letters, which manifests to mee that the Lord hath in a great measure kept you from the evill of this evill day and sanctifies all your worldly Bereavm^ts^ to your sp^ll^ & eternall advantage. Oh, Blessed be the Lord for this vnspeakable gifft; what a mercy is it that the Lord is pleased to give you such a hearty Desire, (as you expresse in your last) to be contented to want the enjoym^t^ of that which God our Heavenly Father seeth meet to withould from vs though otherwise never so much desired. The Lord continue & increase that frame of spirit in yo^w^, and I Beseech you pray earnestly that it may be found in mee also. Oh that we could once come fully & freely & with a chearfull heart to resigne up our selves to be disposed of in all our concerm^ts^ as shall seem best vnto our most wise & most gracious & tender hearted ffather, who hath hetherto followed us with goodness & mercy, even all our Dayes, notwithstanding all our vnchildlike & vndutifull cariage towards him, though he hath made great changes in our conditions, & hath vissited our transgression with a rod & our iniquity with stripes, yet His loving kindness he hath not taken from us, nor doth he suffer his faithfullnes to faile. That expression in your first, that my Deare sisters are not much taken with the vanities of the world, I read with much joy, hopeing that the Lord will not onely keep them fro^m^ hunting after the vain things of this world, but will in his due time give all of them heartes with Mary to choose the better p^t^, which shall not be taken from them, and that he that causeth the light to shine out of darkenes will shine into all their hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Je: Ch: But that which you write in your second concerning Deare Frank I cannot read without teares, not of griefe but of Joy, for I have no greater joy then to heare that your children walk in the truth, as St. John speakes (Epi: 3) to Gaius, and though as you write, wee must be contented tho: we cannot as yet experience that in his 2 Epistle, ver. 12, yet it is matter of great joy & thankfullnes to the Lord that we do in the mean time experience that which he speakes in the same Epistle, ver. 4. Now the good Lord perfect the good worke he hath begun in her, & make it more & more evident to your selfe & others of his people that she is indeed passed from Death to life, & that she hath joyned herselfe to the

Lord in a perpetuall covenant that shall neuer be forgotten, Jer: 50, 5. That so the Lord also may be pleased to give vnto her, in his house & within his walls, a place & a name better then of sons & of daughters, even an everlasting name that shall not be cutt off. Isa: 56, 5, that she being planted in the house of the Lord may flourish in the courts of our God. Psa: 92, 13. Oh my Dear mother, it must needs be a great comfort and encouragemẽnt to you to see such fruits of your pious education of the children of your wombe, with whom you are still travalleing in Birth till Ch: be formed in them. Go on, Dear mother, psue with Dilligence the Blessed work you are engaged in. I hope the Lord will still make you a Teeming woman, & give you to see with Joy Christ formed not in one alone, but in the other two also.

Let the sp^t^ of faith & love, & bouldnes with the Lord be in yo^w^ (the Lord will allow you to be bould with him upon such an account) which I haue read or heard was in a precious servant of his, who had many children, who saide, that the Lord had promised to be a God to him & his seed, and he would not abate him one of them; and Oh that my poor prayers & teares, who am a poore, broken, vselesse vessell, might also contribute a little towards that gr^t^ worke. I would also gladly ad to my prayers for them, exortations to them were I in a fit capacity for such a worke. But an Elder B^r^ may be so far bould with his Dearly Beloved Systers as to speake to them in the words of Sollomon (with some change of the psons) Pro: 4: 1: Heare ye children (sisters) the instruction of your mother, & attend to know vnderstanding. She will give you (out of God's word) good Doctrine. Oh forsake you not her Law. Be you the loving and obedient children * of your Deare mother, or rather, continue so to be. Lett all her Blessed counsell & Holy Example prevaile with you to make choyse of God in Christ for your everlasting portion, & to choose him for your Husband, & to give vp yourselves with full purpose of heart, to love & serve the Lord with all your might, all your dayes. Now the God of your father & mother, the God of Abr: & the God of Izack & the God of Jacob, even the God & ffather of our Lord Je: Ch. in Blessing, blesse you all three,

* Addressed to his children. As he called his wife Mother, so he calls them sisters.

to the opening of your eyes, & turning you from Darknes to light, & from the power of Sathan vnto God, that you may receive forgivenes of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified, by faith which is in Christ. That being kept from the Evill of this p^r^sent evill world, you may be p served to his Heavenly kingdō to whō be glory forever & ever, Amen.

Dear Mother, you will I know bear with my affections that have forced mee to crowd in a few words to my Deare Systers in the midst of my Discourse to yourselfe, who I am sure will comunicate them with the best advantadge you can to those Deare Babes, that I know are the Dearely Beloued of your soule: But I must not enlarge further at this time, least my letter grow too Bigg, neither do I know when I shall get it convayed, it may be, before it go out of my hands, I may have someth: else to write, for we are in dayly expectatio^n^ to heare from England, & wee are even trembling to think what wee shall Heare. Yet if wee would faine rest vpon the gracious promise, Psall: 112. 7: 8, He shall not be affraide of Evill tidings. His heart is fixed, trusting in the Lord. His Heart is established, he shall not be affraide, untill he see his desire vpon his enemies.

You will p^r^ceive by the enclosed how it is with Mrs. Jaines her old freind,* who desires very affectionately to be remembred to you, & thankes you for your constant loue & kindness, &c. He doth not cease to pray for you & yours, as I hope you pray for him. It may be the Lord may yet continue him to be a further blessing to his Dear relations he hath been so long absent from. You will also p^r^ceive how the Lord is pleased to send in supplies for the carying on of a little trade here among the Indians; as the p^r^sent stock in N: E: money (between my p^r^tn^r^ & my selfe) is some^wt^ above 100 ^{li} all Debts p^{d}, therefore pray speake to Mrs. Jaines not to send any more till shee be desired from henee, tho: wee do not every year receive a fresh Token, yet what wee weare & eat may every day put us in minde of her, & of her kindnes, & therefore neither she, nor her labo^r^ of loue can be forgotten by us. All the things sent by Fairewether are come to hand. Besides what was written in a little paper by your own sweet hand, we have rec^{d} 6 p^{r}. of gloves & 40^{s} in silver, not mentioned in any letter or

* Whalley, Jane Hooke's brother, and Mrs. Goffe's father.

paper that is come to us: But as to these things & some other, I must referr you to the enclosed: I humbly thank you for the continuance of your motherly affection towards me, most unworthy thereof, and in ꝑticular for your care to fence me against the cold ayre. But the way you ꝓpose will not doe it, for I must tell you the aire of this countrey in the winter is exceeding pearcing, that a sickely person must not dare to venture out of Dores, tho: neuer so well clothed, except the Lord be pleased to make the Climate a little more Tempate, which also he is able to do. I shall now earnestly begg your Mother's Blessing, that is the continuance of your fervent prayers to the Lord, as I cease not (after my poor weake measure) to pray for you & my Deare systers, with all yours, day & night. And so with my accustomed sallutations to all ffreinds, I leave you all to be watched over, provided for, comforted, & saved by that great Keeper of Israell who neither slumbers nor sleepes, under the shadow of whose wing you may quietly repose yourselfe in the day of Trouble & feare, and say, Tho: my soule be among Lions, yet I will both lay me down in peace & sleep, for thou Lord onely makest me Dwell in safety; which that you may both say & do, is the fervent prayer of

Your most affectionate & Dutifull child,

W: Goldsmith.

Ebenezer, the 5th July, 1672.

In the yeare 64, about the time the Commissioners from England arived at Boston, with the shipps & souldiers that tooke the Monadoes (now called N. Yorke) frõ the Dutch, the moone rose in a Totall eclipse; & now this yeare, on the 12 August, a little before noone, the sun enters into the eclipse, which our Almanakes tell vs will be also totall, a thing very rarely known. What it may portend to this poor countrey the Lord knowes.

We are now come to the first August, having had no opportunity to send to Boston till now, & I have nothing more to add then what you will finde as a postscript to the inclosed. We heare there is another shipp frõ E: come into Boston, but can not heare frõ any good hand what intelligence they bring with them, onely its saide they saw the 2 great ffleets in sight one of another, which doth but fill us with longings to heare what the issue will be. My Deare mother, I once againe begg the continuance of

your prayers, for I have gr^t need of them. I know you cannot forget me, day nor night, if I may conclude from the continuall workings of my own thoughts, affections, & desires, towards yourselfe & my Deare sisters, & the motherly affection you have hetherto shewed to an vnworthy childe, that hath caused you so much sorrow. But I must & do leave you to the sweete embracings of him who is your redeemer & your Husband, the chiefest of ten thousand.

Indorsed, "To mother Goldsmith, July 5^th & August first, 1672."

WILLIAM HOOKE TO WILLIAM GOFFE.

These For my very good friend M^r Walter Goldsmith.

S^r, —I wrote in the spring last past to a good friend of yours and myne, M^r Edw: R.* who, (I hope) hath by this time received my lett^rs; And now, having an opportunity, I was willing to send these lines to yourself, whom, with your friend * I daily remember. I am now far stricken in yeers, neer 72, and know not whether ever I may write to you again; my wife also is past her great Clymacterick; yet pretty lively & vigorous still. A neer friend † of yours & ours cohabites with vs, together with her dear children, who are well, onely the middlemost somewhat weak at present, but I hope will gather strength again. We live in very good love together, & I think scarce know now how to live asunder. As for myself I am in competent health, onely I have that caracter of old age which Solomon mentioneth; Eccles: 12, 6, that my pitcher is broken at the fountain. . . . I look upon myself now at the borders of eternity. The Lord prepare me for a better world. I have had time enough to see the best of this, & nothing at all desireable in it. The younger sort who are eager in the pursuite of these lower things will see their folly when they come to my yeers, if they see it not before. We are

* Perhaps Edward Whalley, who assumed the name of Richardson.
† Goffe's wife.

glad vpon all occasions to hear from you or of you, & that it goeth any thing well in your parts, as accounting your welfare our own. As touching vs, we have now freedom without the least molestacõn to attend upon the Gospel & ordinances thereof,* & this liberty runs thorow City & countrey, peradventure, with regrett to many; but it is the fruite of the favr of Him who is in highest place among vs. And I think there is no restraint upon any of whatsoever psuasion, no, not the papists themselves, onely they may not meet so publickly as others do, & it is well they do not, for they are brisk upon that liberty which they do inioy. You heare of the warrs between the French & Dutch, which yet continueth, & how long it will hold we know not. The French have had many conquests upon the Rhyne, & in severall of the Provinces. They have taken Vtrich, [Utrecht?] & the whole Province of that name, wherein are very many Papists, & I think they have taken a province or two more, & severall cities or townes, & very strong holds, as Skenskanck, Nimigen, Swoll, Rees, Emmerick; Coverden (the key of Frisland) is lately taken by the Bp̃ of Munster, who ioyneth with the French; Crevecœur lately taken also, as I hear, & (for ought I know) Arnheim. Amsterdam is surrounded with water, which the Dutch have let in to secure the City, about a league or two over round; whereby the City was at 1st sorely distressed for want of fresh & good water, which (we heard) was sold at a very dear rate the gallon; but of late, 'tis sd, they have had great raines, whereby they have been supplyed. For the French entred in a dry time, which made the rivers of the countrey fordable for their armies, much to the disadvantage of the countrey. As for the Rhyne & some of their deep rivers, the enemy made bridges of boates, & passed over with no greate resistance any where. There hath, as yet, been no pitched battle between them; for the enemy hath a numerous army. I suppose at 1st, with the accession of the Munsterian forces, & (I think) 10,000 of ours, over whom the Duke of Munmouth is chiefe, the army may consist of above two hundred thousand, & they have done much in a little time. The Prince of Orange is the Low Countrey's Generall, &, they say, behalves

* This refers to the declaration of indulgence in favor of Protestant Nonconformists, issued in March, 1672.

himself well, & like a souldier. Their state-government is like to be quite lost, for the countrey is much discontented with thos governments, & the people very mutinous, and quarrelling with their Burgomasters; De Witt, the greate statesman and politician, was (they say) sorely wounded by some discontented ones, but not killed.* I hear he is like to recover again. They are miserably out of order, which presageth ill. The Prince of Orange is (I think) ge[ne]rally made Stadtholder, which is a place, title, & power which his Grandfather sometimes had, but of late yeers it was denyed to the family, & likewise renounced by oath, or abjured, but now the States have remitted the oath, & invested the Prince with the said title to the satisfaccon of the people very much. The French King is, as 'tis said, returning into France, having, they say, not been very well in health. They speak of sending of more forces from France to supply the Army. The Prince of Condee received a wound which hath layed him by for a time, and whether he will be able to goe forth again I know not. The Province of Holland is not as yet invaded; there are severall posts or passes into it, which are secured by the Prince of Orange. It is reported & in print, that the Duke of Luxemburgh, whom the French King left to comand a body of 18,000 men in the Province of Vtrecht, did send to the said K^{g} for leave to attempt one of the Posts or passes which at present are secured by the Prince of Orange's Army, as not doubting but to be able to force his way into the Province of Holland. The Duke of Bucks: & Earle of Arlington, & the Lord Viscount Hallifax, his Ma^{ties} Plenipotentiaries to the French K^{g} are newly returned home. They effected a Promisory Act between the two Kings, not to treate or conclude without pticipacon & inclusion of each other's pretences. You have heard, perhaps, how we set upon the Smyrna fleet of the Dutch some moneths since, but how they escaped vs; we then next hoped to have taken their East India rich fleet, & have been wayting for it now of late, but this is also escaped by going the northern passage about Scotland, & is now gotten into Emden in Friesland. Our fleet is still out, which had not long since a terrible fight with the Dutch fleet, both having suffered much in the fight. The James (wherein the Earle of

* This refers to the first attempt on John de Witt's life, 21 June, 1672.

Sandwitch, the Lord Montagew, was eom̃ander) was fired, & many hundreds slaine & drowned. The Earle drowned, who was since taken up upon our coasts, & his body brought to London & enterred with great solemnity & hon^{r}. Many men of note were slaine on our part, bet: 20 and 30, & many ships sorely torn, but 'tis thought that the Dutch had the worst of it. The French fleet ioyned with us in the fight, but we bore the brunt of the battle; they did little, and suffred little for ought I hear, tho: they gave terrible names to their ships, as Thunder, & Lightning, & Tempest, and severall other astonishing names. But as for the Duteh, their eondic̃on is sad, tho: ('tis said) they begin to gather heart a little. The trueth is, they have been a very covetous and earthly generac̃on of men; great adorers of Mam̃on; compassing sea & land to gaine the riches of the world, the wealth whereof they abound in, I think beyond any nation in the whole earth for their ꝑporc̃on. And this hath lifted them up in pride & arroganey to the despising of their neighbors, & drawing their indignation upon themselves, as entitling themselves, The High & Mighty States, yea, & in the East Indies, (where they have many greate & rich plantac̃ons) they write (as I have heard from severall) High & Mighty, Equal to Kings, Superior to Prinees, & Lords of the Ocean. And this for others horid pride God is now pulling down. Moreover, their covetousnes is such that it makes them cruell to any that shall presume to meddle in their trade in their way, for they make it death to trade in their Southern Seas; & you know very well what they did onee at Amboyna. The same spirit (I feare) is in them to this day. And so intent they are upon the world, that they will not allow God his own time, but imploy much of it about the world, openly, grosly, in the very sight of the sun; for they are abominable Sabbath-breakers; & as for the powre of godlines, it is rare to hear of it in their Provinces. And as for our King, they have most vilely abused him by strange, base pictures & representac̃ons, & that these many yeers, that flesh & blood is not able to bear it. Touching their drunkennes, it is grown proverbiall; & for their long feastings & compotations they have hardly their paralele. Certainly God is highly provoked by them. And now greate are their intestine animosities & tumultuous stirrings & doings; the common people imputing their miseries to the Burgomasters, and the Boors

refus^{g} to let in the waters to drowne the country, their condic̃on being miserable eno: already. The countrey people at the begiñing retired to Amsterdam with their cattle, & now are not able to find there how to provide fodder & water for them, so that they are forced to sell them at very low rates, hardly, (as 'tis reported) at the 20th part of what they are worth.

The Countrey which lyes for some leagues around that city vnder water, will not be recovered in severall yeers to its former state & vsefulnes, if there shoûld be peace; the owners of the land greately damnified. There hath not been any set battle between the Dutch & their enemies. The Dutch have had enough to do to defend Townes & passes, & more than they could do; so that their enemy hath met with little or no check in their way, but have prevayled much in a little time, and 'tis thought with their gold & silver, as much as with their iron & steel, severall places yeelded by the treachery of their governors. The Dutch have had promises of assistance from the Emper^{r} & severall German Princes, especially from the Elector of Branderburgh, which are not yet come down to their help, but 'tis thought they will. That which hath hitherto hindered, I suppose is the news & noise of the Grand Seignio^{rs} preparac̃ons to come down upon Poland with a vast army to recover Vkrania out of the hands of the Pole, the King of Poland having not long since marryed the Emper^{rs} sister, upon which account the Emperor will be con̄ned [concerned] for Poland to ayde his brother in law, & as for the Duke of Branderburgh, he also hath promised assistance to the Pole, if need be. And this, I conceive, hath retarded the motions of the Germane Princes towards the low Countreis. But otherwise I apprehend that the Emper^{r} is much displeased at the warr, as jealous of the French King, & of his aymes as g^{r}ter matters than the Netherlands; & he takes it ill, no doubt, that the B$\tilde{p}$ of Cologne & the B$\tilde{p}$ of Mvnster, being two of his Elect^{rs}, should be assistant to the French in this Expedic̃on; so that if the Turk fall not in upon Poland, I think there is probability of help from the Emper^{r}, who may perhaps come too late, if he come not quickly. Poland also is in a greate distemper among themselves, & cannot agree in their Diets, but are ready still to be breaking them up in m^{ch} discontent & passion as dislik^{s} the Government, & some speech there hath been of deposing their King. But I

must now draw towards a close, having now taken the waters & some physick with them for my distemper, & so am vnfitt to write; onely I was willing to send you this paper, not knowing whether I may write to you any more. There is, (I hear) one Mr Richardson * living in those parts where you are. If you know him, I pray salute him with much love & respect in my name; & likewise one Mr Russell,† a good mã. Now, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies be with you & our good friends with you, as many as know me. To the rich graee of God in Christ eomending you, I rest

Yours to serve you, D. G.

The 2d of Aug: 1672.

Boisleduc also is said to be besieged by the Marshall Turenne, a greate comander under the Fr: King, & a greate souldier. Breda likewise blocked up, & Bommell surrendred to the Marquis de Chamilly, & it is said also, that the inhabitants of Groningen, before which the Bp of Munster lay, sent out to demand termes, & some lres add, that the place hath surrendred, & is in the hands of the said Bp. They speak also of greate tumults in Middleburgh, the chief town (as I take it) in the Province of Zealand, into which the Bores in a tumultuous mañer forced their entrance and seised on severall of the Magistrates, whom they still keep prisoners, till they have satisfaction in their wilde demands. The Duke of Orleans also is in the Army, and abundance of the French nobility, Dukes and Marquisses and greate Mounshieurs.

Indorsed, "Rec'd 10mi 7: 1672."

WILLIAM HOOKE TO WILLIAM GOFFE.

These for Mr Walter Goldsmith in New England.

My beloved friend! — Though I am vnfit to write, as exercised often vnder the painefull distempers of old age, yet I am

* Whalley. † Rev. John Russell, of Hadley.

willing once more to salute you by these few lines, that you may know that I am yet alive, & not vnmindfull of you and of my other dear friend, for whom & for you I daily pray to our heavenly Father. I have been held vnder bodily exercises of paine & grief, and am now vnder daily expectacons of my leaving this world and passing to a blessed eternity, through the rich & free grace of God in Jesus Christ, who is my continuall study, & the object of my contemplacon & faith, & who is my All in All; to whom be glory & honr for ever & ever. Your good mother, to whom you vse to write yearly, is now vpon parting from vs, which is no small exercise to vs; but shee hath newly lost her daughter Elizabeth, and marryed her eldest, and is therefore willing to live more privatly. Her daughter* is well marryed to a Salter by trade, a gentleman, and one that liveth well. He is partner with a very dear friend of myne, a very wise & godly man,† aged & experienced, and a lover of his partner, and a great help to him. The time of the deliverance of this young man's wife doth now draw on. My dear wife is yet living also, but at present held under sharp pains. She hath had good health for these many yeers, but we must shortly part, each with other, having been marryed together almost 44 yeers. She hath been very active in serving the best Master, & ministring to his dear members. She is not now fit to write to you, but remembreth her most kind love and respects to you & to her very near relation who is not vnknown to you. Our children are all living, if he in N. E. be so, from whom we have not heard these severall yeers by letters from him, which is a grief to vs; only my son Walter dyed about 3 yeers since, whose life was godly, & his death comfortable. The rest of myne here are all marryed, excepting my youngest daughter but one, who is like, also, to change her condicon within a moneth or 5 weeks. I wrote not to any in your country the last yeer, as I can remember, the seas being then full of trouble. We have here made peace with Holland, yet the wars do still continue between the French & low Countries, in the beginning of which the Lord St John dyed at Utretch, and found kindnes (as I hear) from the French during his life. We are here in a low

* Goffe's daughter.

† Probably Mr. Vaughan. See note to Goffe's letter, dated Aug. 5th, 1674.

condiĉon, through God's hand vpon vs, which hath afflicted vs with warrs, broken our ships in Tarshish, — spoyled our merchandize greatly, punished vs with dreadfull fires in the City of London, spoyled our trading, shut vp very many shops, left very many new built houses vninhabited, afflicted the eastern parts with great invndaĉons, winter after winter, inflicted much poverty, made money very scarce, chastized vs with immoderate showers the last sum̃er, to the spoyling of a great part of our harvest, & with the like raines and showers this winter now over, to the indangering of the harvest the sum̃er now ensuing; so that wheat is grown of late very dear, about 10^{s} a bushell; other graine proportionably risen; and dearth & famine is much feared. There hath been also a great death of cattle of most sorts; rottennes in oxen & kine, & sheep, & hogs, & geese, &c. And mutton is sold at 7^{d} half penny a pound of late; and beef and veal at a greate price. The bills of Mortality have also of late been doubled; near 700 a week dying lately; &c. God is greatly offended with vs, and pursueth his controversy against vs. And God hath of late yeers taken away many of our able ministers from vs, as M^{r} Greenhill, M^{r} Mallary, M^{r} Bridge, M^{r} Carryll, M^{r} Nye, M^{r} Loder, M^{r} Elmes, M^{r} Wood, M^{r} Carter, M^{r} Blake, & of late, M^{r} Venning, and M^{r} Janoway, & some others. Dr. Owen succeedeth M^{r} Carryll; his former fellowship ioyning with M^{r} Carryll's. D^{r} Goodwin is yet living, but hath not gone forth of his house for these yeers; nor hath your old friend, from whom your mother is now departing, gone out of his doors about these 6 moneths. Ireland is yet quiet, in which the Papists had expectaĉons of the conquest of the low countries. M^{r} Nathaniel Mather succeedeth his brother, (now dead) in being Pastor to the church at Dublin. The professing party in that land have had their liberty all along, during the want thereof in England. But I must hasten to a conclusion. The good Lord prepare me for my approaching appointed change; & let His grace & mercy be with you and yours, and my dear friend with you. I suppose this will be my last letter to you. The Lord Jesus be with you, and manifest himself to you. My hope is onely in him, to whom I have resigned vp my self. Let His good Spirit be your Counseller & your Comforter. Myne and my wife's due love & vn-

feigned respects to Mr Rich——;* the same to Mr Russell. Again and again, Farewell. The grace of our Lord Jesus Xt be with you evermore. Amen.

Yours to love you to the last D. G.

The 4th of the 2d 1674.

WILLIAM GOFFE TO [WILLIAM HOOKE.]

Most Dear Sir,—I lately received yours of the 4 Apr.† laste, & rejoice much, that you were then alive, and able & willing still to write to your poor freind notwithstanding the painefull distempers under which you labor in your old age; for which I account myselfe most deeply oblidged to you as well as for your many former precious lines; by which I have been often refreshed, tho: not directed to myselfe; and tho: I cannot, yet I am assured the Lord will abundantly requite all the Labor of love that you have showed to me & mine, and I hope you have accepted of some weake lines of mine that I have written to some others, as if they had been directed imediately to yourselfe; & so presume that I shall not need to stay vpon any long appoligie for this my late writeing to you. Hopeing that you have hetherto been my advocate with yourselfe from the reasons that have risen in your own Brest, which may not be so convenient for me to expresse. Yet I many times feare I have been faulty in this matter; but I still hope to shroud my selfe under the mantle of your Dear & free love, which is large enough to cover a multitude of faults. Dear Sr, You are now pleased to say, that you suppose this will be your last letter to my selfe, a word that cannot but affect my heart with sorrow, and cause me to weep sore, that so dear a freind should be grown so weake as not to be able to write any more, yet I will comfort myselfe, that that Heavy word is not yet spoken which made Paulls freinds to sorrow most of all (Acts 20, *vlt.*) and Hope the Lord may lengthen out your life & mine, & so order things in His Providence, that I may yet see your face once

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* Whalley took the name of Richardson.

† See the preceding letter.

again even in this world, which hath indeed nothing in it more Desirable then such faces; in the mean time I. shall desire to bear upon my heart a due sence of those Bodily exersises of pain & griefe you are held vnder; & to pray the Lord, if it be His will, to ease you of them; that so whilest the Lord is pleased to continue life it may not be altogether a Burthen to you. But Oh! Dear S^r^, How sweet & full of instruction are those words of yours, (give me leave to repeate them) when you say, I am now vnder dayly expectations of my leaving this world & passing to a Blessed Eternity, through the rich & free grace of God in Je: Ch:, who is my continuall study, & the object of my contemplation & faith, & who is my all in all, to whom be glory & hono^r^ for ever & ever. These are living words, well becomeing that Dyeing saint by whom they are spoken. Oh, that the Lord would write them upon my heart, & give me a proffitable remembrance of them while I have a day to live; for is it not the Duty of every mortall man to be under the dayly expectations of leaving this world, which tho: some be, in the ordinary course of nature, a little Higher vp in the river of time then others, yet all are sayling downe apace to the mouth of it, where it emptieth itselfe by a double streame into the ocean either of a blessed or miserable eternety, & into this Dead Sea of a miserable eternity do multitudes of carelesse soules dayly flow down in the great stream of the world, in which all men by nature are swiming. But Oh, how few, comparatively, are those that through the rich & free grace of God in Ch: are taken out of the world's, and put into the lesser streame flowing from the precious fountaine, the Blood of Ch: by which alone it is possible for vs to pass into the Blessed Eternity which is your Dayly expectation. How greatly then doth it concern vs all (since we must certainely very shortly leave this world whether we dayly expect it or no) to get into that stream which may when time shall faile vs, lanch vs into that Blessed eternity wherein without expecting any more change, we shall be at rest in the Bosom of Ch: forever, & to that end pray to the Lord with David, (which is all one as I conceive), to lead vs in the way everlasting; which were the very last words I was but even now reading in course to myselfe & your old freind* in

* Whalley.

Psa: 139, vlt: and as a furtherance of this great worke, what better course can we take then (with you) to make Christ, who is the Way, the Truth, & the Life, our continuall study; of whom, when we have once attained a cleare and experimentall knowledge, & of our interest in him, we may account it a shame to vs if we do not make him the constant delightfull object of our contemplation & faith, and esteem him to be our all in all. But alas; how far am I from this temper, and how doth Sathan, & an evill heart continually impede my weake indeavours after it, laboring especially to stagger & vndermine faith. But how well is it that Ch. hath prayed that our faith faile not. Oh, Deare Sir, whilest your praying time lastes, cease not to help me by your prayers (and may this paper, if it be the will of God, reach you before you take your flight,) that so if you shall go before, I may not faile to follow, & meet you in that Blessed Eternity where we may together with the whole assembly of glorified Spirrits give glory & honor to Him that sits on the throne, & to the Lamb; and forever admire & adore the riches of mercy & free love, that hath wrought from everlasting, and will be working to everlasting, for our good:

Alase for my dear freind your loving Consort; it greives me much that she hath not been well, yea held under sharp paines, & was thereby made vnfit to write to vs. I hope the Lord hath since eased her of them, & that he will lengthen out her dayes, to be a longer comfort to your selfe, & a further help to the poor members of Ch:, vnto whom she hath allready ministered so much, & whose labour of love to his name therein her Heavenly Father will not be vnrighteous to forget. No, assuredly her reward shall be great in heaven, nor will the Lord withould a Blessing from herselfe & hers on earth neither. I pray present my affectionate love to her, & with Hearty thankes for all her gr[t] love to myselfe & her old freind * who is yet alive, & desires to be remembred to yourselfe and her, but cannôt write. I have given a more full account of his condition to my Dear Mo: † to whom I must referr you. I shall onely ad, that notwithstanding all that I have saide in her letter, I do not apprehend the near approach of his Death more now (save onely he is so much older) then I did

* Whalley. † Mrs. Goffe, his wife.

two yeares agoe. He is indeed very weake; but He that raiseth the dead is able to restore him to some degree of strength again, & will do it, if it may make for His glory, the edification of his people, and our best good. He complains of no pain, and hath a good stomake, for the most part, to eate thrise in the day, & sleepes well the latter part of the night & morning, and troubles not himselfe much with one thing or another that I can discern, but quietly waites to see what the Lord will do with him. But I doubt, formerly his being too much troubled at his own weakness, especially that of his vnderstanding & memory; & his striving so long and earnestly with it, did the more increase it. I know you are not wanting to remember him in your fervent prayers. Pray tell my dear ffreind that methinkes we misse a great part of our annuall refreshment which her kind letters were wont to give us. But we can tell how to feed upon her love, & must rest therewith satisfied when the Lord makes her not able to write to us.

Dear S^r^, It is some exersise to me as well as to your selves, that my Dear Mo: was upon a remove from those good ffreinds with whom she hath for some time had her Lodgings. But I hope the Lord who tells all her wandrings and puts her teares into his bottle, will, or hath been the cheife directer in that motion, and will provide some place where she may comfortably abide, and in a more private way, wherein I am confident she wants not your Help, nor your counsell & prayers, that those solleme dispensations of God (the occasion of that remove) may be sanctified & blest to her, & her poor afflicted family. I pray, Sir, be pleased to remember my affectionate love to that good man,* the adged ꝑson of whom you wrote, & pray him to continue his love & helpfullnesse to his partner,† and the young woman his wiffe, espeshially in the matters that concern their spirituall & eternall welfare. I am so far off the sea side, that I seldome heare any thing of your freind there. ‡ I am very sory he neglects to write to you. There is a freind now gon to those parts whom I have desired to

* Probably Mr. Vaughan, the dry-salter in London, with whom Goffe was associated in trade before he joined the army of the Parliament.

† The husband of one of Goffe's daughters. See the preceding letter of William Hooke, dated April 4th, 1674.

‡ Perhaps Dixwell, who then resided at New Haven.

enquire after him. I should be glad to have something to write of him that might be a comfort to you. I perceive the Lord is still walking among you in the way of his judgements. Oh, that the inhabitants of poor England would learn righteousnesse, and consider how applicable that is to them which is saide in Isaiah 1, from the 5th to the 10th vers: and hearken to the counsell given, ver: 16 to 21. I am at a great distance, yet methinkes I see the Lord shaking both your Earth & Heaven. Oh, that He would give vs grace to seeke a Kingdom that cannot be shaken, and to serve him acceptably with reverence & godly feare, for our God is a consuming fire. The Lord hath taken away many Righteous ones of late yeares, both in Old & New England, & therefore we may feare there is yet more evill to come, & the rather because there are so few that lay it to heart. The Lord, if it be His will, continue your selfe & those few of His ancient servants that are left, yet a while to Labour in his wasted vyneyard. Methinkes I hear the Churches Crying to the Lord, that they cannot spare you; & hope He will for their sakes lengthen out your life, & renew your strength to do him yet a little more service in your generation, before you go henc & be no more seen. But I fear I shall tyre you with my too many rude & weake lines. I shall therefore come to a conclusion, praying that he that houldeth the seven stars in his right hand may be your safe protector in all stormes, & enlighten, guide, and strengthen you with might, by His Spirit, both in the inner & outward man, till you have made an end of fighting that good fight in which you are engaged, & till you have finished your course; and then will the Lord, the righteous Judge, put vpon your head that Crown of righteousnesse that is allready laide up & reserved in heaven for you. To His grace I do again & again recomend you & my Beloved freind your Deare wiffe & whole family.

I am, Deare Sir, Your most affectionate, & deeply oblidged ffreind, W: GOLDSMITH.

EBENEZER, August 5th 1674.

Your old ffreind, being asked whether he desired any thing more to be added concerning himselfe, he saith I desire nothing but to acquaint myselfe with Je: Chr: & that fullnesse that is in

him for those that Beleeve and have interest in him. This sentence he uttered with some stopps, yet with more freedom and clearnesse than vsuall.

Indorsed by Goffe, "To Mr D: G. the 15th August, 1674."

WILLIAM GOFFE TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Reverend Mr. Increase Mather Teacher of a Church of Christ in Boston, these dd, in New England.

Reverd and Dear Sr, — I have received the letters from England that you inclosed to Mr Whiting, and give you hearty thanks for your continued care in that matter. It is a great comfort to me to hear so frequently [from my] so far distant & dear relations: & I esteem it a great mercy, that (through your care) all our letters have hetherto passed without any one miscarying. My dear Mor * writes that the last she received came safe tho: it wanted the outer covering they vsed to have. But she desired me to do so no more. I did then as now & at all other times. But I suppose their desire is that mine may be covered by yourselfe as judging it most safe; and I Beleev a few words from your self to Mr Hook, to inform him of the state of the countrey would be very aeceptable. He writes to me that the churches in London have been very sensible of our great troubles here, and have sought the Lord sollemly on our Behalfe; & I doubt not but they will continue to help us by their prayers & councells to improve aright these great Dispensations of judgement & merey which the Lord hath exersised upon us. And Oh, that the Lord would indeed Help us thercin. Surely God hath His watchfull eye vpon vs; He is pleased to give us a breathing time, and he seems to be trying vs once again to see whether we will be children that will not lye, that so he may be our Saviour from the evills we have yet cause to fear may be coming vpon poor sinfull N: E: I have read over your late seasonable Exhortation. But

* His wife.

it was taken from me before I could read it a second time. Oh, that we could once in good earnest attend the many warnings the Lord is pleased by His servants the prophets, as well as by his providences, to give vnto vs. However you will have comfort in your faithfull & painfull endeavo^{rs}. I judge that there is great cause of hearkning to your advice in the matter of the churches renewing their Covenant, and to be deeply humbled for their former Breaches thereof. There hath been, doubtlesse, a great neglect of that mutuall watchfullnesse which all the members are so sollemly bound by their Cov^{t} to have one over another. Were there a due care to keep one another vp to a Holy gospel-like conversation; by timely, loveing and private admonitions, exhortations and reproofs, much evill would be prevented, and much spirituall good attained; and that without those Breaches & vnchristian Divisions and heart-Burnings, which have so frequently Hapned amongst vs. But Oh, that God would be pleased to poure out His Spirit from on high, that the wildernesse may become a fruitfull feild; even so fruitfull, that in comparison thereof the now fruitfull field may be counted for a forrest. Isa: 32: 15. The great Houre of Temptation is not yet over. God hath begun & He will go on to shake terribly the earth; yea, & heaven also. But all in order to the founding of Syon. The Lamb will, er it be long, appear upon Mount Syon with his called & chosen & faithfull ones. Rev. 14: 1. & 17: 14 compared; and that among the Gentiles, in order to the Destruction of Babilon, the seat of the Beast; that so by the defacing of the old Harlot, and the Beauty of the Lambs gentile-Bride, (Isa: 54, 11, &c. compared with the foregoing part of the chapter) the elder syster, the Jews, (Euphrates being also dryed up) may be provoked & encouradged to embrace the Lord Jesus, and so, Both Jew & Gentile become one glorious Bride, for the most glorious K[ing] who hath broken down the wall of partition and purchased her vnto himself by his own Bl[ood]. ffor this gloryous day let us pray, & waite, & p^{r}pare dilligently; for maugre all opposition, (Let men and Devills do their worst) the vission shall speak, & he that shall come, will come, & will not tarry.

The Lord Jesus hath been long standing with his feet upon the Sea & vpon the earth (overuleing all the confused motions

of the nations) Rev: 10. 2. But he will shortly appear in another posture, and . . . his step to the top of Mount Syon, leaving the earth and sea shakeing & trembling vnder his foot-[steps.] Methinks I see a greater glory prophesyed of in Rev: 14; the 5 first verses, then hath yet app[eared] in any of the protestant nations of Europ, which yet is to be expected before the Destruction of Rome, for which my soul longeth, and I am much perswaded that the Begining of it will be in Great Br[itain.] But oh, the terrible things that are to be expected God will do there, in order therevnto, and Blessed are those that shall be found worthy to escape the things that are coñing to passe, and to stand before the Son of Man, or to accompany the Lamb upon the Mount Syon. Dear Sir, I Begg the continuance of your Love & fervent prayers, that for the good will of him that Dwelt in the Bush, the Blessing may yet come upon the head, the top of the head of the poor worm that hath been so long seperated from his Bretheren and allmost from all Humain Society, yet he hath liberty, & in some measure a heart to pray day & night for yourself & all the Saints. So recomending you & all yours to the grace of our Lord Je: Ch:, I remain Dear Sir, your very much oblidged & thankfull ffreind to serv you in what I may be able.

Ebenezer, 8th 7. mo. 1676.

I was greatly behoulding to Mr Noell for his assistance in my remove to this Town. I pray if he be yet in Boston, remember my affectionate respects to him. I cannot but expect to hear of some great thing from England. I beseech you, Sir, not to interpret any expression in my letters as if I complained of God's Dealings with me, for I am abundantly satisfied, that He hath done all things well. Not any one ingredient which my tender hearted & wise Father hath put into my cup, could have been spared. And I Blesse His name I have some experimentall feeling that every circumstance of my affliction hath been for my good; and well will it be for me if at length, being freed from all my Drosse, I be made a partaker of His Holynesse.

As I was going to seale vp my letter, I was tould that beside your Exhortation, you have also taken the pains to write a History of the War, which is also printed. But I have not had the Happy-

nesse as yet, to see it; and know not when I shall, tho: I much desire it; for I find it very difficult to attain any sollid intelligence of what is done abroad: . But the workes of the Lord are great, & should be sought out of all them that have pleasure therein. Psal: 111. 2. I cannot chuse therefore but be shutting one eye and peeping with the other through the crevises of my close Cell to discern the signes of my Lords coming. But Oh, that I were prepared & in a readinesse to go forth to meet Him.*

WILLIAM GOFFE TO INCREASE MATHER.

Dear S^r^, — I have rec^d^ yours of the 17^th^ May, with those from England, as also the 12^th^ left with you by M N:, for all which & for all former kindnesses I return you my hearty thanks, which is all I am able to do. But you know to whō I have referred you for Better payment: who will not be vnrighteous to forget your work & labour of love that you shew to any, thô never so mean, for his names sake. I have desired to sympathise with you in your late fiery Tryall. But rejoyced much to hear that you had time to remoue & secure your cheife treasure, I mean your Bookes. However it was a sharp affliction, yet but your ffathers Rod, who allwaies aimes at the proffit of his children in all his corrections, & I doubt not but your selfe shall abundantly experienc the truth thereof in being made a further partaker of his Hollyness: This is a day of Jacobs troubles, & the Lord is still pleased to exersise his patienc towards the persecutors of his people, that cry vnto him Day & night. But let vs remember what our Lord hath said, Luke 18. 8, I tell you that he will aveng them speedily. What can be spoken more possitivcly to support faith vnder seeming Delayes, yet How apt are wee poor wormes to faint whilest we are waiting for the salvation of God.

Dear S^r^, you know my tryalls are considerable, & did you know my weakness, you would surely pitty, & pray earnestly for me,

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* A seal, bearing the arms of Whalley, is affixed to this letter.

even as I am perswaded you do, But I pray you do it yet more & more. The great thing I aim at is, that I may be more like the L^d^ Jc: & enjoy more near & full Comun[ion] with him; that I may learn to live upon him alone, and th[ink?] it a good living too: & I Hope the Lords purpose is to teach [me] that Lesson by bringing & keeping me into this Desolat state. When [He] alured his ch^ch^ into the Wilderness, (Hosea: 2. 14) it was that [He] might there speak comfortably vnto her, or to her Heart.

And truely I find that good & comfortable words from the Lord, or any of his people are very refreshing. But alass, I am worthy of neither, it is of the Lords mereyes that I am not consumed, yet are his compassions continued, I must acknowledg, and say They are new every morning: great is thy faithfullness. The L^d^ is my portiō saith my soul, therefore will I Hope in him.

Dear S^r^ to his grace I reeom̄end yo^w^ & all yours & remain

Your mueh oblidged & thankfull freind.

Ebenezer. 12. 4 m^o^ 1677.

With my Humble & Hearty thanks for all your former favours, I entreat your further care in convaying this to M^r^ Hook by the first convenient oppertunity.

WILLIAM GOFFE TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Rever^d^ M^r^ Increase Mather, Teacher of a Church of Christ in Boston these present.

Rever^D^ and Dear S^R^, — I have reeeived the letter yo^w^ sent me very lately from my Dear Mo: for which, with all your long continued kindnesse, I heartily thank you; and am really ashamed to think how I am forced to be still so troublesome vnto you; yet it is some ease to me to think that thereby fruit may abound to your aecount. I doubt not but you have heard, that good M^r^ Hook (after his long expeetation) is gon from an evill world into his everlasting rest. My Mo: writes, that he being

dead, shee hath written to her ffriend (by whom I suppose shee means your self) to send her letters to annother place; but did so far forget herself as not to informe me either of name or place. So that I am forced to send my letter (I mean the inclosed) to yourself with a naked superscription; which I humbly entreat you to cover, and send away by the first convenient opportunity, and also that you would be pleased to give yourself the trouble of writeing a few words to let me know what place & person it is that my Dear Mo: directs to, that I may know for the future how to superscribe my letters to her. As for this, I must depend upon your care & prudence to give it a safe convayance; which the Lord hath hitherto so exceedingly blessed that I do not know of any one that hath miscaryed. I pray Sir, be pleased to let me know whether you have heard any thing this yeer of Mrs. Hook. My Mo: hath mentioned her twise as intending to write or send to me, but I have not heard any thing from her. Thus you see, Dear Sir, how bould I make with you, presuming upon my former experienc of your great & underserved love, which I dayly pray the Lord to requite a 1000 fould unto your Bossome, & would greatly rejoyce if I could be any other way serviceable vnto you. Dear Sir, It is now concluded on all hands that there is a great day of tryall come, & coming vpon the poor people of God every where. Oh! that we were more throughly awakened & prepared to meet the Lord, and to waite for him in the way of His Judgements; for He hath assured vs in his word, that all these shakings are in order to the setting vp of His own most glorious Kingdom. The Moon must be confounded, & the Sun ashamed, when the Lord of Hostes shall reign in Mount Zion, & in Jerusalem, & before His ancients gloriously. But here is the patienc & faith of the Saints. But I shall not further interrupt your more serious thoughts with my weak scribling, only to desire your fervent prayers for him who ceaseth not to pray for your self, & all yours, & for the whole Israell of God, and who is Dear Sir, your most affectionat and deeply oblidged ffreind & servt,

T: D.

Ebenezer, the 30th Aug: 1678.

WILLIAM GOFFE TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for youre selfe.

Octo: 23, 78.

Rever^d & Dear Sir, — I lately gave you the trouble of a letter with one inclosed to my dear Mother, which should have been sent by a ffreind that was to have returned to this Town, by whom I hoped to have rec^d a few words from yo^w. But he falling ill went not, so I was forced to give an honor^d ffriend the trouble thereof, who saide he would deliver it with his own hand; & therefore I hope you have rec^d it. I was forced to send that to my Mo: with a naked superscription, and this also; because I am ignorant both of the place & pson appoynted (since M^r H[ooke] his death) to direct them to. I beseech you Sir, to vse your prudene in the safe convayanee of them, for thô my letters be of little worth, yet my dear Mo: is pleased to esteem them a comfort to her in this day of her great and long continued affliction; & we are, both of vs your great Debtors for the help you have given vs in our paper correspondence. I should take it as a great kindnesse to receive a word or two from you, if you please to inclose it to M^r Whiteing, onely with this short direction, (Thes for M^r T. D.) I hope it would come safely. It would be a great satisfaction to heare that you have rec^d my letters, and that you know the way of sending them to England; & to be instructed by you how to direct them for the future. Dear Sir, I desire to bear upon my Heart continually the many great concerns of this poor Countrey; especially of your Jurisdiction, in refferene to the many awfull providenees wherewith the Lord hath been awakening you. The Lord make them effectuall to that end, Blaste the wicked Designes of his & your Adversaryes, and continue his graeious presence in the midst of you. To His Graee I recommend you, with the whole Israell of God, and remain Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate ffriend, oblidged to serve you

T: D.

Wee hear the R^d^ M^r^ Thacher* is lately dead. Oh how many eminent ministers of the Gospell hath N. E. lost in a few years! Surely its a matter to be trembled at.

I cannot but think the consequeneyes of the late Bloody Battell in Flanders (after the signing of Articles of Peace) will be very great.† Methinks it lookes like one of God's great works, whatever Polititians Designs be.

I beg your fervent prayers, as having more need of them then ever. I have been long in the furnace, and yet much Drosse remaineth to be purged away.

WILLIAM GOFFE TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Rev^d^ M^r^ Increase Mather Teacher of a Ch^ch^ of Christ in Boston.

EBENEZER 2 of the 2 m^o^ 1679.

REVER^D^ & DEAR S^R^, — I vnderstand by a good friend to whom you lately wrote, that you have been vnder the exersise of the various dispensations of Providence in refference to the infectious Disease with which your Town, and your own family in pticular hath been visited, and I desire to sympathize with you therein. It could not but be a great exersise to yourself and your dear consort, to have all your children (but one exeepted) taken with the disease. But surely it hath also been much comfort to you both, that some of your children were so gently handled, & that all are recovered. I desire to rejoyee with you therein, & to prayse the Lord on your behalf, as also to pray him to give both yourselfe & all yours the sanctified fruite of all his dealings with you & them. And for your whole jurisdiction, Oh that the Lord would help all his people there, to humble themselves vnder the

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* Rev. Thomas Thacher came in the "James" from Southampton, and arrived at Boston, June 4, 1635. He was ordained at Weymouth, Jan. 2, 1645, and afterwards installed, February 16, 1670, over the Old South Church, in Boston. He died Oct. 15, 1678. Savage's Geneal. Dict.

† The Treaty of Nimwegen was signed in August, 1678. A few days afterward was fought, between the Dutch and the French, the battle of St. Denis (near Mons).

mighty hand of God, and pray & seeke His face, & turn from every thing that is displeasing to His holy majesty. Then would he hear from heaven, & forgive their sins & heale the land. We are here full of expectations of hearing some great thing out of Europ. The Lord help us to be awakened & prepared to meet Him in the way of His Judgements. I am also greatly longing to heare from my poor, Desolat Relations; and whether my last sum̄er's letters got safe to them. It was a trouble to me that I was forced to send them to yourself, so Barely Directed, and hoped to have received a few lines from you concerning it, and how you would have me direct them for the future. I Beseech you, S^{r}, to pardon my giving you this great & long trouble, (I am assured you shall not loose your reward) and let me receive a word or two from you by this Bearer. If I have missed it in any thing, vpon the least intimation I shall indeavour to rectify it, or reform for the future. Dear Sir, I earnestly Beg the continuance of your fervent prayers to the Lord for me & mine, as such as stand in great need thereof. I may truly say I make mention of yourself in pticular at least twise or thise in a day before the Lord, to whose Grace I recomend you & all yours with the whole Israel of God, and remain, Dear Sr

Your much oblidged and very thankfull friend, T. D.

I sent you three letters last sum̄er, & hope you received them.

JOHN DIXWELL* TO INCREASE MATHER.

For the Reverent Mr. Increase Mather att Boston, these dd.

S^{r}, — I sent a letter to you in November last, with one inclosed for England. I desire to know whether it was delivered,

* Colonel John Dixwell, one of the judges who signed the death-warrant of King Charles, and an officer in the army under the Parliament and Protectorate, fled from England at the Restoration. The date of his arrival in New England is unknown; but he came to Hadley, and joined Goffe and Whalley the 10th of February, 1664–5. He probably remained there but a short time. He afterwards went to New Haven, and took up his residence there, under the assumed name of James Davids. In the New Haven records

and whether you haue had oppertunitie to send that and another I sent a little before. If they come safe to my frinds, I hope this summer somthing wilbe return'd to you for me. If I haue had any letters sent by these shipps lately come, I intreat you to send the same by this bearer. I hartilie thanke you for all that frindly respect I haue received from you, for which I owne my selfe to be

Your much obliged frind and servant,

JAMES DAVIDS.

March 22th 1683[4].

The bearer hereof, Mr. Wilson,* I hope was by a good Providence brought to New-Haven. Coming a little before winter to see his frinds att Milford, he was prevayled with to preach att New-Haven one sabbath, and after that for this winter. He is a verie hopefull yong man of good abillities. The iuditious sort are so farr satisfyed with him, they are earnest for his longer stay, and truly I thinke they will not meet with a better. I suppose you may promote a good worke, if you please to incourage him & his ffather to his further continuance. The Church, & also some of the cheife of the place in particular, have writt to his ffather about it, but I intreat you to take no notice you haue any thing from me.

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there is a registry of his marriage, November 3, 1673, to Mrs. Joanna Ling, who died a few weeks after; then to Bathsheba How, October 23, 1677. He died March 18, 1688–9, in the eighty-second year of his age. At his death, he made known his true name and character. His only son, Mr. John Dixwell, settled as a goldsmith in Boston about 1707. He was a Deacon and Ruling Elder in the New North Church, of which he was one of the founders, in 1714.

A full acconnt of Colonel Dixwell may be seen in Stiles's "History of the Three Judges."

* Dr. Leonard Bacon, in his "Historical Discourses," p. 160, says, that in the year 1682 the *church* and *town* enjoyed, for one year, the labors of a Mr. Wilson, who came from "the Bay," but of whom nothing farther is now known. We hazard the conjecture, that this person may have been John Wilson, son of Rev. John Wilson, of Medfield, baptized in Boston, Jnly 8, 1648, who is known to have been for a season in New Haven, and who was married, July 4, 1683, to a daughter of Rev. Roger Newton, of Milford. He may, for some unknown reason, have relinquished preaching.

[The following extracts from news letters, found in this series of papers, and mostly transcribed by Goffe, are here printed in the order in which they appear in the Mather Collection.]

W—— W—— TO WILLIAM GOFFE.

S^r^, — Having rec'd the printed Newes Bookes from England to the 10^th^ of Sept^r^ last, I heerin send you the substance of them soe farr as they relate to affaires there.

May the 20th (61). The House of Peers concurred with the House of Com̃: for the Burning of the Solleme League & Ct., by the hands of the Hangman, & ordered that it be forthwith taken off the Record in all Courts & plaees where it is Recorded. The same day the Par^t^ of Ireland Ordered that none be admitted into the Par^t^ but such as take the othes of Supremacy & Alleigance, & that noe ꝑson that hath sate in any ꝑtended High Court of Justice shall sitt in the house. May 13^th^ (61) The Parl^t^ of Scotland made an Act for a Sollemne Anniversary Thankesgiving for his Ma^ties^ Restauration to his Kingdomes, to be obserued the 29th May. They allsoe made an Act for punishm^t^ of Blaspheiners with death. May 28, Severall Acts of the Long Parl^t^ & the Protector's, were by the order of the House burnt by the hands of the coñon Hangman. May the 29th, the Cov^t^ was Burned in severall plaees of England, and caried in a disgraeefull mañer (fixed to Horse Tailes) through the streets, with the effigies of the Protector, Hugh Peters, & others whom they had a mind to villifie. And in London the Rable tooke it out of all the Churches where it vsed to Hang, & Burnt it with great shoutes & aclemations. May the 27th, The Marques of Argile was (by order of the Parl^t^ of Scotland) beheaded, & his posterity declared vncapable of any publick Trust, & all his Land & goods confizeated to his Ma^tes^ vse. At his death he shewed much couradge & Resolution. May 28th. Mr. Guthery minister of Steeling[?] and Capt. Giffen were senteneed to be Hanged for making a Remonstrance with others ag^st^ the Parl^ts^ ꝓceedings in matters relating to the Church. M^r^ Patrik Gelespe & others vpon there submission, were Cleered: The Parl^t^ of Ireland, ꝓ pclemation, Revived the statute for vsing Coñon Prayer, which Begins Thus, Wee the L^ds^ Sp^ll^ &

Temp^{ll} & Coñons assembled in Parl^{t}, &c: & Ordered that every member should receive the sacram^{t} according to the Ancient liturgie of the Church established by Law; & that the Cov^{t} be Burnt by the Hangman.

The King put forth a Proclemation for the obseruation of a gen^{ll} Fast throughout Eng: the 19 June, for the greate & imoderate Raine fallen, & by the Advice of the B^{pps} directs to what prayers & Exortations are to be vsed to the people, vpon paine of such punishm^{ts} as may be inflicted by law for neglecting the same. It was ordered by the Parliam^{t}, that the L^{d} Mounson, S^{r} James Harrington & S^{r} Hen: Mildmay (who sate as Judges of the late K.) shall be degraded of there honors & Titles, & shall be drawn vpon sledges with Ropes about there necks, from the Tower of London to & vnder the Gallowes at Tiburne, thence to be caried Back to the Tower, there to remaine prisoners during there lives. The like was resolved of Mr. Wallop & Mr. Phelps. And that a Bill be brought in for the Confiscation of the Estates, both Reall & ꝑsonall of the Judges, 21 that are Dead, & that a Clause be inserted for the Execution of those 19 allready convicted & condemned. Evidence is to be brought in against S^{r} Arth: Haslerigg: S^{r} Hen: Vaine & Coll. Lambert are left to the tryall of the Law. This Parl^{t} hath confirm'd the Act of Indemnity & Oblivion & all the other Acts of the last Parliam^{t} & made an Act for a free & volluntary pressent to the K. wherein it is ꝑuided that noe ꝑson not being a Peere shall in such ꝑ^{r}sent excede the sume of 200l, or any Peere 400l, & that noe Coñissions Issued by vertue of this Act be of force for the receiuing of any money or subscriptions for money after the ffeast of St. J^{no} Baptist, 1662, & its declared that noe Coñissions of this nature can be Issued but by Authority of Parl^{t} And that this Act shall not be drawne into Example for the future.

July the 14th, The Litturgie of the Church of England was first read in the French Church* of Westminster. July the 30th His Ma^{ty} passed Divers Bills, to witt a Bill for securing & p^{r}serving his Ma^{tes} ꝑson & Goverm^{t} against Treasonable & seditious practezes & Attempts, wherin its Enacted that if any ꝑson after

* "The French Church at the Savoy submitted to the rites and ceremonies of the English hierarchy." Neal's "History of the Puritans," vol. iv., ch. 6.

June 24th (61) shall compasse or imadgine the death of the K. or to deprive & depose him from the stile or kingly name of the Imperiall Crowne of this Realme or any other his Mattes Dominions or Leavy war agst his Matie, &c., such pson shall be adjudged & suffer as in cases of High Treason; or if any pson shall affirme that his Matie is a Herritick or a Papist, or that he indeavors to bring in Popery, &c., is disinabled to enjoy or exersise any place or office, Eccles: Civill, or Millitary, (with divers other puissions to large heere to insert,) A Bill for Repeale of an Act of Parlt intituled an Act for disinabling all psons in Holy Orders to exersise any Temporall power or Authority, wherein its enacted that every Clause & thing therein be repealed. A Bill against Tumults & disorders vpon pretence of prparing or prsenting publick petitions or other Adresses, to his Matie or the Parlt, wherein it is enacted that noe pson after the 1o of August, (61) shall sollicite or pcure the hands or consent of above 20 to any petition or other Adresse, &c. to the K: or Parliamt for allteration of matters establishd by Law either in church or state, unlesse consented to by 3 or more Justices of the Country where the matter shall arise, or if arising in London, by the Ld Major, Aldn & Coñon Counsell; & that noe pson shall repaire to his Matie or the Part vpon prtence of prsenting such petition, &c, accompanied with above 10 psons, vpon paine of incurring the penalty of 100 ł & 3 mo imprisonmt without Bayle or maineprize, for every offence, pvided that this Act shall not extend to debarr any pson not exceeding 10 to prsent any Greevance to any member of parlt or the Ks Matie for Remedy therevpon, nor to any Adresse to his Matie by all or any member of parlt but that they may enjoy there freedome of accesse to his Matie There were divers other Bills passed, which, by reason of there misecariage in there coming from Boston, I can only give you there Titles, as foł: A Bill declaring the sole right of the Militia to be in the K. & for the prsent Ordering & disposing of the same. A Bill declaring the paines, penalties, &c., imposed vpon the estates & psons of Certaine notorious offenders, accepted out of the Act of indemnity & oblivion. A Bill for explanation of a clause qrd in an Act of Parlt made the 17 Charles I: intituled an Act for repeale of a branch of a stattute 1 Eliz: concerning Comrs for Causes eclesiasticall. There are some other Bills of lesse concernmt heere omitted: his Matie having passed

these Bills, Adjourned the parliam^{t} from the said 30th July to the 20th Nouem: following, & went his ꝑgresse into Worstersheere; All money Coyned by the Parl^{t} or the Protector is called in, & the price of gold inhaunced 18^{d} in the pound to ꝑvent exportation of it.

The K. hath allsoe sett forth a decleration wherein he establisheth B^{pps} in Scotland. W: W:

H: 18: 10; (1661)

At a Gen^{ll} C^{t} at Boston the 27th Novemb^{r} 1661.*

It being obvious to all pious & serious ꝑsons amongst vs that wee are called of God deeply to humble ourselves for the many & gr^{t} sins & evills of the Country, as our vnproffitablenes vnder the glorious meanes of grace soe long continued to vs, the decay of our first love, neglect & indisposednes to a full enquiry & practice of the order of the Gospell, the gr^{t} ignorance & inclination of the riseing generation to vanity, ꝑphanes, & disobedience, the sinfull indulgence in family gov^{t} prid & exce[ss] in aparell, inordenate love of the w^{ld} & the things thereof, insenciblenes of Evill Occurrences, & in speeial God's suffering many enemies & vnderminers to multiply complaints agst vs (to our soveraign L^{d} the K.) the impetuous, restles intrusions of heritickes & enemies to the waies, w^{pp} & ordenances of God. The Cursed combenation of Anteeh: & his adherents to ruine & trample vpon all the sincere serv^{ts} of God in the w^{ld} throughout: This C^{t} doth comend the serious consideration of the affores^{d} things, with others of like nature, together with the afflicted condition of the peo: of God elsewhere, vnto all the churches & inhabitants of this Jurisdiction, & doe appoynt the 2^{d} day of January next to be kept a day of sollemne Humiliation & supplication vnto the L^{d} for a through redresse & returne from the s^{d} iniquities, & allsoe for the diverting such Calamities as are coming vpon vs, & the peo: of God, the Ch^{n} world throughout.

By the Court. EDW. RAWSON.

From W. W. to ∩^{2} ↄveU9.27:† the 15th March (6½.) [*sic*]

I rec^{d} letters from Boston which say that there is a Cetch from Barbadoes arived there, which brings intelligence of C: Wood-

* Printed with slight variations in Mass. Records, vol. iv. part 2, p. 34.

† From *W. W.* to *Mr. Davenport.*

greenes ariving in the west of Eng: in 5 weekes. The booke of Mattins or the primmer, with all Bibles with Anotations, are called in by proclemation. The B^pps^ sit in the house of L^ds^. There is a peace with all nations but the Turke, ag^st^ whom 2 fleets are gon, one vnder the L^d^ Peterborough to Tunis: the other under Gen^ll^ Mountague to Argiers. There seemes to be an Assosiation of the ptestant princes with the Pope, as the heade of that League ag^st^ the Turke. Of w^tt^ evill consequence it may be, I leave to yourselfe to iudge. Gen^ll^ Monke is said to be out of fauour, & is retired from Court to live a private life. His most intimate attendance comanded from him; the ground of which is indged to be some discontent of the nobillity, together with the terror of his owne Conscience; it is allsoe written from Boston That the Presbiterians, Independants, Anabaptists, & quakers are declared enemies to the state: And as to the K's Judges, 10 of those 19 Condemned (of whom Tichbourne is one) are pardoned as to there lives, but adjudged to ppetuall Imprissonm^t^ & to be drawne once in every yeere vpon Hurdles with Halters about there necks from the Tower to the Gallowes att Tybourne, & there to stand six Houres with their hands & faces besmeared with blood. The L^d^ Winsor is appoynted Gov^r^ of Jamica; the L^d^ Willoughby of Barbadoes, S^r^ William Bartlet, now made L^d^ Bartlet, is appoynted for Virginia, Mr. Maverick and Mr. Jeffers who were Solicitors for the Gov^t^ of N. E. are gonn to Jamica & noe Gov^r^ appoynted for these Collonies; M^r^ Bradstreete & Mr. Norton (with Capt. Dauies & M^r^ Hull the Goldsmith, are gon with them as there attendance) went from Boston the 10^th^ of Feb^r^ in the new ship built there, & are sent as that Collonies Agents to the King.

March 26, 1662, in a Letter from M^r^ 9·UC 9.U· to ∩² ⅁⁷,* the 10^th^ March: for newes this. O^r^ G^ll^ C^t^ after much agitation & opposition, have at last sent 2 messengers for En: M^r^ A: & M^r^ B: who went from Boston 10^th^ of Feb^r^ &c. I pray God it may be for the best, the euent is doubtfull to me, seing wee have soe many false freinds & open enemies. From Barbadoes, by a vessell late come in, Letters mention a league with Holland, offensive & de-

* From Mr. *Pinchon* to *Mr. Da*[venpor]*t.*

fensive, of a falling out of the 2 Ambassadors of ffrance & Spaine. about precedency, where 9 Frenchmen killed, & 4 Spanyards. A speech of the Infanta of Portingall to be come into England, our Mr Maverick & Gifford to be gon to Jamica, & soe to come hither. But what becomes of the 19 Gentn in the Tower little is saide, or what the Parliamt hath done, or what concernes vs, there is a deepe silence: There is to be a meeting att Boston (the 11th March Instant) of Elders & Bn called by the Gll Ct from all the Churches in this Jurisdiction. The 2 Qns to be discussed are, who are to be the subjects of Baptisme, & 2ly whether according to the word there ought to be a Consosiation of Churches, & what should be the maner of it. The inclosd pap is a true coppy of what our Reuerend Teacher (Mr Glouer)* deliuered, being exactly taken from his owne mouth. I heare there be many Rumors what he delivered abroade, but the enclosed is the full of all that he dd. That which he takes for granted is, that kneeling in itselfe is not vnlawfull: If you have any argts agst it, as I doe much desire them, soe I know they would be very acceptable to Mr Glover, who is a very serious ho: man, & would not willingly be in an error, or leade any other into error, it being a great pte of his care to fortifie vs agst errors & false doct: & to ppare vs for sufferings & evill days, often calling vs to stand, & to choose rather to loose our dearest Blood then to pte with the least truth of Je: Chr (the paper followth.)

If a Prince Injoyne Kneeling at the Sacramt & withall, to pruent mistakes in the minds of his subjects, doe publickely declare that he doth it not as any pte of Deuine Wpp, or of the Reuealed will of Ch: in his word, but only & meerely as an Act of Civill Authority, & ffurther if sepated from the Danger of introdueing popery or the like supstition, a private pson may kneele at the Sacr, as a thing Lawfull, being noe where forbidden, though not soe Lawdable & decent, as being not practized by Ch: & his Aples. But if enjoyned as pte of Devine Wpp & of the will of Ch: & Conjunct with the danger of introdueing popy or the like supstition, a Chn ought, rather then yeeld vnto it, or give the least Countenance thereunto to suffer the Losse of his Life & all outward concernmts

* Rev. Pelatiah Glover, second minister of Springfield, ordained June 18, 1661.

\2·∩ ∩² DaveU9·27 JuU: 2*

A breife Relation of some newes ffrom England: 1: That many of the people of God are imprissoned, very sad times feared to be approaching: (2) Corne is very deare, noe sect soe much favored as the Quakers, none soe much Trodden vnder foote as the Presbiters: 3. Gr^t Grumbling in E:[ngland] I:[reland] S.[eotland] but P. B. sayes theye will still all. The 30^th of the p^rsent m^o December, feared to be a bloody day, if the L^d p^rvent not. S^r H. Vane, Coll. Lambert, with some others Comitted to Gernsey Castle, sent for to come to Tryall: The 1° day the Parl^t sate, they gave the K: 20,000 ₤, as some Affirme.

M^r Wharton bought this newes ffrom the Bay, inclosed in a letter which came by the way of Barbadoes: One thing more I have heard by the way of Virginia, viz., *Animi populi in Scotia Contra Episcopos amarescuntur et nonnulli interficiuntur: Sed vix quicquam quod fertur credendum est.* Concerning the 2 Collonells † (who were formerly heere) theres noe speech lately:

\2·∩ 8,7·2 \Y|·2 to ∩² ƆveU97:‡

I should be glad to heere of any designe goes on that is for the West, in as much as I am sure, the Gospell must goe Westward, & glory must be gr^t in the West before the Jewes call, Isa: 59: Rom: 11: I heere say many are for Florida. M^r Tomson § of New London hath ꝑmised to send mee the substance of the Combenation, with there names, I pray wright a w^d or two, for I for my ꝑte would gladly see an open dore to goe forth.

One writt to mee from the Bay, & saith that Capt Breeden wrights in a letter of severall Gouernors to severall places, but adds, the Lord knowes who shall be Gov^r of N: E: Independ^ts Presb: Anab: & Quakers counted all alike, & declared Enemies to the State; & thousands are Removing, but he that wrights to mee had forgott the places name to which; with other things as in other letters.

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* *From Mr.* Davenport, *Junr.* † Whalley and Goffe.

‡ *From* Wa[l]ter Fyler to *Mr. Davenport.* Walter Fyler, of Dorchester, came in the "Mary and John" in 1630. He was a Representative in 1661.

§ Rev. William Thompson [H. C. 1653], was employed by the commissioners of the United Colonies, acting for the London Society for Propagating the Gospel. Savage's Geneal. Dict.

| ·77·2— \ 2·∩ O: E. o\ z· 28 o\ OC7.6·2 1661, 2·c·ve) z· 3 o\ A92.‖
1662. ∩² U·8∩·U 7. ∩² ⊠·*

Wee are not without our Exercises heere, & I feare fiery Tryalls, he that refraynes from Evill makes himse a pray. ꝑphanes, & supstition, & false wᵖᵖ, is eryed vp every day more than other, & that in the high places: Many are now put in prison, Major Haynes & my Brother Wm. is in the same prison. Both those prissoners, & many other offieers of the old Army, &e:
Octobʳ: 28, (61.)

∩² |3 7. ∩² ⊠:† 28 Octo: (61.)

Sad it is to heere How things are in N: E. the which doth discouradge many that had thoughts that way. The Bay stirring soe much for the Apprehending of W: & G:‡ signifie at pʳsent heere but little, because they were so long with them, & then did nothing: The state of things heere is sad, & the hand of God is & hath beene much vpon vs by great mortallity, & many good peo: taken away *ex* the evill to come. Corne is now at 10ˢ Bˡˡ & expected to be dearer. A famine of the wᵈ feared; att the pʳsent our ministers continue, but it hath beene tould some they shall be delt with alltogether: at pʳsent we have more Leetures then ever; some have beene set vp by ꝑticuler men, very eminent, as one Dʳ Wilkinson that preacheth at such a rate as he is not expected to continue, but he is a man of great ꝑtes & wisdome, & hath beene a meanes of doing a grᵗ deale of good for the supporting of the spᵗˢ of the peo: of God amongst the fiery Tryalls that are coming vpon vs. There hath beene some that are fallen, yet to my best observation, & of others, that there seemes to be a grᵗ Spᵗ of Courage, & a spᵗ of prayer & of ffayth: The Deane of Westmʳ hath beene very zealous in cleansing the Abby; there hath been many deade boddyes taken out of there graves, neere 30: & a place digged for them, & put in, most of them together; whereof Mʳ Marshall, Mʳ Stronge, Dʳ Twisse were some of them.

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* *Letters from* O. E. *of the* 28 *of October*, 1661, *received the of Aprill*, 1662. *Mr. Newman to Mr. Davenport.*

† *Mr. Lang to Mr. Davenport.*

‡ Whalley and Goffe.

The Herb market in Paull's Churchyard is moved. I suppose yo^w^ have heard the Covenant was burnt in Scotland, & 2 Lords beheaded, & one Quirister, one of the L^ds^ was the M: of Argile. The Parliam^t^ is shortly to sit, & the B^pps^ with them in the house of Lords. S^r^ this is sad but true, in a play was acted the Presbiterian ministers ——— the Independ. a pulpit seate vp, & prayed with the w^ds^ & expressions of the ministers.—then as it were, preached as they doe ag^st^ Babilon, quoting many Scriptures for the Downefall of Babilon, & at Last came some Souldiers, & puled one out of the Pulpit, & put him in a payre of stockes, & then a company of Ho: b^n^ & sisters bemoaning him & prayed, & after some space of time the lock of the stockes flew open, & then the same before mentioned gave God thankes. All these . . .

[*Two lines illegible.*]

others themselves reported they were afrayde the house would have tumbled downe, &c. I had thought of some other remarkable passages since fallen out, but haue not now time, &e: The Turke hath made great spoyles in Transilvania, but since is retreated bake. The Emperor's forces, with the other prinees are Joyned. I pray tell M^r^ Jones M^r^ Russell is dead, & M^r^ Rowe hath beene sicke, & is very ill at this time in the Country.

∩² 8·U*z*2.9 7. ∩². ⊠.* Octob^r^ 24: 1661.

Only I Heere that there are letters *ex* the Gov^r^ of Boston, with the Relation of those Gent^n^ that were sent from thence to your Collony, &c. These came by Capt. Lord's shipp. There is an extraordnary great plague at Constantinople, 1700 dead bodyes caryed out of the Adrinople gates every day; Yett they say the greater ꝑte of the Citty was burned last yeere. The Plague is much in other Citties & Villages there. A gr^t^ fflood att Wallago in Spaine, which hath done much hurt to ꝑsons, houses & vines. M^r^ Hooke liues at Clapham, at the house of one M^r^ Gold, a Justice of peace.

* *Mr. Winthrop to Mr. Davenport.*

Newes sent vs the 9th Aprill, 1662, as foll: (No 2)

Section (1)

A letter from Mr Attwater to his Brothr informes that he spake with a man that came from Eng: to Boston, by Barbadoes, who saith it goes very ill with the peo: of God: that the Pt & Bpps gave the K. 1,200,000 £ & that he expects the next newes will be ꝑsecutions of them that doe not submit to the Bpps (or to that purpose.)

A letter from Mr Bpp to his Brothr informes that there is a man att Boston who came from England the 5th of Decem: last, by the way of Barbadoes, & saith that it goeth very ill with all the peo: of God there, & like to be worse, for the Bpps are setting vp all there Courts, & whosoe speaketh against them & there waies, are imprissoned. There were 3 ministers Hanged for preaching against them, & others imprissoned, which he thinkes will not escape.

The same day came this following, which seemes to be sent from one in London: that hapned att Hereford on Tuesday last, the 1st. of this prsent Octobr 1661.

On Tuesday last, beeing the first of this prsent Octobr 1661, about 2 of the cloeke afternoone, there Hapned a grt & violent storme to arise, to the Amazing & Astonishing of all the Inhabitants. The first beginning was with a most terrable wind, which continued for the spaee of 2 houres, with such vehemency that it forced the Tyles of the houses, in soe much that none durst to come out of there dores; in the midst of which storme was blowne downe the steeple of a Church & many brave houses, the falling whereof hath killed some ꝑsons, but what they are or who they are, wee yett know not. Then the Aire began to be darkned, but yet sudainely clearing ag: the peo: began to looke abroad, & soe continuing for a while, all assuredly thought the storme to be over, but contrary to there hopes, about 6 or 7 a Cloeke in the Evening, they were solicited with vnwonted Claps of Thunder, & more to avgment feares, prsently fell such haile-stones that the like vere never seene in any age before; each Hailestone being about the bignes of an Egge, which severall Gentn of quallity affirme (heere ꝑrsent in London,) who certefie that they destroyed the Cattell in the feilds, & did much other harme. Then ffollowed

a terreble & ffearefull Earthquake, which continued allmost for the spaee of ½ an houre, which soe amazed the inhabitants that they thought the last day had beene come, & imediately appeared great Brightnes as if it had beene noone day, but was p^r^sently overcast with a thicke Blacke Cloud, out of which appeared 2 ꝑfect Armes & hands, in the right hand was grasp^t^ a great broade sword, & in the left a Cupp or Boule (as they conceive) full of blood: having glutted there eyes with Amazement, & filled there harts with gr^t^ feare with behoulding these ꝑdigeous apparitions, more to astonish both them & us, appeared to there eyes a peice of Corne ground, ready to mowe, & a sythe lying by, from whence they heard a most strange & loud voice, which saide, Woe, Woe, to the land & to the inhabitants thereof, for he cometh that is to come, & yo^w^ shall all see him: at the conclusion of these words the people made a greevous Cry, (as indeed they might) & many women that were with child (through extreame feare) fell in travell, but none soe wonderfull to be taken notice of as M^rs^ Margaret Pelmore, the Clarkes wife of the Towne, who for the space of 20 weekes, wanting her bodily health, had sought for cure of the D^rs^, this Margery, at that very instant fell in Travaile, being exeedingly affrighted, & brought forth 3 Male Children, which had all Teeth, & spake as soone as they were borne; the 1st saide, the day is appoynted which noe man can shun: the 2^d^ saide, where will be found sufficient alive to bury the deade? the 3^d^ s^d^, where will there be corne enough to sattisfie the Hungry & needy? As soone as they had spoken these words, they all imediately gave vp the Ghost, & dyed, to the gr^t^ Astonishm^t^ & amazem^t^ of all, and the mother of the saide Children doth at this time lye distracted, & Raging in such extreame mañer, as none can tell yet whether she will live or dye.

The Truth whereof is witnessed by

Francis Smalmon, } Church Wardens.
Hen: Grosse, }
Peter Philpott, Constable.

Nicolas Ffinch,
James Tulley,
George Coxe,
Jn^o^ Groone,
Rob^t^ Morice,
Tho: Welford: &c:

A | 77 2 \ 2 ∩ ∩² H 7 ☒ \ 2 ∩ O: E. the 12th Oc7.6 2, 1661.*

Sect. 2. 16: of Apr: Rec'd.

I have newly rec'd your very acceptable Lines which Sam. Wilson brought with him, & now vnderstanding of L: Seely his going by the way of Barbadoes, I was willing to send a few lines to you by his hands, &c. We have competent health, &c. My youngest daughter newly recovered of the small pox, & is at p^r^sent with M^r^ Ling for conveniency of Ayre, I & mine are in somew^tt^ a low condition, as many others better then ourselves are, yett able, by the blessing of God, to subsist. I often lodge in Swan alley, but I live in the family of a Rich Marchant, an honest man, to whom I and my wiffe are very welcome. The peo: of God, & the late ministery of the gosp: are (generally) in a low estate, & under there severall exersizes, suffering vnder the name of fanaticks, from the presbiterian downeward. But of all of them he is most abhored, who hoped not long since to have sped well for his zeal in indeavouring this gr^t^ Change; but is wofully disappoynted & scorned beyound what I shall expresse. You will heere by the bearer of the play of the Puritan before the Highest, where were p^r^sent (as they say) the E: Manchester & 3 B^pps^, and London one of them. In it were rep^r^sented 2 Presbiterians vnder the forme of M^r^ Baxter & M^r^ Callamy, whose Habitt & actions were sett forth: prayers were made in imitation of the Puritan, with such scripture expressions as I am loath to mention, the matter such as might have beene vsed by any godly man in a right maner: The case of Syon lying in the dust was spreade before, &c: & God's former deliverances of his peo: vrged in such phraises as would amaze yo^w^ if yo^w^ heard them, with eyes lifted vp to heaven, one representing the Puritan put in the stockes for stealing a pigg, & the stockes found by him vnlockt, which he admires at as a wonderfull pvidence & fruite of prayer, vpon which he consults about his call, whether he should come forth or not, & at last peceived it was his way, & forth he comes, lifting vp his eyes to heaven, & falls to prayse & thankesgiving; I canot tell yo^w^ all of it, being large, but such as that some p^r^sent, who were farr from liking the Puritan, were gr^t^ly astonished, wondring the house did not fall

* A *letter from Mr.* H[ooke] *to Mr. Davenport, from* O: E: the 12th *October*, 1661.

vpon there heades. The play I heere, was taken out of one or two of Ben: Johnson's, &c: for which Ben. would say, that, if he were damn'd, it would be for those 2 playes. I heere it hath beene acted againe. Playes are gr^ly frequented by the greatest, but Lectures are like to goe downe. The Citty, & whole land is full of sicknes, many places, parishes, & families gr^ly vissited. A dearth is allsoe feared, Corne fayling very much & allsoe Orchards, beyound ordnary, much like Haggai 2: 16: The Turkish Rogues at Argeere * stand out against our ffleete, to our gr^t cost. Part of the ffleete is gon to Portingall, whence the Queen is shortly to come, till when the pageants made for the K^s Coronation are kept standing in the Citty. Profanes never Rifer, Supstition recruited. Few in comparison frequent the places where the Coñon Prayr booke is used, which takes little with any, but multitudes flocke where there is good preaching. The present Clergie as they call it is full of debaucherie, and such as are drunken beastes. You admire to heare what dayly wee doe of them. The papists have libertie enough, & they are very many & very bold, it is thought the Rebels in Ireland shall have their landes agayne. There is lately a booke come forth of prodigies, & the Judgem^ts of God remarkeably executed vpon sundry within this yeare & halfe; it cannot be fownd who was the Autho^r of it, but one of the booke sell^ers lyeth [in prison?] by it to this day. I vnderstand by your lette^r what you have lately met with from M^r L: &c. The letter written from an old freind of yours to M^r Streete was not so well vnderstood, I beleeve, as you desired, but the man was in the conntry when he wrote it, who sent it up to the Cyty, to be sent by what hand he knew not, nor yet knoweth, who caryed it, & such were the times, that he durst not expresse matte^rs as he would, but he fore sawe what fell out among you, & was willing you should bee secured as well as his other freinds, & therefore he wrote, that they † might not be found among you, but provided for by you, in some secret places, &c. My wives relations here are competently well, onely I heard lately as that her Neece had an Ague. I hope yet all wilbee well, though now I heare (as I am writing) of anothe^r orde^r to bee sent ove^r, yet still I beleeve God will suffer no man to touch you. I am almost amazed some-

* Algiers. † The Regicides.

times to see what crosse cape[rs] some of you do make. I should breake my shinnes should I doe the like. I hope by the next, yf I live, to write furthe[r] to you.

∩? 8·U^{z}2.9 82.7·—.*

That M[r] H. did live with C: Sydenham, but that Gent[n]: & his wiffe being deade, he now lives in the house of one M[r] G: an honest man, & a Justice of peace there, & adds that himselfe (that is M[r] Winth.) longs for the spring, that he might returne with the first ships.

I heerewi[th] send yo[w] the 7 ꝑpositions at the Synod in Boston, which were (some of them) disliked by 8 ministers, & sundry messengers. Thereupon the Synnod was ajourned to the 10[th] of June next.

Capt. C|·2<· ¨z † By a letter from Cap[t] Breeden (who is made Gov[r] of the French Forts,) ‡ they vnderstand he is to returne to N. E. this Spring, & is accordingly expeeted about the begining of May: ?· a|— ¨z § there are 10 Pattents afoot for N. E:

Out of Mereurius Publieus as foll: (London Sept. 30[th] Munday) S[r] Jn[o] Frederick vnanimously chosen L[d] Major of London. On Sattursday, 28, Francis Meynell & Samwell Sterling sworne shreiffes of London & Mid[lx]

(Sept. 30) Count Brabe, Embassador extraordinary from the Crowne of Sweden, landed att the Tower; where was a ffray bettweene the Embassadors of France & Spaine, in which 7 men kil'd, notw[th]standing the K. had sent his Royall B[r], the Duke of Yorke's Guards of Horse, & 3 Companies of his owne Reg[t] of foote. They disputed with sword & pistoll, contrary to ꝑmise made before His Ma[tie], &c.

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* *Mr. Winthrop writes.* † Capt. *Clerke saith.*

‡ Capt. Thomas Breeden was a merchant of large property in Boston, who was made Governor of his province of Nova Scotia by deputation from Col., afterwards Sir Thomas, Temple, during the Protectorate, and again after the Restoration. In one of Breeden's visits to London, he gave information of the arrival of Goffe and Whalley in Boston, which led to the mission of Kirk and Kellond as agents to procure their arrest by the Colonial governments.

§ *He also saith.*

(On Tuesday 4th Octo.) The said Swedish Embassador had audience in the Banqueting house. (Octo. 21.) ꝓclemation made in Paull's Chrch yard (according to an order of the Ld Mayor Aldn & Coñon Councell of the Citty London) made on that behalfe 19th instant) Requiring that the Horrid Abuse of the said Chch yard by the Herb Markett be removed, & noe markett thenceforth kept in the same, but in Aldermanbury & Broadstreete, &c.

(Westminster, 23 Octobr) Divers ꝓsons since Satturday last have beene comitted close prissoners to the Gatchouse, Westmr, by expresse warants sygned by his Matie's principall Secretary of State, perticularly Cll: Packer, Colł. Streater, Colł. Weelks, Maj. Gladman; Colł. Lidcot, Colł. Kenrick, Colł: Read, Capt. Chaffin:

(London Octobr. 15) John Berwick: D.D. & Deane of Durham, Ellected to be Deane of Paulls: & the formallityes (or follyes rather of it) largely described.

(Yorke, Octo: 30) I thought good to tell yow how my Ld of Buckingham was rec'd into his comand, &c:

(Oxford, Octo: 30.) Dr. Olliver, Deane of Worster & President of Magdn Coll: was Buried in the Chappell there, &c: his memory is prcious to all that knew him, either in his Academicall Offices, & Exersises, or when Domestick Chaplaine to that Renowned Martir, Wm Ld Arch Bpp of Cant: He lived to see himself heade of the College he was Breade in, & his owne schollar High Chanceller of England, as well as of the Vniversity, (the now most Honble Earle of Clarendon.) This was a true son of the Chch: of England, who more learned then the whole Assembly of our Canton Reformers,* yett was soe humble, &c: whereby he is distinguished from these troublesome Presbiters, that insteade of bequeathing there Estates to the poore, & repairing of Churches, they pull downe chchs & make all men poore, whose last Wills & Testamts were the only bookes would please a Chn Reader:

(Whitehall, 4th Novemb.) James, Duke of Ormond made Ld Lt of Ireland.

(Novem: 7th, Northampton) This Towne chose 2 Burgesses, for the Parlim (viz.) Sr Cha: Compton (brother to the Earle of Northampton) & Sergt Rainsford.

(Whitehall, Novem: 9th 1661.) Newes is come hether of the Certaine death of the Prince of Spaine:

* This probably refers to the Westminster Assembly; and the word "Canton" may contain a sneer at the doctrines of Calvin.

A |·77·2 \2.∩ ∩² ⊠ JuU: 2.*

Sect. 3: 2 of 4 mo. 1662,

I spake with one that came from England in July last. He tould me that ———, Brother to ———, came into Eng: with the Queene Mother, & there speaking of his Br said he was a Traytor, & that he would not be saved, being noe Catholick. One prsent answered that the K: was noe Catholick, *Ergo* —— he replyed, 2 or 3 yeeres would shew what he was. The occasion of this discourse was one (a disaffected pson) said that C: G: was a moderate man. C. Seely saith R: P. is gon towards Germany, that the K. is favourably enclined to him, &c. Hen: Cromwell liveth about the Court, & enjoyes all his estate: Coll. Hewson is said to be deade beyound sea. By the way of Virginia I heere (but they say its Treason to say soe) that things are as bad as in Queene Marie's dayes: this came by a shipp which (Mr Hudson saith) came from Eng. 12 weekes agoe. I have herewith sent yow some printed Acts.

Memorandum. The Acts last mentioned were passed 30th July 1661; the substance of most of them were sent by Mr W: W: as in N°: 1:

7. ∩² ⊠ *ex* ∩² 62..<'—† the 13 Feb: (61.)

Sect. 4: 7th of 3 mo (62.)

Trading in the memory of mã never soe bad. Taxes & burdens still continue, & like to be more & more increased, a famine of bread is sorely threatned, & breaches with France, Holland, & Sweden, p many wise, sober mẽ, is very much feared, & the generallity of psons exceedingly discontented, multitudes for there burning of the Covt & others for want of trade, & others vpon 100 different accots: yett in the midst of all there is a choyse Spt of ffaith, prayre, & expectacõ, comonly among the Sts Of late the Chancellor signified to the Parliamt that there was a despte plott to subvert the psent Governmt, & that by 7 genll Interests, that were vnited into one for the carying on of that High designe. 12 Lds & 24 Coñioners were a Comitte to examine this p[lot],

* A *letter from Mr. Davenport. Jun:* 2.
† *To Mr. Davenport from Mr. Brookes.*

but, after severall Conferences, nothing did appeare but a ꝑiect to raise a standing Army vnder the pretence of securing his Ma^tis ꝑson & Gov^t against all such plotters. But the designe was, as some say, to have forced on conformity: & w^t not? foure as a Blind clap^t vp, & I suppose will be all out before this come to your hand. Hell seemes to bee loose, & all wickednes, & vngodlines flowes in like a flood, & is much countenanced & encoradged by the examples of the great ones amongst vs: There are severall ꝑbable Argum^ts that noe more of the K's Judges shall be put to death: They are in very great streights at court for 200,000*l*, ꝑtely to pay the army that is kept vp in Scotland, to settle Episcopacy, which are even in a ꝑishing condition for want of pay: & ꝑtely to sett a ffleete of 30 or 40 ships against the Spring, that soe other nations may not Domineere over vs. Monk & other L^ds of the Counsell came downe to the Citty, to borrow it, pleading that the K. would give 10 in the 100 for it, & that he were better give 80 then goe without it, but, at p^rsent there is little ꝑbabillity of raysing soe g^rt a sum̃ in this Citty, where march^ts & tradesmen are every day a Breaking: Some other passages in the same letter as on the anexed paper.

7. ∩2 /·|6·27 *ex* ∩2 2.6·27 U·8∩·U,* 12 Feb. (61)

I am sorry to see that yo^w should be soe much surprized with feares of what men can or may doe vnto yo^w. The feare of an evill is oft times more than the evill feared. I heare of noe danger, nor doe I thinke any will attend yo^w for that matter. Had not W: L: † wrote such a pittifull letter over, the Bussines I thinke would have dyed. What it may doe to him I know not: they have greater matters than that to exersise there thoughts, &c:

7. ∩2 /·|6·27 *ex* ∩2 ViU·2,‡ 12 Feb^r (61)

Wee are very apt to be more affraide than wee ought to be or neede to be: &c.

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* *To Mr. Gilbert from Mr. Robert Newman.*

† Perhaps William Leete, Governor of the Colony of New Haven.

‡ *To Mr. Gilbert from Mr. Viner.*

7. ∩² ⊗ *ex* ∩² 8·U*z*2.9,* 17 Feb. (61)

I doe not heere of any trouble like to be to yourselfe or any other about those matters. There is noe more speech of those things that I can heere of. I am ꝑparing & have thoughts to come in C: Pearce or Woodgreene, which they say will be ready bef: Apr: †

∩² 8·|—·U 8ʔ. C·∩· *ex* EU /|·U⊃ iU oU· \.—7·2 ⌒U7. *z.*— 7. v— 6ϒ E⊃∩·U⊃ \.2 ‡ a eertaine truth, that a young man, either in Scotland or Irland, who, being sicke, dyed, & was laide out for the space of 2 or 3 houres, after the wards the maide eoming into the Roome, found him sitting in a chair. She being amazed & terrified went out, his father came in & asked him how he did, what he would have, whether he would goe to bed, &e. He answered, he needed nothing, but was to dd a messuage, & then must be gonn, which was, 1, that there should be sore & sharp ꝑseeution of Gods people, 2, that within 3 or 4 yeere there should be a glorious restoweration ag^e^. I reioyee to heare there is noe further ꝑseeution against C^tts^, but its not good to be secure, &c.

7. ∩² ⊗ *ex* ∩² 2.6·27 U·8∩·U § London: 14: 12 m^o^ (61.)

In most Countryes of England most of the godly ministers are turned out, for not reading the booke Com̃o: Pr^r^ in Lond: wee are for the p^r^sent at a better passe: the Par^t^ hath beene vpon an Act of Vniformity in w^pp^, according to the Law Established. It passed the house of Com̃o^s^ but was stopt at p^r^sent in the house [of] L^ds^ How long our Liberties will continue God only knowes: who hath our times, & all mens harts in his own hands. God fids vs with Bitts, who surfeited ourselves when we had a full table. Lately there was a strange apperition in Wales, vpon the 20 of Dec: last, in Mongomeryshire. Vpon a hill, in the afternoone, were seene marching in order an Army of Horsemen, Judged to

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* *To Mr. Davenport from Mr. Winthrop.*

† John Winthrop, Jr., did not return from his mission to England, after obtaining the Connecticut charter, until 1663. He arrived at Hartford in June of that year.

‡ *Mr. Wilson, who came from England in one Foster, sent this to vs, by Edmund, for* a certaine truth.

§ *To Mr. Davenport from Mr. Robert Newman.*

be 1000, in 3 devisions, each devision had 2 Ensignes, & they marched 2 a Brest, & soe marched in the sight of many Beholders, for 5 or 6 miles, & came to a hill neere a Towne, which I thinke is called B^p's Castle, & there vanished: the next morning, many went to see if they could see any impressions of the Horse feete, but none could be scene; its saide that many have testefied the truth of this, to the K: & Councell; it hath startled many of, &c. My Brother W^pp hath beene close prisoner in the gatehouse Westm^r: 14 or 15 weekes, I know not what for. By a ship from Holland to Manhatoes, wee vnderstand that the old man's p^rdiction is a fulfilling, for a loafe of bread which was wont to be sould for 5^ds is now sould at 2^s 6^d: much sicknes is there, & alsoe the plague is begun. True is that saying of the ꝑphett, they will not see, but they shall see. Trading allsoe, is very dead there, as well as in England.

Sect: 5. May the 15: (62)

∩? Jn^o ☒ (∩· 7. v— & shewd v— z·<·3— —9··(? a7 z· * Aiurnment of the Parl^t, July 30^th, 1661, wherein he gives the parliam^t many thankes for there many good bills, ꝑticularly that for the p^rventing numerous petitioners. That of Declaring the sole power of the Melitia to be in his Ma^tie, but especially for the Repealing of the Act which excluded the B^pps out of the house of Lords: & saith it was an vnhappy act made in an vnhappy time. 2^ly, A ꝑclemation of the Counsell in Scotland of the 9^th Jan: 1662, (grounded vpon the K^s Letter dated at W^thall, 28 Dec: 1661, & his Ma^ties ꝑclemation for the reestablishing of an Arch^bp & B^pps in Scotland, dated the 6^th Sept: 1661) ꝑhibiting all Eclesiasticall meetings, in Sinods or Presbittres, vntill authorized & ordered by the Arch B^pps & B^pps, wherein gr^t care is taken that all due Reverence & respects, Assistance & incouragem^t be given to the B^pps in the discharge of their Office & service to his majesty in the church:

3^ly A narative of 500 Horsemen & a Blazing starr, scene neere Mountgomery, 20^th Dec^r: 1661.

4. A Letter frõ Brussells, that was printed in England, about

* *Mr. Jn^o Davenport came to vs* & shewd *vs the King's Speech at the* adjournment, &c. Goffe and Whalley were at that time concealed in the vicinity of New Haven.

March 1660, wherein a Cavaleere saith they are comanded to be plaguy Godly, &c: ꝑting the true spirrit of that Party.

\ 2·∩ ∩² ȯ2<·2 7· ∩². JoU_* z 16 12 Mo: 1661.

There is Hope that the prisoners in the Tower that condemned the late K. may escape with there lives, which they have beene neere loosing, the Coñons having past the Bill agst them, but it sticks with the Lords. The sp^{t} of oposition to the people as it was, God seemes a litle to ballance things, that wee have yet some Competent Liberty. But oh let not the Lords Remembrancers give Him Rest. Here is greate Crying to God, & I hope the same spirit is upon the S^{ts} with yo^{w}; a litle longer time will shew vs more then as yet we see, things are working to A period. My Reverend Respects, though vnknowne, to ——, whom the Lord p'serve, to the further Comfort, & the service of his church.

Some more 9·=· /— iU ∩² ȯ2··<— ?·— |·7 7·2 7· ∩² ⊠†

S^{r}, — I know yo^{u} can't but long to heere how things stands, heere with vs. I shall only give yo^{w} a few Hints by which I know yo^{w} will easily vnderstand the whole. Most good Ministers are turned out, and as bad as yo^{w} can Imagine put in there roomes, soe that there is a sad famine of the W^{d} in many places allready, & thousands are now put off with stones insteade of breade, &c. The Churches of the S^{ts} are mostly brokẽ and scattered, & can't meete but by stealth & by parcells, except it be heere in London, where they best stand there ground. Trading in the memory of mã: &c, as *vt supra:*

Many & wounderfull have beene the strokes of God vpon many of the Carnall, ꝑphane, supstitious Clergy of the nations, & many signes & wounders have beene seene in the Heavens & on the Earth, all portending blood & warrs, &c: A Collection of which yo^{w} may in time have put into your hands, &c: Of late the L^{d} Chansellor signified, &c: as *vt supra:*

Distresse & all sorts of miseries are coming in like a flood vpon vs, if the spirrit of the L^{d} doe not lift vp his standard in the midst

* *From Mr. Barker to Mrs. Jones.*

† Some more *passages in Mr. Brookes his letter to Mr. Davenport.*

of vs. S^r yo^w know when any sort or Ranke or Order of men have made it there bussines to Bring the Glory of God low, the Interest of Christ low, His Churches low, His people low, His Ordenances low, & all His Concernments low, God hath found out a thousand, thousand waies to bring such a generation low: S^r Other engagements call me off, &c:

No. 3. SECT^s 1º 22: 3: mo.

∩² 8 · | — U —·z a— \ .‖.8·z:* About the midle of Jan. last. in the night, by a storme & lightning Whitehall was on fire, which kindled neere the K^s Bedchamber. They beate an Allarrum, fearing least they should be burnt in there beds. It was quenched, but hath done 1000ł worth of hurt: Those men in the Tower have complied, and in some measure (at least) recanted, to the greefe of such as ffeare God. Wherefore its thought God will not Honor them so farr as to suffer for His Cause, but M^r Brookes (who hath spoken with them) hopes they doe see & repent of it.

Since the printing of those last things, many other miraculous dispensations of ꝓvidence have been. He saith the most ꝓte of the House of Comons in parliam^t, are men vnder 20 yeeres of age. The last Michelmas the ——— ꝓswaded the ——— to goe with him to a hoore house, which he was vsed to ffrequent, & when they came, the Hoore M^rs asked the D. what ϧ | ˙< 7·∩ ?˙ ?˙)† brought her? Whereat the ———, being displeased, would haue returned, but the D. p^rvailed with him to g[oe] in; the next day the ——— comitted them to Newgate, where they were a weeke, & then lett out (i[t is] thought for that speech.) He saith the D. often severall nights leaves his wiffe to seeke such places.

The C·99Y o\ a | ˙77 2 \ : U) a7 ∩² ⊠s iU a quire o\ 9˙9·2 —˙U 7 \2·∩ 6·—7·U 6.7 I —.99·— 82·77˙U \2·∩ O: E.‡

SECT^s 2. 21: 4: m 1. 4 mo.

As for newes, the fleete is gon for the Q: who by order is prayed for in all Churches by the name of Q: Katherine: the ffleete that was sent in the end of sum̃er vnto her, she sent to secure Tan-

* *Mr. Wilson saith as followeth.* † What *Black Tom he had* brought.

‡ The *Coppy of a letter found at Mr. Davenport's, in* a quire *of paper sent from Boston, but, I suppose, written from* O: E.

geere, which was like to be surprized, & its reported that the L^d^ Sandwich, Admirall, having noe order frõ his Ma^tie^ to goe, denyed at first to goe vpon the Q's eom̃and, but she assuring to save him harmlesse, went & secured it, vntill the Earle of Peterborough, Gen^ll^, gott thither, who went thither long since with strength of 6000 men. The L^d^ Winsor is gon Gen^ll^ & Gov^r^ to Jamaica, & its reported a B^pp^ hath the Barbadoes, the Westerne Islands, & some other ꝑts to be his dioeese. In Parl^t^ its Reported the houses a little differ, for the L^ds^ sent a Bill to the Comons to settle a good standing Militia, in pay for the K^'s^ safety & Nations, & its Laide aside, soe the Com̃ons sent up 2 bills to the L^ds^ & they are laide aside alsoe: one for the exeeution of the Traytors in the Act of Indemp: & the other for the Chẽh Gov^t^ with a elause that all ministers that are not ordayned by B^pps^ are limited to a time in March next to be ordayned & to eonforme to the Gov^t^ by B^pp^ or be ejeeted: The L^d^ Mounson, S^r^ Hen: Mildmay & M^r^ Wallop were, the day the K: died, drawne vpon a sledge to Tiburne, & there staied an houre, with ropes about there neeks throwne over the Gallouse, & then returned: Lambert & Vaine are in prisson in the West. The L^ds^, its reported, deny to passe the Bill for the exeention afores^d^ bee: the K: hath pardoned Downes: & one Fleetewood, a K^t^ who deserued death as well as the rest in the Bill, & all to suffer none. As for ourselves the Countryes Addrese the last yeere sent by Capt. Leveret, was first p^r^se[nted] to the L^d^ Chauneelor, & by his meanes to the K: who still is (notwithstanding all in[deav]o^rs^ against vs) pleased t[o] deeline any determination against vs, in ease wee carry it as those that feare Go[d &] Hono^r^ the K. I doe [not]? in my small Judgem^t^ ꝑeive any gr^t^ feare of alteration of our gov^t^ & old pattent, & the rather, be[e.] M^r^ Jn^o^ Winthrop Ag^t^ for Connecticut & N. H: hath gotten a new pattent for those ꝑtes, with enla[rge]m^t^ of there Jurisdiction: ∀:UO June: 17: 1662, in a quire o∀ 99·2 a7 Π² ☒.*

* *Found* June: 17: 1662, in a quire *of paper* at *Mr. Davenport's.*

In a [illegible] Increase [illegible] to [illegible] JuU[illegible] 2, 1662 [illegible] 20th ditto.*

As allsoe to give yo[w] some Breefe acc[t] of what I have rec[vd] from some freinds in England touching Affaires there, I am informed that there is an Act for raising 2[s] p An: for ever, on every fire hearth in the Kingdome, to augment the K's revenue: And an Act against all that refuse the Oathes of Alleigance & Supremacy, the 1[o] refusal is 5l, the 2[d], Confiscation, the 3[d] Banishm[t]. The Act for vniformity in conformity is passed the house of Coñons, but it lies in the house of Lords, where there hath beene falling out about it. The Chancel[r] would have had severall pvisoes put in, wherevpõ the L[d] Digby & he had such jarring that Digby had like to have beene sent to the Tower. The K: in his speech to the parliam[t], March 1[o] doth Assure them that he is as Zealous for the Church of E: and as much p[r]judiced against those that doe not love the Coñon Prayer Booke as any of them. And bids them trust him for it that he will see vniformity in Religion setled. Last Decem. there were horses seene lighting downe frõ heaven vpon the ground in Wales & marching in a warlieke posture, to the Amazem[t] of many behoulders. Vpon the 3[d] of Mareh it rained wheate, & Rye, & pease in severall plaees in Dorsett. A godly Minister that saw it, & tasted some of it writes me word of it. The Tast thereof was very loathsome. Likewise ptienlar stories I heere, of the L[ds] appearing in the way of His pvidenee against some eonforming ministers. One hanged himselfe in his Canonicall Coate, & sursingle: another was soe troubled at his eonformity that he grew distracted, &e. I had allmost forgot to acquaint yow that the L[d] Corbet, Coll. Okey, & Coll: Barksteed, 3 of the late K[s] Judges, were taken prisoners in Holland by S[r] G: Downing, who was brought vp heere in N: E:, & is now the K's Agent in Holland. *Heu, quante degenere apo . . .*

I something feare whether the times may not be such heere, as that I must fly for it ere loug aga[in] heere, as in England I have beene faine to doe. I know God is faithfull, & can & will order

* In a *letter from Mr.* Increase *Mather of Boston* to *Mr. Davenport* June *the* 2, 1662. *Received the* 20th ditto.

all things as shall be for the best. The malignants have ventured highly to Threaten, but its a go[od] Kerne they have, yet but short hornes. The Synod is to meete the next weeke againe, we tremble, & what is like to follow vpon it, if the L^d^ in mercy doe not abate the Riggor of some mens . . . count it a favour &c., if I might receive your iudgem^t^ about the consosiation of Churches . . . ought to be a stated consosiation thereof. Its expresly against the concourrence . . . congregationa^ll^ Bretheren in England & a gr^t^ greife it will be to all . . . such . . . I know . . .

[*One line mutilated.*]

∩² Jo?U ⊠* the 21: 4 M^o^ (62.)

By C: Woodgreene wee heere that 40 passengers are come; Major Bowrne,† & his family, and one younge minister, A Bachelor;‡ as a Messenger sent by D^r^ Tho: Goodwin (who had come over now if his wife had not opposed it) in the name & behalfe of sundry churches, & many men of considerable quallity & Estate, who have a desire to come into this Country, if they may have any incouragem^t^ frõ hence. Capt. Pearce is comeing with 2 or 300 passengers.

Section 3. . . . 5: M^o^ 1662.

\2·∩ ∩² L·3 7· ∩² 2z'2\.2), LoU).U § the 27 March '62.

Loving freind, &c.,—These to certifie yo^w^ concerning my intention for N: H: by M^r^ Pearse, the Latter end [of] Aprill intends to set sayle, M^r^ Willoughby, Major Tomson, with there families, bound for Boston in the same shipp. Major Tomson is not resolved yet where to take vp his dwelling, whether in the Bay, or more southerly to Gilford.

Remember mee to M^r^ Auger, & tell him his sister is coming with M^r^ Perse, with my Wife, & I pray let my house be cleere for vs: The Society is newly come from Boston. There is lately sent from Holland these 3 that were of the K^s^ Judges. Cor. Oke,

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* *Mr. John Davenport.*

† Major Nehemiah Bourne, of Dorchester, Charlestown, and Boston, who went to England in 1640, and entered the Parliamentary army. See 3 Mass. Hist. Coll., i. 60, and ix. 268; and 4, vii. 297.

‡ Rev. James Allen.

§ *From M^r^ Long to M^r^ Rutherford, London.*

Corbet, Barkstead, were taken at Delph. Little safety vnder them. I hope there is noe such cause of feare as hath beene amongst:

Mr Winthrop hath allmost finished conserning there patten[t], & whether it doth not take in N: H: a little time will declare it; noe more at prsent:

\2·∩ ∩² 2z·2\·2) 7. ∩² □, \2·∩ 6.—7.U, z· 1° July, 1662.*

Capt. Pearse is expected heere the midle of July or before. Yonr freinds in the Bay are well. Divers would be very glad to see yow heere. I ꝑceive what the Synnod hath concluded on is not satisfactory to many. There was divers that did take offence at someth: that Mr Chancey did deliver at the time of the meeting of the Synod, but I beleeve he is a good sound man. I have spoken with him, & he tould mee he would be glad to see ∩² ⊠,† for he would exchange many words with him. Heere is Come with Woodgreene one Mr Davie,‡ a rich Marcht, & brought [h]is family & a great deale of goods, who is not yet resolved where to settle, & heere came with him one Mr Allen a younge man, a very able teacher, who was recommended by Mr Goodwin. He hath taught heere diuers times since he came. I heere Mr Hooke would have engaged him to come to N: H: but he will not resolve yett to settle any wheare, till Mr Pearse come. Goody Banister is come, & many passengers is expected with Capt. Pearse. Wee intend, if God please, to set sayle for home the next 2d day. ∩² A‖·27·U & ?·UU·? ⌈∩6·27.U§ are gon to Marbleheade.

\2[·∩] ∩² Ox·U62·)/· 7. ∩² ⊠‖ 5 of $\frac{2}{m.}$ 62.

Reverend Sr, — Therefore I am thus bonld to salute yow, & to send yow some paps of mine, which will tell yow how the Ld hath wrought my Aprehensions, as to matters at home & abroad, & I doe the rather adventure to prsent the Latter to yow, because I

* *From Mr. Rutherford to Mr Davenport, from Boston, the* 1° July, 1662.

† *Mr. Davenport.*

‡ Humphrey Davie, son of Sir John Davie, Bart., came over in 1662, "possibly," as Mr. Savage says, "to encourage Rev. James Allen." He was representative from Billerica and Woburn, and an Assistant 1679–86. He died 18 Feb. 1689.

§ *Mr. Allerton & Hannah Lamberton.*

‖ *From Mr.* Oxenbridge *to Mr. Davenport.*

know our deare L.d hath measured out to yow much of the publicke & active spirit which seemes now to have expired in the most: Men gen.ly (though ꝓfessors) are of very ꝓticular and narrow spts. & seeke there owne things, & soe consult how to keepe the skin whole heere, or shift every one for himselfe abroade, rather then how in the highest measure to Advance the name & gospell of our ꝓcious Lord: Men Rather in there going forth, consult with there daies feares, & ꝓp conveniences, then with there rise, & generall concernes of God's people. Were it otherwise, those good people that are now vnder the Rod might by going together into an incouradging Countrey, raise a very noble worke for Ch. & give him Livery & Seizen of the sweetest ꝓtes of the Earth, & ꝓvide a comfortable refuge for there ꝺn of the lowest degree, & thus wee might be in the way that the L.d will contribute someth: to those 3 greate workes wee waight for in these last dayes. The conuersion of the Gentills in such a sprinkling & fullnes as must be before the opening of Israell's eyes. And this 2d worke, with the Ruin of Antechrist, may probably be furthered by a faythfull seed sowne in Southern Collonyes. And that I have beleened, & therefore have spoken. I am now in readines to give a full Testemony, by going with some honest freinds to Comawan, which Joynes to Suranam, in the goodly Continent of Guajana.

I have reason by living 5 yeeres allmost, where noe frost, or snow, & where much of the same plants & fish & maner of life as in Guaiana, I say I have therefore some reason to know the ꝓffernce of a warme plantation to a Cold, especially when good people are generally poore, & when my selfe haue a winter of age vpon my back, & therefore not fitt to Covet another of the Clime. The heate of the Country by the constant Breezes (which in the day when Hott doe ventilat the aire) that it is rather pleasant than teadious, & not soe sultry & troublesome as the Hott sum̃ers of winter Countryes.

If any good soules of your ꝓtes should by any ꝓvidence be loosened, & Beekoned off, or likely to be soe, some ffaithfull messengers coming to vs by the 1° opportunity might write & give such satisfaction as might make some Happy swarme alight among vs, if the L.d . . .

Deare S.r, — If I have noe other Advantage by this addresse to yow, yett I req[uest] . . . expect your earnest remembrances of

the worke & us in it before your father, it growes vp yet as a tender plant in a dry ground, but if the God of the [spirits of all] flesh please, he can find me a likely instrument, & this handful of corne . . . may come to shake li[ke] Lebanon: Ps: 72: & I take that so . . .

∩² Jo²U ⊠ Ju|ϒ 5z, 1662.*

This day we rec'd the inclosed (viz. these in Sect^n 3) from the Bay, &c: one that came in the vessell informes that C: T: † wrote to M^r Vsher, &c: to secure the ꝑson & Estate of Breeden: ‡ accordingly they ꝑcured a warrant, Arested him, & seazed on his estate, for giving ffalse information against N: E: he is at p^rsent vnder bayle; he asked for his accusers, they tould him in due time they would prove the charge, which he then denyed, saying far be it from him to doe any thing against his good ffreinds of N: E: He appeared in Boston in a strange habit, with a 4 Cornered Cap instead of a hat, & his Breeches hung with Ribbons from the wast downwards a gr^t depth, one row over another like shingles on a house. The Boyes when he came made an outcry, from one end of the streete to the other, calling him a Devill, which was soe greate, that people woundering came out of there houses to see what the matter was: He went to visit the Governor, who gave him thankes for the good words he had spoken for N: E: A Letter \2·∩ ∩² L'3 7· ∩² Au/'2)'7') March 4^th^,§ Informes that the Act for Conformity was then ffinished which (he saith) would cause many to remove:

∩² E|'aza2 ∩'z·2 \2·∩ U·2?'∩97·U z' 4 of 5 m. 1662, 7· ∩² ⊠‖

Sect: 4 6 of 5 mo. [166]2.

The reason why there were soe few, not above 10 or 12 that appeared to act contrary to what the Assembley voted, was because they would allow every one his interpretation in the debate, & thence sundry inconsiderately voted for that which when it was too late they wished they had not done. There was scarse any of the Congregationall principles, but they we[re] layen at by some or other

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* *Mr. John Davenport*, July 5^th^ 1662. † Perhaps Colonel Temple.

‡ Thomas Breeden, of Boston. See note on p. 179.

§ *From M^r Lang to M^r Auger, dated* March 4^th^

‖ *Mr. Eleazar Mather from Northampton the* 4 of 5 m. 1662, *to Mr. Davenport.*

of the Assembly, as relations of the worke of grace. The power [of] voting of the fraternity in Admission, &c: profession of vissible faith, & repentance (to vse there owne words) as it was intended by the Synod in 46, not to be looked at in such as were Baptized in the church in reference to the Baptisme of there Children. Mr Parker of Newbery was one of the grt Antagonists of the Congregationall way & order, tho. it not being the worke of the p̄sent Synod to determine those matters, his many motions to consider whether wee were in the right ecclesiasticall order, were not attended. All dissenting is esteemed intollerable, & dissenters are accoumpted & charged to be the Breakers of the peace of the churches, Adhærents to Brownisticall notions, & what not.

As touching newes from England, &c, yet it may not be amisse to let you vnderstand that C: Ok[ey,] Barkestead, & Mr Corbet are executed after the like maner that Harison was, being dd vp [by] the meanes of Sr Geo: Downing,* sometime of N: E: who was Chaplaine in former times to C: O: 8 Bishops are deade, tho. new ones mostly in there Roome, Ld Reynold turned . . . Apostate, for [he] is as zealous for Ceremonies & noe more mild to the nonconformists then the rest. Strange multiplied prodigies the yeare last past. The King p̄fesseth, in his speech to the house of Cōmons, that he is as much for vniformity as any of them, & hates those that are against Cōmon prayer, & service Ceremonies, with a perfect hatred. Baxter and the Bp of Worcester† are at grt variance, as appeareth by there writing one against another. Many thinke of removing out of England, tho. they know not whether. There is a Minister, one Mr Allen, come over lately (well acquainted with Mr Hooke) a Congregationall man, & one intimate with Mr Th: Goodwin, who reports that it is thought by the sober Godly people, it had beene better for the Countrey if they had not sent soe many adresses & Agents, which is reported to be a discovery of there pusalanimity & want of courage to stand for the cause they came hither for. Many are expelled heere this sum̄er. Mr

* Sir George Downing [H. C. 1642], eldest son of Emanuel Downing, of Salem, by his second wife, Lucy, sister of Governor Winthrop, went to England, and was Chaplain to Colonel Okey's regiment, in the civil war. He was Ambassador to the Hague, under Cromwell, and after the Restoration. He was created a baronet, by Charles II., in 1663; and died in 1684.

† Dr. Morley.

Bartlet* of Bidiford & his son were shipt for N: E: but an Oath was imposed vpon them both afore they could get out of the harbo^{r}, & that stopt them, for they chused rather to dye in prisson then take it.

Secr. 5. 23 July.

IU a ⌊·77·2 *ex* ∩^{2} ?..<· 7. ∩^{2} ⋈ as follth ↄ·7·) the last March,† 1662.

The Parl^{t} still sitteth: the B^{pps} are in the vpper house, who with the popish Lords constitutes a gr^{t} ꝑte thereof. There was lately an Act ready to passe as it was feared, p^{r}pared by the lower house, to bring destitution to ejected ministers &c. which would have vtterly vndon 1000^{s} them, there wifes & ch^{n}, & filled the prisons with inumerable debtors, &c. but stopt by the Chancelor, &c. for which its said he hath the ill will of the B^{pps} And now Scotland is vnder the same conformity with England & have the Hirarchy, & Litturgy, among them. Sharp is Arch B^{pp}, who scrupled the renouncing of his Scotish ordenation, b[ut] was loth to loose his dignity & soe submitted: M^{r} Layton (Dr. Layton's son) is another of them. D^{r} Reynolds is a B^{p} ‡ heere, & sticks at noth: for ought I heere, was seene [to] goe into his coach in his Lawne sleeves, &c: The B^{pps} of London & Worcester are much in favour, &c: The Savoy hath beene the place of meeting of men Diametrically contrary to those that met there, & made the confession which I sent yo^{w}. Wee & they have throune down our Rods, & now it will appeare whether will devoure the other in the end, &c: Then he gives a Caracter of Coll: Sydenham & his wife, &c: then M^{r} Gold: who hath beene a Traveler many yeeres in Ittaly, Rome, Constantinople, Egipt, Nile, &c: he is exeeding pleasant & desirable: of Dr. Wilkinson he gives a . . . & good Testimony: who Lectures at Allhallowes, Lumbard Streete, every 6th day, to a gr^{t} audience. M^{r} Arthur ffree of his pulpit: one vnder him like to come shortly to trade in your plantation Wee allsoe haue hetherto a lecture every weeke, wherein severall(?) of vs take our turne, & near . . .

[*Two lines defaced.*]

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* Rev. William Bartlet, of New-Inn Hall, Oxford, a nonconformist minister of Biddeford, "a man of great courage in the cause of God," says Calamy, "was once imprisoned, and at another time escaped by the mistake of the officer." He died in 1682.

† In a *letter from Mr. Hooke to Mr. Davenport* as followth, *dated* the last March.

‡ Of Norwich.

Dr Willn with 2 more were invited to a neighbor's house to spend some time in prayer, whereby the Gentn, much cheered, prayed vs to stay supp, &c: but at supp time was apprehended & caryed to the Tower, & is there to this day, &c: Wee were all surprized, & particularly Dr Willkn his Wife, who having heard someth. in the close of the Day on Rev: 10: 1: &c. Mr Walley apprehended in the line of his preaching neere Wtt Chappell, &c: None dare preach in any place not consecrated, which occasioneth congregationall men to craue leaue of others of there way who have yet temples to meete in, &c: Mr Caryl admits 2 companyes into his place; this wee thinke will not hold long: Mr Bridge hath noe place, &c: & many others as well as hee in Citty & country: Mr Allen of Norwch, & his company as yet meete in a consecrated place, formerly purchased by themselves: Dr Goodwin lieth Close about Moorcfeilds, as allsoe Mr. Walley. Dr Owen is medi[t]ating his remove out of the Land: There hath beene dayly expectation of the execution of the rest of the K's Judges, &c. Hary Martin tould the Lds if he were put to death, it were not for murthering Ch: the 1st, but for beleeving Charles 2: Not long since one John James was Aprehended, examined, imprisoned, Judged, executed, drawne, hanged & quartered, &c; &, since his death one of the witnesses greatly troubled in conscience, &c. There is a sub . . .

[*One line illegible.*]

. . . of the Gospell among vs a little, & a little longer. The Presbiterians are in extreme contempt, &c, there former forwardnes to bring in the K: not at all regarded, &c: Mr Baxter & Bp Morley att Odds, &c: Mr Callamy is a Lame man with one fall after another, that he hath of late recd: The Bpp of Exeter * hath of late writ a Book called A Pillar of Gratitude, &c: a vaine proud peece, &c: He preached lately in the Citty on Acts: 17: 22, in defence of the Ceremonies. Never the like since the 1st reformation, for scandalous psons, Ignorance, drunkenes, lying, swearing, vncleanes, &c: among the clergy: one being asked where he had layen all this while, answered, among the potts, &c: Dr Bolton & another of them in his drinke saide he was in heaven, &c: The Bpps have sett vp 4 Lectures in London, but thin con-

* Dr. Gauden.

gregations, & every one must stand bare: These men are more gen^{lly} disliked then ever, even by good & bad: They have gathered vast somes, &c: But in the meane while Trade is exceeding low. The Citty greately mistaken in there hopes &c: Multitudes broke and are vndone, &c: noe trading, little or noe money stirring, & corne is very dear, & such a gentle winter that a famine is feared. The Citty swarmes with beggers, &c: I feare to thinke what will become of the Citty through the strange decay of Trade, of which is there a gen^{ll} denyall Europe over, & much through rumors & expectation of wars, besides England lost their manufacture &c. Many & bould Roberyes even in the streetes of London, &c. The Earle of Essex & a Knight of the Bath in or neere London. On the 18 of Feb^{r} a most violent . . . with lightning: W^{m}hall fired with . . . house before, noe other house had . . . blown downe, scarse any but some damadge. The Phanaticks house stood, whilest his neighbours house fell, & kild Lady Saltonstall: * M^{r} Blith: a Lawier killed, 2 houres after he had beene jeering at M^{r} Bullockes against such as prayed with zeale, &c: M^{r} Hoskins 40 ł a yeere losse in walnut trees 30,000 ł hurt in Pembrookesheere, 30 shipps in the Texell. K^{s} ship, 36 peece ordnance, in the Streights of Crownes, blowne downe; & some bending, &c: The noble Theenes that the same day Robd a Tanner of 7 ł & other th: & kild him, were the L^{d} Buckehurst, oldest sone of the L^{d} Dorsett, & a young brother of 17 or 18 yeers of age: Two more of the family of the Bellasis, & another of the family of Wentworth, among whom a Kn^{t} of the Bath: & one or two of them are s^{d} to be parliam^{t} men. A few dayes after the L^{d} Morley kill^{d} his Page: Sheffeild kild in a Duell in the Sauoy yard, on the Saboth day: Hosea: 4: 1: 2: 3: The report is the Apparition of the Horse neere Mountgomery, the white horses very white, &c: This contradicted by none, &c: The Astrollogers opinion, the last not beleeved, being asked whence shonld the warr arise seing, &c: 17 prisoners in Mongomery set at liberty vpon the Knowledge of it: Our ships are gone to take possession of Tangeere, given vs the Portugall vpon the match. Our shipps that went to Argeere, have only put our hands in a hornet's nest, they are enraged,

* Perhaps Mary, the third and surviving wife of Sir Peter Saltonstall. Her will was proved May 21, 1662. Pepys, however, in his "Diary," under date of Feb. 18, 1661–2, gives the name as "one La ly Sanderson."

take multitudes of captives of Engl: & Dutch: The Queene of Bohemia is deade, in England,* brought by L^d^ Cromw[ell] (?) Prince Rupert is allsoe returned. I thinke lodgeth att White Hall. Duke Monke is . . . ill of an Ague: B^p^ Monke Deade, soc is Walton of Chester, a linguist. He had a hand in the Polyglot Bible. Deane of Paulls deade. The organs are vp there, & gr^t^ want of singing men. The Hoboy man of Worcester, the daneing Child, the Owle, the Hound: the 6 or 7 pissing Doggs, & many such things make them rediculous. Many minis[ters] & other good men imprisoned & brought to asizzes. Croften in the Tower, Vavasor Powell in the fleete: Jn^o^ Simpson in the Gate house: M^r^ Jessey was vnder restraynt, a vissitor of prisons, &c; D^r^ Wilkinson, at one gathering rec^d^ 220 ł. M^r^ Oxenbrige going to Suranam with the L^d^ Willouby. M^r^ Malbon to Amsterdam; M^r^ Geoffrey dyed like a stout Christian. M^r^ Galaspy escaped, &c: I can say little of any Con . . . except some few, as M^r^ Jenkins, who is much lookt on, sent for to the counceil for omitting to pray, though he said he prayed for a holy & hapy raigne, one s^d^ *a holy reigne.* Many appostate, &c: M^r^ Callamy pleades for moderation lest the Gospell quite lost, &c: The Act for uniformity now ready to come forth: It is said the surplus, X, & kneeling will not be required, but the Cov^t^ must be rejected. The wayes made ready for the Queene, & pajeants repaired: Lent kept not so stricktly, to ꝑserue the poore from starving: A 2^d^ booke of prodigies coming out: God doth so wonderfully . . . vs every day: The story of M^r^ Cope about a boy & a girle possest by the Divell, . . . the Councell. Mavericke an enemie, but Co: Temple a freind: he tould . . . found that no Gov^r^ nor B^pps^ . . .

[*Two lines mutilated.*]

God's gr^t^ affaires this day seeme to be placed vpon our stage, & the gr^t^ . . . to be among vs. The . . . of Co: Okey & Barkstea[d] by S^r^ G: Downing . . . the Duke . . . as in former times you heard, as . . . . soe now . . . onalls. Anabaptists . . . B^pps^ . . . tected by the L^d^ Major. The B^p^ of Winchest^r^ is dead, & . . . the B^p^ of . . .

[*One line effaced.*]

* Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, daughter of King James I. of England, born 1596, died in London, Feb. 13, 1661–2.

JOHN DAVENPORT* TO WILLIAM GOFFE.

2 (ve) z. 3th of 5 m: 1662.†

There was a Genll Gouernor & a Major Genll chosen for this Countrie to seize upon the Melitia for the King: and a Bp & a Suffragan, for Ecclesiasticall Goverm! but Mr Norton ‡ writes, that theye are not yet out of hopes, to ꝓvent it. the Governors Name, is Sir Rob: Carr, § (a ranck Papist). There are great thoughts of heart, (among the Godly) about vs, what Imposic̃ons wilbe laid vpon N: E. —

The Episcopal Goverm! is by Act of Parliam! proclaimed thorughout England.

Exceeding great Taxes laid upon the People.

There is great talke of many Ministers with theire Congregac̃ons, c̃omeing ouer the next yeare if roome can be found for them.

There is one Mr Allyne ‖ come over this yeare of about 30 yeares of age, a very able man; & 2 Great Marchts ¶ of London with theire Familes, of 30,000. ℔ estate, godly men.

I saw in a Letter this Day, that Corne in England is at 14. 15. 16. 17s a Bushell, the poor in great extremetie, & little care for their relcife.

The King is engaged to the utmost, to promote Episcopacy.

The[re] is great likelehood of War, with France, the French Ambassador is gone home in a rage. It is to be feared that there is a sad scourge at hand, for England.

There were 9 ministers that went up to the Bp to receive theire Orders, & returning to the Country to theire severall places, to put in execuc̃on those Orders, 7 of the 9. were im̃ediately struck dead, the 8th struck blind, the 9th mad, a very remarkable hand of God.

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* This letter, although without signature, is in the handwriting of Davenport.

† *Received the* 3th of 5 m: 1662. [*Memorandum by Goffe.*]

‡ Rev. John Norton, Teacher of the First Church in Boston, was sent with Simon Bradstreet, as agent of the Colony, to England, in February, 1662. They returned, September 3, of the same year.

§ Sir Robert Carr came as one of four commissioners to reduce the Colonies to obedience, &c., &c., in 1664.

‖ Rev. James Allen came over from England in 1662. He was ordained Teacher of the First Church in Boston Dec. 9, 1668, as colleague with Mr. Davenport. He died Sept. 22, 1710, aged 78 years.

¶ Probably Humphrey Davie and Nehemiah Bourne.

The broad Seale is bought & sould, so that there is no hold of anything granted to any man.

There are aboundance more particulars. (I suppose that is ment in the Baye.) Thus much as the sume of Intelligence which ∩² /|.ve2 * brought in a letter from the Baye, the 5ᵗ Day last weeke to —92·3\˙·|Ↄ† & is since come hither.

Unto these I shall add 3. passages of Newes which I heard from ∩² JoU·—‡ & were reported to him by ∩² ?.Ↄ—.U § from Au /·2 ‖ as followeth.

1. The Charters of all the Cities & Corporacons, in England, are called in & nullefied, exeept London and Bristol, or Yorke.

2. That Masse is tollerated thorought England.

3. That by the House of Comons in Parliament it was voted that the King should have the power of ordering, & disposing, mens personⁿ Estates, but when it eame to the House of Lords, it was opposed, for one of the Lᵈˢ stood up, & said that it was known he had bene faithfull to the Kˢ Interest, but could not consent to that for he must be faithfull to his own Interest, his Wifes, & Childrens, who would thereby be undone (or to that purpose).

I heare that the Synod in the Baye, is broken vp without doeing any thing, & have adjurned the meeting, till Octo: or Nov: next.

Sectⁿ 3. 1°: January, 1662.

One Mr. Wats, a mariner, (who formerly liued at Plimouth, &c.) came lately from Virginia, informed 6ʳ 6˙|Ↄ8·U ¶ as foꝋ:

That Capt. Higginson (brother to Mʳ Higgⁿ of Salem) is come to Virginia, Comander of a new ship called the America, who came from Londⁿ in the latter end of Oct. That the sᵈ Capt. informed him that things were very sad in Eng: & soe like to be, & that he wished himselfe in N: E: & would make what hast he could hether, after his returne into Eng: Moreover he sᵈ that he informed him in severall ꝑticular passages concerning affaires in England; (viz:) That Mounke is confined vnto his chamber, for not subscribing to the Bᵖᵖ & that its thought they will take away his life.

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* *Mr. Glover.* † *Springfeild.* ‡ *Mr. Jones.* § *Mr. Hudson.*

‖ *Auger.* Probably Nicholas Auger, of New Haven. The names written by Davenport are erased, and the cipher inserted by Goffe.

¶ *Br: Baldwin.*

That the Q: M: is at Greenwich, & hath erected the High Altar, & that popery is acted as much as ever.

That Prince R: is out of the Land, & is in the Straightes.

That the Speaker friggot met with 2 Dutch men of warr, & comanded them to strike for the K: of England, who answered they would strike for noe K: vnder the sunn, & the Dutchmen made the ffriggot creep away, in danger of sinking, & with losse of men. Moreover that the Dutch are well fitted with men & shipping for service.

That there are to the N^o^ of 8 or 9000 protestant people, Banished out of some other country, who are come to Holland, & there releeued.

That they had a plentifull Harvest in England last sumer.

That there is a gen^ll^: discontent among the seamen against the K. And besides what this informer ree^d^ from Capt. Hig^n^ he saith he spake with many other seamen, as well Bristol men as Londoners, who were formerly for the K: but are now discontent with him, & wish for another Cromwell. He saith those that have come to Virginia, doe generally complaine of there greate Taxes, & say that Cromwell sought the good of the Land, &c:

That Trading is very low, & abundance doe leaue there houses, & doe turne the Key, & are gon, its not knowne whether.

That theres very greate robbing in the Citty, a man can hardly walke in safety in the streetes, with a hat vpon his heade.

That there is a pclemation out that all that will not take the Oath to be subject to the K. & B^ps^ must depte the land by such a time, or els shall be accounted Traitors, & thereupõ abundance are p^r^ping to come to N: E: the next spring.

That the L: Fairfax is in England, & keepes 6000 men vpon his owne Charge, & hath 60,000 ready at Comand. That the K. sent to him to come in, which he refused, & that that pte of the Country where he is, is for him.

That the K. & D. of Yorke were at Woolledge with the seamen of the fleete, & did require of them to take an Oath to be subject to the K: & B^ps^, who answered they were willing to serue him, but refused to subscribe to the B^ps^, & did expect to be free from them, for they had formerly fought against them. The D. spake to the K. to hang foure or 5 hundred of them, & then the rest would conforme, wherevpõ they tould the K: they and there

relations had cause to curse the day in which they brought him & his relations into the land, or that they wished the curse of God vpon themselues for bringing them in, & soe continued in a Mutiny, & some men were killed. The K. tould the D. it was a very bad word that he had spoken, enough to vndoe the Land: & comanded him to be conuaied away, (and its thought if he had not got away, the seamen would have killed him). The K. endeavoured to pacefy the seamen. They demanded wages of him, or threatned to runn away with his ships, if they were not paide. Its saide they had only dyet allowed, & not wages. They allsoe desired there old officers, not willing to serue vnder p^{r}sent comanders: who were land Captaines, not experienced at sea: Noe seamen are ꝑmitted to come out of the Land, but such as Navegat the ships. The K. buyeth what shipping he can; he would have bought Capt. Higgisons: The seamen generally complained of the comanders of the K: ffleete: as alsoe of there Ministers, whose frequent practice they say is to goe among the seamen, & say, God dam you, I am come to saue yo^{w}, come let vs goe to prayer, & many times made a company of Boyes to dance or whip one another naked before them: the seamen thinke they are not like to ꝑsp on these accounts, they say, how can they adventure there liues, hauing noe succese in any of there designes with these men?

In a ⊦77·2 *ex* ∩² U·8∩·U (as I su99.—·) 7. ∩^{r} ⋈ ↄ·7·ↄ 25: 6 m^{o} 62.* N^{o} 6:

Yesterday, being the 24th August, all the ministers in Lond:, & in other places allsoe, who would not conforme according to the Act of vniformity were put to silence, which did make such a hurry in Londõ, as hath not beene seene heeretofore. There was scarsely a good sermõ in all Londõ. The peo: dislike the booke of comõn prayer, & disdaine it. They came into the meeting places, & hallowd & laught at them who read it. In one place the miñ. whom the B^{p} sent to reade & preach, durst not stay to doe his worke, but left the booke & gott himselfe away. The people tooke the booke & trampled it vnder feete, & tare it in peeces. What these things will ꝑduce I know not. These are sad th^{s}:, soe

* In a *letter from Mr. Newman* (as I *suppose*) *to Mr. Davenport, dated* 25: 6 mo. 62.

that all Publike Assemblies are utterly Broken, & those who meete in private are watched, & many of them haled to prisons, & how soone I may be taken I know not. The Lord helpe me to lye at his feete, & to be at his dispose in every thing, & to make mee stand fast in the faith of the gospell. Mr. Carryll is out, & another put into his place. I shall say noe more, but only desire yours and the Churches' prayers: both for my selfe, & all the Churches & people of God: I have sent yo^{w} the 2 part of ꝑdigies.

∩^{2} Jo ?U ⊠ 8$\mathcal{2}$·7˙— as. ∖ .‖.8·$\mathcal{z}$:*

One Mr. Foster is arived at Boston; by letters & informations the state of things is represented to be very bad with the peo: of God in O: E: all good ministers put downe, that would not conforme. There are not above 10 in or about London that have conformed; and iU a |·77·$\mathcal{2}$ *ex* ∩^{2} ⅁vie a7 6.—7.U i7 is ⎽⎽) † Sad newes *ex* England, all good minist^{rs} put out, & the heighth of wickednes in church & state broken in. The tide soe turned that they say P. Rupert is L^{d} L^{t} of the Tower of Londō. if not of England, allsoe Browne (who was Lord Maior) Massey, L^{d} Fairefax & many others either imprissoned or sought to be imprisoned: Monke Loosing his places & Titles of honor apace.

in a |·77·$\mathcal{2}$ *ex* ∩^{2} ?.∩9 ?r·Y ⅁vie to ∩^{2} ⊠ *ex* 6.—7.U,‡ the 21th 8mo 1662.

Wee are heere in greate thoughts & trouble of hart for our ffreinds in England, because that which was feared is come vpon them. The Candlestickes are remoued, the Glory is departed, & evill come vpon the people of God, to the vtmost. The rage of the Enemie, & the sufferings of the Saints increase more and more; and this is for a Lamentation. And besides the Devisions
N: E: in the churches heere, with there strange Degeneratings from the pure waies of the Lord, either through feare, coldnes of hart, or Lukewarmnes, bewitchings of the world, or other weaknesses, or through wicked designes of some; which things I say threaten the like missery heere. The Lord keepe vs *ex* defyling our garm^{ts},

* *Mr. John Davenport writes* as *followeth.*
† In a *letter from Mr. Davie at Boston, it is said.*
‡ In a *letter from Mr. Humphrey Davie* to *Mr. Davenport, from Boston.*

ex touching any vncleane thing, & redceme vs from the Earth, that we may be the first fruites vnto God, a sacrifise (though it be to Death) acceptable to God, through our Lord Je: Ch: Our freinds in England are in gr^{t} doubt, & much in the darke what to doe, whether to ffly, or stand & abide the Issue, many, it is beleeved, will come in the spring, & I hope some of our freinds O: E: & N: allsoe, & that my advice & ꝑswasion of them, which I wrought about the time yo^{w} were heere, will p vaile. There gr^{t} dowbt (I feare will be) whether in case of Changes of Goverm^{t} & affaires heere, & at Connecticut (who seeme to be very forward therein) & of impositions whether yo^{w} may be free, & what ground of hope there is to Escape the same. Though for my owne part I am willing & resolved to runn the adventure, & comitt my selfe to the Lord only as I 7.|ↄ ϒ.8 a7 ϒ.re 6:3 ?·· 2· * I having relation to others in my trade & being 6·7rus7·ↄ 8.z oz·r ∩·U— e—7˙7·—,† I cañot act freely, without advice & consent first obtained, which I looke for, being in relation to my bussines not my owne disposer, though I 9·2C:ve ∩^{r} 6˙(?· i— ∩.re 2·—.⌊7·,‡ and I hope to heere that our resolution may be brought into action. Coñitting yo^{w} & yours to the Lord, I rest: 8·· 6.z (·—.re —7.‖ o^{r} iU7·U7.oU— as 7. z.— 6isU·— ∩˙ϒ 6· <·97 9riva7· §

In another ⌈·77·2 *ex* ∩^{2} ↄ˙vic & ∩^{r} Sa∩8·‖ 6˙(?· z.ϒ ↄ·—.re ⊠ 7. (˙use 7.∩6·r 7. 6· (.77 \.r 2 ↄ8·‖.3 ?:—˙s & 78. 8˙re ?:—·s, & \.r oz·rs a‖—.e 8?. ∩˙ϒ (·∩· *ex* O: E: & ∩^{r} 6˙(?· aↄↄ·ↄ iU a 9.—7—cri97:‖ I must assure yo^{w}, what with the pressing occasions of my bussines & the Deplorable estate of our deere native Country, with the churches & people of Ch: therein, I am in gr^{t} discomposure. The good Lord remember them & us. ∩^{rs} ↄ.8—· U.8 brouz 8.rↄ of a (.UvaiaU(· inst /.·3.¶

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* As I *tol*l yo^{w} at *youre being heere.* † *Betrusted with other mens estates.*

‡ I *perceive Mr. Bache is more resolute.*

§ *Wee both desire still* of *intentions* as *to this bisnes may be kept* private.

‖ ¶In another *letter from Mr. Davie & Mr. Samuell Bache, they desire Mr. Davenport to cause timber to be cutt for 2 dwelling houses, & two ware houses, & for others allsoe who may come from* O: E: & *Mr. Bache added in a postscript.*

¶ *Mr*s *Dowse now brought word of a convaiance* just *going.*

AU.ꝛ·r ex ∩ᵉ)·vie 7· ☒ 8·ꝛ.7)·7. ex 6.—7oU.*

N: E: The Generall Court, who have read the King's letter, & have had large debate what should be don, & whether it should be published & printed; but I doe not heere it is yet ordered, though it be like to be: They have great strugling, & truely the eyes of most begin to be opened, & to see plainely the designe to exterpate the ꝑfession and ꝑfessors of the pure & right waies of the Lord, out of this Collony, if not out of the Country, & to make all to receive the marke of the beast & his Iᷣmage. I was tould that ∩ᵉ U.ꝛ7.U)·(|ᵉre) 7. the (·.r7,† that if they complied not with the King's Letter, the Blood that should be spilt would lye at their dores, or vpon there heades. He litle thought where the guilt of soules would lie by that meanes, but indeed I ꝑceive most are convinced, but a tiᷣmerous & fearefull spᵗ hath surprized men (and it is without cause) though some are desperately designed to overturne Civill & Spirituall Libberties, which if they doe effect multitude of People & families will certainely remoue to some other places of freedome, & the pʳsence of the Lord with them, & woe to these people then if the Lord forsake them, but I hope better things: Heere are a Remnant that have not (would not) defile there garmᵗˢ, nor bow downe to the Iᷣmage of Baall, & it may be the Lord may heere prayer, & stand by them for ꝑventing the evill. ∩ᵉ U.ꝛ7.U‡ hath lost himselfe much in the Esteeme of the generallity, & will doe more. Yesterday halfe a dozen of the great Church went to him and Mr. Wi|—.U & E|)·ꝛ 9·U,§ in the name of themselves & others, desiring that an assistant in the ministry for preaching, might be chosen, (intending Mʳ Allen as I suppose) whom the Lord appeares much with, having given him Large rome in the hearts of the people, but some I heere have gon on the other side, & opposed it; soe it is like to come to debate, & getting of hands. I wish these things doe not cause a breach.

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* *Another from Mr. Davie to Mr. Davenport, without date, from Boston.*

† *Mr Norton declared to the Court.*

‡ *Mr. Norton.* § *Mr. Wilson & Elder Pen.*

∩² IUC 2·ase ∩·z·2 7. ⊠ ex 6.—7.U, z· 21, 8mo 1662.*

I have your writings still in my hands. I offered the Syñod to read them, but ∩r U.27.U † advised them not to suffer me, whereupon I let them have a coppy of them, which was genlly transcribed. I have given in yours & Mr Streetes Testimony vnto our Gen: Court, with a preface subscribed by Mr Ch: Mr Mayo, my Brother & myselfe, in the name of others of the Dissenting Brn in the Syñod, wherein we declare that wee fully concurr with what is asserted by your selves in these papers. Some of the Court would very faigne have had them throwne out againe, without soe much as reading them, but the major pte were not soe violent, they have voted that what the Sinod have done shall be printed: it was moved allsoe that what yourselves & wee have done might be printed allsoe, but all the answer that could be obtained was that wee might doe as we would, but they would not vote for such a thing, & wee must count it a favour that wee were not Coñanded to be silent. It is our purpose therefore to print what wee have given into the Court, of yours & ours, many that are true to the cause desiring vs soe to doe. The Gen: Court hath ordered that the K's Letter shall be published, but they will not give any answer vnto it, before the next Gen. Court, which is in May next. Allsoe they have voted for a day of Thanksgiving, to be kept upon 5th of Novembr, & a day of Fast, 4th of Decembr The last weeke Capt: Breeden, carying himselfe insolently and Contemptuously before the Court, slighting there authority, & requiring them in the K.'s name to assist him with 500 souldiers to goe against the Mahaukes, the Court sent him to prison, where he lay one night, but the next day Mr. Lake & Vsher giving bond for him, he was inlarged: N: E:

There is lately a vessell come from E: which informes vs that the Act for Conformity takes place & is pscuted with full viggor & activity, that there are 96 ministers silenced in Londõ, that there were strange Confusions vpon the 24. Aug: the people in many places taking the Coñon Pr. booke out of the Churches, & kiking it vp & downe the streetes. One Letter saith that Fairefax, O: E:

* Mr Increase *Mather to Mr. Davenport, from Boston, the* 21, 8 mo. 1662.

† *Mr. Norton.*

Booth, & Massey have withdrawne themselves, & that there is a pclemation out against them pmissing 1000 £. to whom soever shall bring any of them. The Queene Mother is in the Tower, with a Company of French & Irish with her keeping garison there. P. Rupert is made Counstable of the Tower. Another booke of prodigies come forth, which is full of many strange & formidable stories:

As yett our wrightings have not beene publickly read in the Court, & now I thinke they will Hardly vouchsaffe to give them a publicke audience, whereby yo^{w} may see which way things are like to be Carried, &c: I am desired by a worthy ffreind to inreate yo^{w} to let vs see D^{r} Vsher's pphesy, &c.

IU a |·77·r *ex* RiC ?'2 ∩·|·— 7. ?.— \ 'z·r, 21 8 m. 62, *ex* C ?'r|·—7.8U·*

Sect:ō 2.

The L^{d} hath returned M^{r} Foster *ex* E: & by what I can heare its more sad with God's people then wee can conceive of, for not a good mā may preach, &c: & M^{r} Foster saith that a mā were better sit at home then to goe to·meeting, might he but doe it peaceably. It is to be feared that things will goe yet higher. The K: hath caused some of the gates of the Citty to be pulled downe, & hath seazed on most of the Armes in the Citty, & he that was Lt. of the Tower (a very corrupt mā, & a great malignant) is now made Lord Maior of the Citty: & Prince Rupert is High Counstable of the Tower, & he hath with him 800 Irish & French, allsoe Dover Castle must be put into like posture: Divers Citties in Engl: allsoe are pulled downe, & the Troopers will come by night & seaze on persons in there beds, & cary them to prisson without giving an accoumpt for what, & there is a 1000 ł, some say 10,000 ł pffered to those that can bring certaine, as Ffairfax & S^{r} Geo: Booth, or bring Tidings of them. M^{r} Foster saide he heard severall good ministers preach there farwell or last serm^{n} & they, one & all, spoke as dying men, saying they knew not whether ever they might have an opptunity to speake in the face of a Congregation more. M^{r} Slaughters last sermō was·on those words, Little Children keepe your selves from Idolls. Good men

* In a *letter from Richard Miles to his father*, 21. 8 m. 62, *from Charlestowne.*

are sadly vsed, alsoe in Scotland there is sad worke: The K. saith that he will have the Act of Conformity be submitted to, else he will make the Lord's Land to swime once more with blood. The K. hath a sonne which walkes vp & downe with him, about 13 yeers of age, which he owneth.* Some speake of more, but that is Certaine.

WILLIAM HOOKE TO JOHN DAVENPORT.

Sect^{r} 1^{o}. 5 March: 1663.

R^{p} S^{r}, — Your weighty lines I have rec^{d} by this bearer. They have beene of use more waies then one to mee; & for them I returne you my most hearty thankes. S^{r}, According to your desire I haue sent yo^{w} the newest, truest & fullest intelligence I can reach to. S^{r}, I haue sent you the King's Declaration† of the 26 Dec: 62, & the Parliament's votes upon it. The Decleration was 3 months a forming up. When it past the K^{s} Councell there was but one against it, & that was my Lord Lautherdale, Secretary for Scotland. There was no application made, either by congregationall or presbeterian ministers, for the Midwiveing of this Decl^{n} into the w^{ld}. The Generallity of the nation stood off from the Act of Vniformity. Trading was growne deader then it has beene knowne these many yeeres. The Generallity of the people dissatisfied; & those that were under the greatest dissatisfactions were those that had the best purses, the best heades, & the best hands in the nation; & the consequences of puoking these too farre were allsoe consulted, and thus this Decl^{n} was brought forth. By the votes of the Parl^{nt} upon this Decleration, yo^{w} see the Crowne & the Miter are ingaged. The B^{pps} sent letters to all they accoumpted true sonns of the Church, to come vp & make heade against the Decleration. Severall angry presbiters of the House supposing Popery to be the game, would not come up, soe that the B^{pps} party in the House caryed

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* James, Duke of Monmouth, born in 1649.

† Of Indulgence.

it, against the Court party, by about 200 voyces, & yet two of the greatest Proctors the Bishops had in the House of Coñons fell in with the Court pty. The King & his Councell are drawing up Answers to those votes of Parliam^{t}; he being fully resolued that his Decle^{n} shall passe. The Old Queene, the Lord Digby, & some others that are one in spirit and prineiples with them, have beene with the K. since the Parl^{ts} votes were printed to desire him not to insist upon any further lyberty then what at present they doe enjoy; & are mueh troubled that they have put on things soe farr. Counting how exeeding aversse the Parliam^{t} is to them, & how close they stiek upon there skirts, & knowing that this day M^{r} Prin [Prynne] is to bring in a more severe Act against them then ever yet was brought in, &c. The B^{pps} & the Coñons are now mueh troubled that things are brought to this extremity; especially seeing the K: is resolved to earry on the Decl^{n}, they would faine make an hon^{ble} retreate if they knew how; and yett they must retreate or be dissolved. It is supposed they more feare dissolving then they doe hell itselfe. Wise men say, that if they were dissolved, within a m$^{o.}$ time they would be all in a Jaile for debt, exeept 40 or 50 of them. The K: is fixt, they must bow or breake. The K. sent for M^{r} Callamy, Dr. Bates, & Dr. Manton, before these votes passed the House, giving them full assurance that a Bill should be brought into the House which would introduce most of them into there places againe. The Bill was aeeordingly brought into the House of the L^{ds} by the Duke of Yorke, & it is supposed it will be earied on. There is in that Bill a sharpp elause against the Papists. Dr. Goodwin, M^{r} Nye, & M^{r} Caryl, & one more of our Congregationall Brethren were sent for by the K on the 27 day of the last mounth. The K. gave them all his hand to kisse. He was with them above an houre. He stood bare all the time, & treated them very graciously. Dr. Goodwin being there mouth by agreement, acquainted the K. how that in Doetrinalls wee agree with all Prottestant Churches, & that we have in our churehes all parts of worship, as preaching, praying, reading the Word, & singing of psallmes, & the Sacraments, & then he shewed how our prineiples were consistent both with Eclesiasticall & Civill State. As for our differing from the Comon way in point of Discipline, he answered that from Instanees abroad in other Nations. The King declared that he ever

was & ever should be against persecuting men for their faith & consciences, for that was of God, & men could not helpe it. He allsoe declared that he would not be K. of a party, but of the whole, & that he would doe all he could for theire Libberty; & that he would keepe off all severity from them. Hee allsoe advized them to meete wisely, & not in too great Noumbers for the present, till they did see what the Parliament might be wrought to; & allsoe advized them to looke to there teaching, that noe offence might be given that way. The K. earyed it very ffrankly, freely, hartily, & candidly towards them; and declared his sattisfaction in what they had said to him, and desired them to be soe Charitable towards him as to beleeve that he spoke his hart to them, & that he intended to act what hee had saide. These things I know to be as true as 2 & 2 make 4. Sir, about 3 weekes hence Capt. Pearce * will be going for N: E: & then, Providence permiting, I intend to giue yo^{w} a further accoumpt of these things, & to send yo^{w} a little token which at present I have not by mee. The ffrench K. is going with an Army of 40,000 men against the Pope. The differences are risen soe high, that there is noe ending of them but by the sword. The Parliament in Ireland have made 18 or 20 proposalls to my Lord Ormond, Deputy of Ireland, that hath vnited all different interests into one against the cõmon enemie, the Papists, who had thoughts & hopes not only to swallow downe the purchasers lands, but allsoe the purchasers themselves. I heare that a Herrald is sent or ready to be sent into Scotland, to declare Comissioner Midleton's place voyde; & that my Lord Lawtherdale is to be Comissioner in his roome. The Nobillity there are much divided, & the people much dissattisfied. Many thousands of the people, especially in the west of Scotland goe out euery Sabath day into the feilds where these ministers preach to them that were formerly turned out. A Scots B^{pp} hath saide, that either the K. must giue them Liberty and indulge them, or else make a Law to burne them. There is and has beene a very gr^{t} sp^{t} of Faith & Prayer abroad in these Nations, especially in this Nation; & God hath great things upon the wheele. It is vpon . . . many 1000s that salvation is

* The captain of the ship which brought Goffe and Whalley to New England.

hastning to them. I have not time to inlarge. Soe wishing . . . Worthy Sir, Yours in our Sr D. G.

In a |·77·r cc ∩r 6ϒ|·ϒ 7· ⊠)'7·) a7 |on Don,* the 1o August, 1663.

On the 22th July, D. Yorkes child † baptized. K: & Chancelour Godfathers, Q: Mother, & the Q: Godmothers.

28th The K: passed 20 Acts: 2 Acts, one against Papists, the other against Nonconformist[s], not being quite finished, (that of the Non-Conformists wanting but once reading in the house of Lords.) The Speaker of the house of Comons desired the K: to issue his pclemation for the putting of the old Lawes in execution against Pap: & Non: Conf: &c: the K: slightly thankes them & saith he will take care, &c. & see that if any thing be wanting, someth: be prepared against next session, which is to be about 10th or 16 March next.

Vpon the coming out of the K: Speech, some take Courage against the Phanatickes, & apprehend 100 att Mr Cokin's Church, &c:

The Difference twixt Digby & the Chancelor was seasonable to stopp the bill against the N: Conformists, & the minds of the gr[t] ones sufficiently taken vp about it, either endeavouring to ingage the people.

Coll. Jephson, Major Bowen & one more executed in Ireland. A bishop dyes in the time of theire Tryall. Dreadfull noyse of Guns in the Ayre att there execution, there guard of 500 horse run away, the Hangman seeing a sword p[r]sented against him in the Ayre, fell downe & broke his shoulder: & yett the men executed.

∩r 6|·U∩·U 7. ?·s soU· o\ the 4th August, 1663, 7'<·n out o\ a |·77·r *ex* Jer: 6|'U∩·U 7· ⊠ 2: 9mo 1663.‡

Sectn 3.

My father allsoe desires what newes I have might be comunicated to yourselfe. The parl[t] is progued till March next. The Act

* In a *letter from Mr. Bayley to Mr. Davenport, dated at London.*

† James, Duke of Cambridge, born July 12, 1663, died June 20, 1667.

‡ *Mr. Blinman to his sone, of the* 4th August, 1663, *taken out of a letter from* Jer: *Blinman to Mr. Davenport*, 2: 9mo 1663.

of Confor: soe much feared is not yet past: The E: of B: * accused Hide of Treason, & exhibited 15 Articles against him, but nothing is determined. In June last, on a Lords day in the evening, at a place called Blake Downe, in Somesetsheere, 2 Armies were seene ffighting for 3 houres or more, by many credible ꝑsons. And a littlc before that, in the same County, was a wicked Miller Converted strangely (of which England Rings) who yet continues very hopefull. He saw strange sights, & heard some words. Divers godly ministers, some in Somersetsheere, & some in Dorsetshirc, are in prison for private meetings, who yet are full of Joy & Comfort, & continue preaching in there prisons, to the greate good of many.† Heere is a sp^{t} of prayer acting among the people of God: The presbeterians still continue there Bitternes towards others of Gods people. There was a plot of the Presbeterian ꝑty lately discovered in Ireland to surprize Dublin Castle, for which 3 have been exccuted, & how many more may be, wee know not. It was my fathers desirc that these things should be comunicated to yo^{w}, &c:

Sect^{N} 4.

Mr 6aC?· *2*ceives a |·77·r March 11th dated at |.nƆ.n,‡ Octo: 14, 1663, wherein he is informed that the Bussines about Comisioners for N: E: is quasht at the Councell table: he allsoe then rec^{d} 5 Diurnalls, wherein theire was little more then forraigne Newes: which alsoe was principally about New Hawsel,§ which was surrendered to the Turks the latter end of Septem^{r}, 1663:

On Wendsday, the 23 Septem. An Act was past in the parliam^{t} of Scotland without one disenting vote: wherein, after a flattering preamble, they say, soe in a ffurther acknowledgem^{t} of theire duty, they doe make humble & harty offer to his Majesty of 20,000 footemen, & 2,000 horsemen, sufficiently Armed & furnished with 40 dayes provision, to be raysed from the severall sheeres of the Kingdome, according to the ꝑportions foꝋ: (viz.)

* The Earl of Bristol.

† See note on p. 31.

‡ *Mr. Bache* receives a *letter* March 11th dated at *London*.

§ Newhäusel, in Hungary.

	Foote.	Horse
The Shires of Roxberry & Selkirke	1333—	148
Berwicke	0800—	074
Edenbrough principall	0800—	074
Hadington	0800—	074
The Burgh of Edenbrough, Leith & . . . ate	0800—	000
. . .	0266—	029
Forfar	1000—	103
Kincarden, & Marishall port of Aberden	800—	074
The rest of Aberdeene & Banff	1066—	176
Eglin, Nairn & this side of Nesse	1000—	088
Seafort & Lovats pte of Inernes	0666—	088
Linlithgow	333—	42
Dumfreis	800—	88
Wigton	800—	88
Air & Renfrew	1333—	176
Lanerick	1000—	148
Sterlin & Clackmanan	0666—	088
Fyfe & Kinrose	1600—	176
Perthe	1600—	176
Cathnes & Suderland pte of Inernes	1066—	088
Argyle, Bute & Dunbarton	0800—	000
Orkney and Zetland	0666—	000

Which force are to be in readines as they shall be called for by his Ma^tie^ to mareh to any ꝑte of his Dominions of Scotland, Ingland, or Ireland, for suppressing of any foraigne Invasion, Intestine trouble or Insureetion, or for any other service, wherein his Majesties Honor, Authority, or Greatenes may be concerned, &c:

N^o^ 7: Lempster, October 5.

On Michellmas eve, about 8 at night, began the greatest Tempest of Thunder, Lightning & Raine that hath beene knowne in these ꝑtes, these many yeares, & the day following theire fell soe violent a Rain that it washed away the ffallowes, flouded the Affter-Math,* & did much p^r^judice to the country:

Out of the Newes Bookes as foll: which wee rec^d^ May 9^th^ 1664.

Bristoll, Decem: 21: Wee kepe our Guards still, & the quakers theire meetings. The Quaquers would not goe away till an ingenious souldier made a ꝑelemation.

Portsmouth, 24^th^ Dec: 1663. This Day the Earle of Triueot [Teviot] went abord & set saile for Tangier, being accompanied with severall vessells to Goasport, severall Troops vnder his Exelencyes Com̃and, to the same place.

Whitchall, Decem: 30: Theire Ma^ties^ & his Highnes the Duke of Yorke are in ꝑfect health, but her Royall Highnes sicke of the meazles, which hindred he[r] receiving the Blessed Saeram^t^ pub-

* The after-grass, or second mowings of grass.

lickely on Christmas day: but now past all danger: She rec[d] the Sacram[t] in her chamber:

Decem: 30. This day the Com[rs] of Oyer & Term[r] began there Jorney for Yorke, & a short time will now determine the greate question whether a plott or not:

Jan. 30: London. This day was sollemly obserued, &c: & least that Blood should not sinke the Regicides deepe enough, the day was ushered in & entertained with seditious practizes against his Sacred Majesty, &c: & by whom acted? but by the Ingratefull, & remorselesc ꝑsecutors of his late Royall ffather.

Yorke, Jan: 30. This day puts the Cytty in a mellencholly dresse, &c: but some Phanaticks will needes open theire shops, & make it a day of Comon Bussines: if the plott had taken, it would have been otherwise, &c: Since the late tryall of the Rebbells, many Burglaryes & Robberyes, &c: Our Gouern[r], Coll: Frechenill, is most actiue for his Ma[ties] Interest, & that not only to the satisfaction of all the K[s] freinds, but conviction of his enemies.

Portsmouth, Jan: 31: This morning S[r] John Lawson, with the L[d] Embassador for Spaine were vnder saile, &c: There are in company: the Resolution, the Bristoll, the Phenix & the Portsmouth:

Hull: Febr: 3: This Towne (after all reports) is free from any malignant desease. Yesterday Peter Aclam, formerly a Major of horse, and a quaker, brought prisoner.

New: Castle, Febr: 22: Our Deputy L[ts] vse all meanes possible to gaine the disaffected heereabouts. But there is such a sp[t] of Contumacy & disobedience not to be softened . . . lately lett out of prison one Bale, foll. to the Duke of Yorke: Febr: . . . in the country . . .

. . . muster there is. They haue theire weekely meetings: Every day discouering th[eire] designes, more then other. The ministers that are now the most Bussy & the most followed are those that were the most spitefull & actiue against our late gracious soueraigne, &c:

London, Febr: 27. By letters of fresh date wee are advertized that the Earle of D . . . is safely [arr]ived at his comand:

The Intelligences opinion concerning the late Plott:

It was begun by the Anabaptists; Hatched by the 5[th] Monarchy men; fostered by the Congregated Churches, favored by the

purchasers; supported by the souldiers of Ollivers old Army; & in fine caryed on by the concurrence of all Dissenting sects against the Royall Interest: whose hatred to monarchy; whose opposition to law, & the pfessors of it; together with a virulent, & despightfull enmity as to the Religion established, & all the Clergy, is soe vndenyably proved, that noe man forever heercafter shall be able to open his mouth against soe cleare an euidence:

Portsmouth, Jan: 3: 1663. Vpon Wendsday the 30th of the last, about 10 of the clocke in the morning, there appeared to the southward (as the people would vnderstand it) a Coñet; although the suñ shined at that Instant very cleere. Whatever it was it affords plentifull matter for discourse: But in cases of this nature every man takes his measure from his owne Imagination:

Sr Wm Pettyes double Bottomed vessell is arived heere, & it is supposed you will have her at London shortly:

In a letter from Yorke, Jan: 8: 1663, its saide, that vpon the Tryall it did appear that the plott was generall, that there was an oath of secrecy, & agents imployd to London, & the West of Ingland for Assistance. That in June Two Agitators were sent from Scotland to reconcile the Sectaries, & these were entertained at one Oldroyds house at Dewsbery, knowne by the name of the Devill of Dewsbery (since fled) & afterwards diuers meetings were appoynted at a place called Stauckhouse in this county: whereupon Marshden and Palmer were sent to London as Agitators to the secret Coñittc, & at theire returne brought orders to rise the 12th Octo: wth Assurance that the Insurection should be generall: That the Designe was to re-establish a Gospell-Monarchy, & Ministry, & to restore the Long Parliamt, as the only Basis they could build vpon, & lastly to Curb the Clergy, the Gentry, & the Lawers: This is the sume of the whole matter:

Its alsoe saide, that Errington, Walters, & Greatheade did speake to seuerall discourses that they had with Dr Richeson of Rippon, about the designe, & the decleration of the cause of theire Rising & Correspondence elsewhere, & of seuerall meetings at Leedes, the Spawe, & other places, with Richardson, Capt. Atkinson, & other Agents, from London, & other parts:

Seuerall of the prisoners were proued to have beene at Farnely Wood in Armes, betweene one & two in the morning, the 12 Octo: last, which (as they say) was the day agreed for the Rysing.

It was ꝑticularly proued by Walters, & others against Denham, that he was engaged in an agreem^{t} to seize the Horses and Armes of the Lord Falconbridge, & of the Lord ffairefax of Gilling̃, and that they had designed to secure the prisoners they tooke in Skipton Castle:

The Gazet saith Apr: 21 it was ordered by his Majesty in Councill, that Jn^{o} Desbrough, Tho: Kelsey, John White, Jn^{o} Grove[r,] W^{m} Burton, W^{m} Scot, S^{r} Robert Honywood, Junior, Tho. Cole of Southampton, Spurway, Edw. Radden, D^{r} Edward Richardson, John Phelps, & John Nicholas of Mounmouthsheere, & every of them, are named & required to returne into England, & render themselves to some or one of the Justices of the peace for the county when they shall first arive, by the 22 July next after the date of the saide proclemation, declaring them, & every of them that shall not returne, & render themselues accordingly by the time prefixt, to stand & be attainted of High Treason, & vndergo the forfeitures of ꝑsons soe attainted, according to an Act of the late session of parliam^{t} enacted for that purpose.

John Rathbone, an old Army Collonell, W^{m} Sanders, Henry Tucker, Tho. Flint, Tho. Evans, John Miles, W^{m} Westcot, and John Cole, formerly officers, or soldiers in the late Rebelion, &c: were indicted of High Treason at the sessions in Old Bayly, & found guilty, & condemned & executed at Tyburne on Monday, 30th of Aprill, 1666.

Parliam^{t} prorogued from 23 Apr. to the 18. Sept. 66.

The Seur Bichi, another of his Holines Nephewes by a sister, will, its Beleeved, follow the same stepps, &c:

Rochell, Apr. 5. Besides the 35 ships with there Convoyes, sent in March towards Madagascar, there are left in St. Martins 3 men of warr of 56, 48, & 36 Guns, Bound (as we say) with a ffleete of small ships with men for Martinico and St. Christophers.

Monk: L^{d} Ashley, Chancelor of the Exchequer, S^{r} Tho: Clifford, Controler, S^{r} W. Coventry & S^{r} Jo: Duncom, all priuy Counceiers: made Comissioners for the execution of the place of the L^{d} Treasurer: done June the 1^{o} 1667.

L^{ds} Day, the 22 of May, 1667, the pope * died. 69 of his age, & 12 yeere of his papacy.

* Alexander VII.

June 8: The Duch come to the hope: on the 9th tooke the platforme of Sheerenes: The 12, the K. receives the newes of the sad spoyle the Duch had made at Chatham.

Wthall, June 18. The K: troubled att the Creditors violence against some of his good subjects, that had lent him greate sums of money, &c:

Brussells, June 29: on Fryday, 24 Instant, Townaw [Tournay] was yeelded to the ffrench:

Wthall, June 23. On Thursday morning died the Duk of [C]ambridge, eldest son to the D: York: dyed at Richmond.

Wthall, June 26. The K: Issues a ꝓclematiõ to call the parliamt

Pembrook, May 18. There was lately taken in the Riuer of Langhorn about 70 porpoises.

Wthall, May 26. On Wendsday last, dyed at St. James the Duke of Kendall, second son to his Royall Highnē D: Y.

May the 16, 1667, Dyed the Earle of Southhampton.

Portsmouth, May 14. The Penbrook ffriggot had the misfortune att Portland to fall foule with the ffairfax, & is sunk. But all the men saved, except 6 or 7 sick ꝑsons which were not able to shift for themselues:

Copy of a letter ex ∩r 89·7·3 7. ∩r /..)8·n, da7·O the 13 of August, 1666.*

After my due respects premized, &c. The last night a post came into our Governors from Boston. By comparing all the letters I can meete with, the sume of the surest inteligence is this (viz.) That Hopefor Bendall came into Boston on the 5th Instant, & Capt. Peirce to Nantasket on the 7th of the same. A good hand from Boston writes from Capt. Pearces mouth that the Duch fleete came to the Downes (when part of our fleete was gon towards ffrance vnder comand of Prince Rupert) & sunck 5 (or some say more) of our best ffrigots, whereof the Resolution & Swift-sure are two. Vpon returne of Prince Rupert the fight continued 3 dayes, till both ffleetes had spent there powder, & like 2 tired Cockes (as the phraise is) parted & went each there way. Warr proclaimed with the Dane. Newes about the Jewes much

* *From Mr. Whiting to Mr. Goodwin*, dated the 13 of August, 1666.

confirmed. The plague spreading in sundry places in the Country. And as to ourselues its written alsoe that Govern^r Belingham & Major Hawthorne are sent for home to England, and three others whom the Bay counsell shall make choyse of, to speake to matters that conceerne yo^w there. This is the sume of all I heere, which I thought might not be vnwelcome.

By a ship from London to Boston, ariving 19 Apr. from Lond. in 6 weekes. 3 Letters.

To M^r Vsher.

S^r, our P^t have agreed to give the King 7,500,000 *li* to be raised by 3 bills; — the 1^st 130,000, as a subsidy of the supply for His Ma^ties present occasion, the 2^d 600,000 by way of addition to the excise; the 3^d 6,000,000, by an imposition upon all officers of Law & Court. The subsydy of supply being of greatest importance, & being intended to pay the K's Depts, and setting out a fflect this spring, was first in consideratiõ. Many methods projected, some would have poundage on all money at interest, that was rejected; some vpon trade, others said there was discouradgem^t enough on that already. S^r J. Coventry, a man chosen by indirect meanes to serve the Court interest, haue bestirred himselfe much against them in all this, among others he moued that the Players might be ꝑticularly taxed; they being a sort of people that have gr^t moneys, & not at all seruiceable to their Country, by trade or otherwise. S^r Jo^n Birkenhead made a speech in their Defence, & saide they were ꝑsons that had been serviceable to His Ma^tie, & their ꝑfession was his recreatiõ. Coventry desired him to explain whether he meant the men or the women, that were so serviceable (an vnhappy reflection of a prudent man) & he hath paide for it; for in a little while after, he was sett upon in the Euening, as he was going home, by a party of the K's Life Guard, who, it was thought, would have killed him, & did allmost as bad; knockt him down, wounded him in severall places, & *allmost cutt off his nose*. This was the last ajournment in Christmas Holydayes. The House of Comons, when they mett againe, so highly resented this actiõ that they voted nothing should be done in the money Bussines till they had received sattisfaction about Sir J: C: his Business; *for they had traced it thither whence they could not imagine it should proceed;*

therefore were resolved the actors should be brought to condigne punishment, &c. One of the persons was taken, but found to be vnder Comand in what he did, yet will go hard with him. The ꝑson that comanded the guard that night is ffled, & he not coming in is Banished foreuer vpon pain of Death; which is all the House hath done in this Busines at present, except making it fellony, for the future, to assault any member of the House, to which the Lords have not yet assented. This done they went againe to the Money Bill, & have laide 1^{d} per ł on all lands. The Lords oppose it, & say they will be assessed by Comissioners of theire own. But its supposed they must comply, it being a most equitable way; every man will then pay aceording to his abillity, what other ꝑticulars that Subsydary Bill consists of, I have not yet heard, but I think some ꝑte is upon some coñodity. The Comons have quite passed the Bill, it lies now in the Ld's house, where, while it is debating, the K. hath resolved to be every day present in ꝑson, &c.; but this is ill taken by that House. One of the Lords moved that His Ma^{tie} might be desired to withdraw dureing the Debate of this Bussines, which was regular, & according to former ꝑsedents & reasonable, that theire may be no awe upon any, &c. The L^{d} Lucas was bould, & saide he would speake his mind the rather, beeause the K. was there. He saide he knew no reason for this Money Bill. The K. could not want money, for he had more giuen him sinee his Restoratiõ than all his predecessors since the Conquest. The Taxes are greater, saith he, than they were in the Usurper's time, tho: then there was a standing Army of many Thousands in constant pay. They talk of invasions. The Burthens are so gr^{t} upon the people allready, saith he, that if yee increase them, the K. may chanee to want both money & hearts too, at such an exegency, if it should come to be true, for his ꝑ^{t} he could not see to what purpose this money should be given the K, except to make some ꝑticular ꝑsons keep theire Coaches & sixe horses, which were not able before scarse to keep a horse. He protested he loved & honord the K. as much as any subject he had; & he knew him to be a prudent, kind & good-natured prince, & a potent prinee, & so was Sampson, till hi[s] Dallilah cutt his lockes; but then he became as other men; & a great deale more he spoke, much to this purpose, which it's like the K did not well rellish; but theire being so much of truth in it, could not tell what

to say to it, coming from a person of such vnsuspected Loyallty. The Bill is not yett passed by the Lords. In the mean time the Comons are upon the 2d Bill, viz. that of the addition to the exeise. There hath been a discourse again revived about a comprehension, & one Mr Crouch, a member, sent for some of our N: C: Dr. Jacomb, Mr. Steele & some others gave him a meeting, he tould them his Designe was to serve them, & he could wish he might be an instrumt to make up the breach & reconcile moderate men. He saide if removall of these 2 th: required in the last Act of vniformity, viz. renunciation of the Ct & the assent & consent to the Serviee Book, would do them any considerable service, & comprehend any considerable No. of their Bn, he would moue it to the House, & see what he could do. They thankt him for his kindnes, & tould him, that if he could ꝓuaile for theire 2 th: & 3 more, viz. X, Surpluee, & Kneeling, att least for leaving the 3 last indifferent & without injunction, they did not doubt to give him a faire acco of their party: he answered, that would neuer be, for it was not to be expeeted that the Parliamt would meddle with any thing but what they themselves have imposed; which were onely the 2 first things; & so they parted & I do not heare of any meeting since; many of the N: C: being jealous of Crouch, Bec. he is a creature of the Arch B. of Cant:, & was an active instrumt in promoting the highest eireumstanees about Acts of Uniformity &, against Conventieles. Others for the same reason looke upon it as a Bussines not to be slighted & are confirmed in the beleefe of the reallity of it, from the consideration of other eireumstanees, eheefely bec: it seems now to be the wisdõ of the Bps to strengthen their interests as Protestant, and that it is high time to looke about them, when the Papists are so bould as to shew themselves above board, & those that before wrought alltogether in the darke, dare shew themselves in the faee of the sun, & walk as other men. So devillishly impudent they are in Ireland, as to send over a petitiõ to the K, subscribed with 13,000 hands, for the restoration of their estates, which they stand depriued of for Rebelliõ, by lawes now in foree. But this is not all. But one ffather Talbot, lately conseerated here at St. James' Chappell, Titular Arch Bp of Dublin, went imediately from henee for Ireland, & in his way to Chester was met by a great No of Cheshire & Laneaster Popish gentry, who eonducted him to Ches-

ter, & treated with open respect & reuerence. When he arived at Dublin, he impudently showed himself in his scarlet robes, & other *pontificallibus*: rode so up & down in procession, exersising his Episcopall Jurisdiction, vissiting & administring confirmation. The titular Arch Bp of Armagh, & many Irish preists & gentlemen attending of him; for which peice of Boldnes our Parliam^t^ have sent an expresse for him, & intend to call him to acc^o^. He is expected here every day. According as he is dealt with, may be guessed att their strength, which they doubtlesse are confident is not small, else would not have appeared at this rate, as they haue done. I am tould that Talbot is blamed by some of his own party here, who acco^t^ it a vnhappinesse that he was put into that preferm^t^; being a hott headed man, say they, he will spoyle all by appearing too soone. The providence of God may so order it that he may so do indeed. The good Lord blow vpon all the Hellish Designes of those Imps of the Devill, & infatuate their counsells, that they may be brought to nought. The good Lord Blesse & prosper all ꝑsons & things that as meanes & instrum^ts^ may any way be serviceable to the ꝑpetueing & establishing an honorable & warantable accord among ꝓtestant professors. But no peace with Rome, is the hearty Desire of him who is, &c.

To Mr. Oxenbridge, ex*

As for our affaires here, we are vnder strange & amazing providences, for we still know where Ch^t^ feedes his flock, & makes it to rest at noon. The last sum^r^ [they] were hunted out of their publick places which were fitted for convenient assemblies, & retiring into private houses, moving up & down from one place to anot[h]er; after this maner have we quietly & peaceably continued our opportunities in very great m^o^ (?) though not with so gr^t^ conveniency, to this very day. It hath pleased God that the present L^d^ M., S^r^ R. Ford, [1670.—Prince.] haue behaved himse[lf] so candidly & fairely, that we cañot but adore the gr^t^ goodn^s^ & power of God therein, meetings being continued *de die* [*in*] *diem* without any molestation at all; or if their have been any, yet not worth memoring: & thus doth the Lord giue vs rest, & not onely in this Citty, but

* To *Mr. Oxenbridge*, from ——

in most other places through the natiõ. Oh, that we might be edified & walk in the feare of the L^d^, &c. Acts. 9. We have enjoyed a most amazing & stupendious winter calme. What may follow upon this wee know not, nor have wee reasõ to be anctiously solicitous; tho: still many thoughts of heart, considering how the L^d^ hath given us the heades of the Leviathan, to be meate to vs in the willdernes. For our ꝑtes, to this day we have constantly our sessions, without any interruptiõ once befalling us. The weight of the worke hath laien upon my weake shoulders, by reason of the adge & infirmity of our aged Teach^r^, whose dayes are yet continued to vs, for advice & councell, tho wee have not much of his labo^r^ & paines. Through the L^ds^ goodnes he continues us a habitatiõ for Himse., & hath not left us without witnes of His favour, in gr^t^ successe of His ministry in this Ch^ch^, & additions to us, & it is not a little refreshing to us, when we consider how God deales with the hearts of many yo: ones; making them to spring up as the willowes by the water-courses, & making good that comfortable promise, Esay 62 : 5. Indeed it is the more, considereing the gr^t^ degeneracy in the nation, by the countenance given to the Debauchednesse of all sorts. The multitudes of Playes, the snares of Dancing Schooles; the frequency of Maskes; the impudency of siners & lewd ꝑsons of both sexes, doe both increase the sins of the land, & snares of the younger sort. The land is filled with sin. The patience of God is admirable. We cañot but feare what judgem^ts^ are impending, yet there is a considerable remnant that mourn over iniquities among vs. Prophanes is gon through the land. We are not the better either for judgem^ts^, which have been tremendious, nor for mercyes which have been oblidgeing to repentance. There is hardly any session of Parl^t^ wherein the phanatick party have not the sword whett against them, & arrowes ordained, & a new pit digged. But such is the goodness of God, that no weapon formed prospers; & they who have s^d^, come let us cut them off from being a peo:, that the name of Israell may be no more remembered, have seen all theire designs, hetherto, defeated, that they prevaile not; yet the old enmity remaines, onely God is pleased to perplexe & intangle affaires. The afflicted peo: gaine ground continually, & their afflictors loose it: and God is wroth with the natiõ, poverty increaseth, trade decayeth; lands are fallen; few men can

make much of any state they have. Gr^{t} Taxes are now coming again upon the land, as to reall & ꝑsonall Estates, for that is the grand bussines of the Parl^{t} to raise moneys. Of late their have been some extravagances by life guard men. Sir J. C. a gr^{t} zealot in the House, for the coñon good, was sett upon in the night, & his nose cutt, & greatly indangered, which hath inkindled the House, & an Act preparing to secure noses; & now its grown to a proverb, Looke to your nose; for more have been attempted. As for forraigne newes, I shall reffer you to the Gazets, which I herewth send you, tho: wee give little heed to them, generally supposing them to be written very partially. The ffr: & D: have been p^{r}paring for a war. Some suppose its like now to issue in an acomodation, & then whether will the ffr: move with their army, is the enquiry of most men; & various are men's guesses. Some suspect a design on England; others cant beleeve that fæsable. For our iniquities God may make them a scourge to us, tho: we are naked enough, I doubt. Papists grow very bould in England; so that the House of Coñons have hot Debates about restrayning the growth of popery, which is yet agitated onely in Comittes. Since this, the Comons hath voted to desire the Lds' concurrence in an adresse to his Ma^{tie} for a Proclematiõ to execute Lawes against Papists, that they will stand by his Ma^{tie} against all forraigne papall power, & haue provided meanes against the growth of popery, viz. preventing schooles of papistry & Convents, & giuing instances of these in the land, & of B^{pps} chosen by the Pope; in perticular, one Talbot, chosen by the Pope, Arch B^{p} of Ireland, whom the Coñons have sent for to appeare before them. The Building of the Citty hath been accurately, beyound all imagination. I wish the triumphantnesse & magniffecence thereof do not provoke God to further wrath. As for the religiõ of the natiõ, their are gr^{t} attempts to reduce all Christianity to morallity. Men are grown weary of the spirituallity, purity, life & pow^{r} of it. 2 T: 3, 5. ☞ Parker, the Arch: B^{ps} Chaplain, broadly in print reuiles all the Trases & series of conversiõ, & nice processes of regeneratiõ, in compunctiõ, hmmilliatiõ, &c. & calls all the late preaching & Divinity, a new framed sistimaticall Dutch Divinity, scarse heard of 50 yeares agoe; & quarrells greatly, & severely rebukes distinguishing of grace ffrom virtue, & the Spiritnall man from the Morall. But I can but touch these things.

I have many more things to write hereafter: if God lengthen out my life & yours, I hope to give you a more continued acc°: of the main passages among vs, that you may know how to order prayer for vs.

. M^r^ Baxter also undertaking to write the Cure of Sisme, hath written bitter reflections on his B^p^ So hath Zach: Crofton, who during the last Major, had liberty to preach publiekly in Dukes Place. But this Major sent him to Newgate, but is Bailed out thence.

A 3^d^ Letter.

France growes strong by sea as well as land. What this sumer may bring forth we know not. Besides our other gr^t^ sins, Blood toucheth Blood. Most barbarous murthers in the street. The Papists very daring. They say a vaste N° of the old rebells have petitioned for the restoring their lands. Coll: Varney, a servant of the D. of Ormond, set upon by 3 Irish in the street, & wounded; who was a well wisher to the English interest. I heard they tould him, whieh he denyed, that he saide 5000 hands to the Petition was subscribed by Lackyes & footmen, &e. Two of the Irish are taken. The K. is mueh troubled about the murther of the Beadle of the ward. I heare the K: gave D. Monmouth a Boxe on the eare. The perticulars about the growth in Popery hath been made to appear clearely to the ——. The Comons have voted to assist the K. with liues & fortunes, against all foraigne papall power, &e., and sent to the Lds to joyne in adres[sing] His Ma^tie^ to suppres the 3 Conuents of Fryars, 1 in Eng: & 2 in Wales, or *e contra*, & the 3 Boarding Scooles where youth, 50 in one, are trayned up in Popery, & to send for Areh-B^p^ Talbot.

There stood a Citation on the Chappell dore of St. James', 4 dayes, to site one of His Ma^ties^ subjects to Rome. They are so bould, & wee that have not ree^d^ the truth in the love of it, have cause to feare the venganee of the scripture.

In the Catalogue of Books sold by Nath. Ponder, 1676, at the end of *Anti-Sozzo, sive, Sherlocismus Enervatus*, is this title, 14. The Rehearsal transpros'd; the second part, occasioned by two letters: The first printed by a namelesse author,* intituled

* Dr. Parker.

A Reproof, &c. The Second, a letter left at a freinds house, dated Novem. 3, 1673, subscribed J. G. and concluding with these words. *If thou darest to print or publish any lye or Libell against Dr. Parker, By the Eternall God, I will Cut thy Throat.* Answered by Andrew Marvell, Esq^r^

Compare this with what you find in M^r^ L. his letter to Mr. Oxenbridge on the other side of this paper, concerning Parker the Arch B^pps^ Chaplain, at this mark, ☞ *

PETER TILTON (?)† TO WILLIAM GOFFE.

These for M^r^ T. D. present.

July: 30: 1679:

WORTHYE AND MUCH HONOUR^D^ S^R^, — Yours which I cannot but mention, dated M^ch^ 18; '78; I receaued, erying howe welcome and refreshing to my poore unworthye selfe, (which as an honeycombe, to use your owne similitude, full of pretions sweetenes). I would you did but knowe, being a semblance or representation of what sometime though unworthye I had a ffuller ffruition of. I sent you two Bookes of Coleman's Trial, Pickering, Ireland, &c, with severall other papers relateing to the Parliament: allsoe a list of the names of the Knights and Burgesses returnd; which I would intreat you to send me; it being borowed, only, of a neighbour; I being desirous you might have a sight thereof. I have here sent you by S. P. tenn pounds, haveing not before a safe hand to convey it, it being a token of the love and remembrance of severall friends who have you uppon their hearts. We have lately only, that great newes of the King's three-fould dreame, with which his thoughts was sore troubled and amazed, &c, which I presume M^r^ Russell ‡ hath given you a full account of, as understanding he hath written to Hartford, that I neede not

* See page 222. A copy of "Anti-Sozzo," by Benjamin Alsop, London, 1675, is in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, having, in the catalogue of books printed and sold by Nathaniel Ponder, appended, the title quoted above.

† This letter appears to be in the handwriting of Peter Tilton. He was one of the first settlers of Hadley, and its representative for several years from 1665, and Assistant in 1680, and afterwards till the usurpation of Andros. See Savage's "Geneal. Dict."

‡ Rev. John Russell, of Hadley.

tautoulogize in that matter; on which he suddenly dismissed all his Ould Counsell, and hath chosen a new, of which Shaftsburie is President, to the great satisfaction, as 'tis said, of Parliament & people. Surely the discouery of that horrid plott is wonderfull and how the Lord befooled that desygne in adjourning and at last dissolueing the Ould Parliament; the reasons whereof I suppose are with you, with the wonderfull awakening and alarming the whole nation thereupon, insomuch that the D. of Y: and others was glad to be gone, else it is realye thought the people would have seru[d] him as sometime they did Dr: L: The Lord hath doubtles some great worke by all these revolutions at the dore. I know what is writt from England by good hands, which I have by me, viz. that the most sober and wisest there feare that Black Cloude hanging over the nation will breake uppon the Protestant Interest, France haueing made peace with those in hostilitye against them, and haueing now nothing but to accomodate betwene the Brandeburg[r] and the Sweede, who have lately receaud a great overthrow by the said Duke. To disband his great both land and navall forces, he cañot, tis thought, with secureity, but is therefore ffeared he may, this sum̃er, turne all his strength against England, to doe that by force and violence which should haue binn done, at least begunn otherwise. But the Lord reignes, and can soone stop the breath of that swelling, blustering vapour. I should rejoice to heare this so hopefull a Parliament did once beginn to espouse relidgion to themselves so as to make it, I meane the kingdome, name, and interest of Christ, their great concerne, that Popish and prelaticall tirranye that hath so long binn such a scourge to truth and bane to the churches' peace might downe. Certainly if the Lord beginn once to overturne, he will goe on, and never leave overturneing till He hath given the Kingdomes of the world into his hands whose right they are. Yea he will cutt asunder the spirit that is in Princes, and be dreadfull to the Kinges of the earth. Deare Sir, I hope God is makeing way for your enlargement. In the meane time my poore prayers for you are, the Lord would make your heart glad with the light of His Countenance, Acts, 2, 28: and that the Lord of peace would give you peace allwayes and by all meanes; 2 Thes: 3, 16. Remember before the Lord, your vnworthye ffriend, willing to serve you.

Vale, vale. P. T:

LETTERS OF JOHN COTTON.

JOHN COTTON* TO HIS MOTHER.†

These For his Deare and much Honoured Mother, Mrs Sarah Mather, at her house, in Boston.

Plymouth December: 27: 1670.

Deare and Much Honoured Mother, — The last weeke I received your letter with all the things you sent, for your love & care in which wee heartily thank you & our cousen: I was very sorry when I heard you were left alone this winter season, but, Deare Mother, you know very well that it is many yeares God hath bin weaning you from creature comforts, & teaching you, to be above them, to place your heart & your hopes upon a higher & more steady object; how many times, alas! how many times, have you found the streames to be dryed up, but you never yet found the Fountaine to faile you, when your flesh & your heart hath failed you, the Father of mercies & God of all comfort hath still bin your portion, your Rock, both for protection from evill &

* Rev. John Cotton [H. C. 1657] the writer of this and many following letters, was a son of the distinguished Rev. John Cotton, of Boston. He was born March 15, 1640. He first preached at Wethersfield, Conn. In 1664, May 3, he was excommunicated from the First Church in Boston — formerly his father's — for several offences; but the next month, upon his penitential acknowledgment, was again received into fellowship. From 1664 to 1667 he preached at Martha's Vineyard to a congregation of Indians and white people, and acquired a good knowledge of the Indian language. He was settled at Plymouth June 30, 1669, and retained his pastoral office there till Oct. 5, 1697. The next year he went to Charleston, S. C., and, having gathered a church, preached there till his death, of the yellow fever, Sept. 18, 1699. His Church erected a handsome monument over his grave. Notwithstanding the early blot upon his reputation, he appears to have been ever afterwards a faithful and extensively useful minister. While at Plymouth, he frequently preached to several congregations of Indians in the neighborhood. The whole care of revising and correcting Eliot's Indian Bible, 2d edition, printed at Cambridge in 1685, was intrusted to him. Allen's "Biog. Dict.;" Savage's "Geneal. Dict.;" Mayhew's "Indian Converts;" "Records of the First Church, Boston."

† Mrs. Sarah Cotton, the second wife of Rev. John Cotton, of Boston, was daughter of Richard Hankredge, of Boston, England, and the widow of William Story. Her marriage to the vicar of Boston took place April 25, 1632. After his death she married Rev. Richard Mather, Aug. 26, 1656, and died May 27, 1676. Family records in the possession of William G. Brooks, Esq.

for supply of all needfull good: And you know he hath said, I am Jehovah, I change not, all creatures are changelings, there is noe trusting in them, but God is the same for ever, He alwayes abideth faithfull, & cannot deny himselfe, & therefore although you are alone, yet you may have most of the best company, even of Him who delights to be most neere to his poore children when they are most destitute of creature comforts & supports; The truth is, I am soe sensible of your lonesome condition, that I would come downe on purpose to visit you, but that I feare the weather, that is soe uncertaine & hazardous in the winter season: you have a rich treasury of Gospel promises to resort unto, & I beleve God will helpe you more & more to remember, that a Christian whilest in this world must live by faith & not by sight.

I write this letter not knowing as yet by whom to send it, but I hope I shall meete with some body ere long, My wife intends by him that brings this letter, to send you a pound of flax; That 3 shillings I sent to buy my bookes, I now write to my Brother Mather to take them to himselfe to pay for Lockyer's pills: I would entreat you to buy for me 2 skaines of black silk, 3 yds of black cotton ribband, 6 yds of greene galoom, 4 yds of black, strong, course ribbon; if you take them up at Mr Atwater's * shop, & adde them to my account for the cloake, I will pay him for all together in the spring; my wife † is very well satisfyed with her cloake; the things I write for I intreat you to send by him that brings this letter, whom I will desire to call upon you for them. Mine & my wive's duty to you with love to coz; Simons. I humbly beg your daily prayers to God for me, that he would keepe me in his holy feare, & delight to doe me good, though unworthy, that I may be a blessing in my generation; I rest,

Your Dutifull Sonne, JOHN COTTON.

Pray send me a peice of sealing wax:

If any letters for us at Mr. Atwaters from Connecticott, pray send them.

* Joshua Atwater resided first at New Haven, where he was representative in 1652; next at Milford; and was an Assistant and Treasurer of the Colony; afterwards removed to Boston, in 1659. Mr. Savage calls him a "busy trader." "His daughter Ann married Jeremiah Dummer, the goldsmith of Boston, and was mother of the famous Jeremy." Savage's "Geneal. Dict."

† He married, Nov. 7, 1660, Joanna, daughter of Dr. Bray, or Bryan, Rossiter, of Wethersfield. She died Oct. 12, 1702.

Dec: 29:

I meeting with young Kempton that lives at my Cousen Cooper's, I send my letter by him, praying you to get what I write for ready at your house. I hope it will not be long before I shall meete with somebody that may call upon you to take them & bring them to me:

JOHN COTTON TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Reverend, his Deare Brother, Mr. Increase Mather, Teacher of a Church of Christ at Boston.

Plimouth, January 3, 1675.—1676.—[Prince.]

Deare Brother, — I desire you to blesse God with me for healing mercy to me & mine. Mr Holmes * died Dec: 24: The poore people are desolate. I have many serious thoughts what the meaning of the Providence of God is in his death. I mean espetially as to the season of it, he being one of those who impute these dreadfull frownes of Providence to our dealing with the Quakers, & the late publick Fast, Dec: 2: (which was his last publick worke, except the Sabbath after) he said in his sermon he was of the same minde as to that matter, as formerly; but he heard not of God's frowne upon the Army † Jan: 19: [Dec. — Prince.] the newes coming to us but the same houre he dyed. I wish I could heare you prophesy good to this land; I should then beleve these wars may have an end. The Lord fit us for his good pleasure. If wee loose Capt. Bradford ‡ wee loose a great part of our glory; and I, most of my comfort as to man. I beseech you, pray earnestly for his life, if it be not too late. Myselfe & wife salute you, & our sister & cousen Cotton, desiring your prayers for us, I rest,

Your affectionate Brother, John Cotton.

Many persons & families are here still sick, & deaths renewed.

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* Rev. John Holmes, minister of Duxbury, was at Harvard College in 1658, but did not take his degree. Savage's "Geneal. Dict."

† The reference is to the fierce battle of the Narragansett fort, in which the English lost seventy men killed and a hundred and fifty wounded.

‡ Major William Bradford, son of the Governor of Plymouth, was severely wounded, but recovered. He was afterwards Deputy-Governor from 1682 to 1686.

JOHN COTTON TO INCREASE MATHER.

These For the Reverend, his very Deare Brother Mr Increase Mather, Teacher of a Church of Christ at Boston — Present.

PLIMOUTH, November, 24: 1676:

REVD & DEARE BROTHER, — I have bin very sollicitous to answer your desires with reference to matter for your History, & did therefore goe on purpose to our Govr* with your letter last Wednesday, who then promised me to devote the next day to waite upon you in looking for what he might have usefull in that respect, & speedily to write to you concerning Alexander,† etc, & also he hath in his keeping something drawne up by our Secretary, which he intends to send you; or what is meet, out of it. Also I have desired & obtained of Major Bradford, a Booke in folio written by his father, which I shall send by the first opportunity by water; if I cannot send it by land.‡ The Journall of Plimouth beginnings § I could send you, but I thinke it needs not, for you told me some passages in it; whence I conclude you have that booke. Major Bradford hath another printed Booke, which he thinks would well contribute to you. Its title is Good Newes from P. in N: E: ‖ But he cannot finde it. He will doe his endeavour speedily to helpe me to it. If he doe you shall soone have it. I told the Govr, the matter required hast. I hope you will very suddenly heare from him.

My Dearest, being sagacious, did immediately conjecture something was amisse, which necessitated discovery, the fruit of which was, & is, much greife & bitternesse of heart; after some houres of secret lamentation, God brought to her that 1: Tim: 1: 15; with some power, which sustaines her heart in hopes, that even that gratious word may finde accomplishment on this subject.

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* Josiah Winslow.

† Alexander Pokanoket, or Wamsutta, brother of Philip, and son of Massasoit. See the letter dated March 20, 1676–7, in relation to the circumstances of his death.

‡ Probably Bradford's History, printed in the Collections of the Mass. Hist. Society.

§ Undoubtedly Bradford and Winslow's "Relation or Journall of the beginning and proceedings of the English Plantation settled at Plimoth in New England;" commonly called Mourt's Relation.

‖ Governor Edward Winslow's "Good News from New England" was printed in London in 1624. It is also printed in the Mass. Hist. Coll., 1 series, vol. 8, and 2 series, vol. 9.

Amen, Amen. Once a weeke, at least, be intreated to send for him & converse with him; Who knowes but God may make you his father?

I would intreat earnestly of you, that you would write a cordiall letter to my afflicted wife, to quiet her heart & strengthen her faith in God; that one soe deare to her may be saved from sin & be accepted unto mercy. Our soules are troubled for him. Wee heartily wish his hastening out of the schoole, that he might be under your roofe & eye, etc. I durst not be soe bold as to urge for it this winter, but I hope, in the Spring it may be attaineable, & that your sophisters may be good Tutors to him, you being Præsident. I hope you are not supplyed with a Barrell of Beefe, & therefore doe put aboard for you out of my owne store a Barrell of choice Beefe, which may be with you the next faire winde. I now set noe price upon it, neither doe I desire you to pay me any mony for it. I hope my child may ere long bring me much more into your debt, & I shall make conscience, God helping, to send to the full for your satisfaction, in Butter, & other necessaries for a family; & I hope about this time twelve-moneth to save you much trouble in laying in your winter-provisions, & halfe in halfe of the prizes you now pay upon those accounts.

My selfe & wife heartily salute you & yours, with our kinde love to our cosens. I thanke you for my late courteous entertainement with you. Wee beg your prayers for me & mine. A strong man dyed here this weeke. 2 or 3 men more are judged neere death. The Lord awaken us before it be too late. I rest, Sir, Your Affectionate Brother, JOHN COTTON.

The Major hath found the booke. Mr Clark posts away this Saturday sunset. I hope on Monday a man will bring you the books.

JOHN COTTON TO INCREASE MATHER.

These For the Reverend, his Deare Brother, Mr Increase Mather, Teacher of a Church of Christ, at Boston. Per Capt. Paige.

PLIMOUTH, January, 19: 1676–7:

REVD & DEARE BROTHER, — I wrote to you last weeke by Mr Smith who was once school mr at your end, & informed you

of Gods holy hand in bereaving us of our deare litle one; it pleased God last Saturday to lay a sore Affliction also upon our Good Elder,* bereaving him of his daughter, who had bin married 11 moneths & was delivered of a living son & dyed within 6 houres after, she was godly & in full communion 4 or 5 yeares, ever since she was 17 or 18 yeares old: The good man begs your prayers for him, who indeed never met with such an affliction before: I hope you have received mine by way of Hingham, & desire to heare from you, you may write by Mr John Alden,† who intends to returne this way to his vessell early next weeke; I pray looke also for the paper of Quæries I sent you about Nov. 27: & please to returne some breife answer to them; & if you have opportunity, desire Mr Thacher to give you the letters he had prepared to send me which came not. My lads went once & againe to his house, but he was absent, & though that child by God's Soveraigne hand be removed, yet directions in such a case (lying by us) from persons of skill, may by Gods blessing save the lives of many others, & therefore I desire his lines, & pray present my due respects to him, with desires of his prayers for us.

Capt. Church ‡ is gone with some to Road Island, his Leiftenant, Jabez Howland § with others are to meete him at Rehoboth next Tuseday, they intend to be about an 100 English & Indians, the Lord succeed them. Your Jether is a pretty litle boy, about June next he is 7 yeares old; it will be some time before he doe you service, but I hope he will be soon capable of good Instruction, he can truly answer that Ques: Who made him?

My selfe & Dearest heartily salute you & yours. She is most desolate and pensive, & did yesternight fall afresh to mourning, as if she had nothing else to doe, I hope your lines may come for her direction & comfort, & for mine also; our love to our Cousens, Let us have your earnest prayers for a sanctifyed fruite of this Affliction, I rest,

Your Affectionate Brother, JOHN COTTON

* Elder Thomas Cushman, son of Robert, the pilgrim, was chosen Ruling Elder in 1649, after Brewster, and died in 1691, aged eighty-three years.

† Probably the eldest son of the pilgrim of that name.

‡ Captain Benjamin Church, distinguished in the Indian wars.

§ Jabez Howland, of Duxbury, was a lieutenant in King Philip's War, and a representative in 1689 and 1690.

JOHN COTTON TO INCREASE MATHER.

These For the Reverend, his Deare Brother, Mr Increase Mather, Teacher of a Church of Christ at Boston.

PLIMOUTH March 19: $16\frac{7}{7}$:

REV^{D} & DEARE BROTHER, — I could have desired to have kept your booke * a few days longer, whereby it might have bin filled with marginal notes of Erratas. Our Gov^{r} & Magistrat[es] had some cursory perusall of the booke, the mistakes are Judged to be many more then the truths in it. Our Gov^{r} & Mag's doe affirm that Alexander was got home before he dyed. I am in a great straite abo[ut] your boy,† the Treasurer ‡ hath obtained a sutable boy for your service, & the little one is r . . . d to Ben: Church againe: my wife being gone westward I cannot cloath this Jether § as I would: I am in doubt whether it be best [to] send now him or not. I incline to send him, partly because he is now fit to cut your wood, & goe to mill, which service you now want, & Thesaur: goes now to Boston, who I suppose will see you; you will not faile to give him great thanks & acknowledgments for his respect to you in it: I decline sending him, because I have not yet an order from you soe to doe, What I shall resolve in the morning I know not; if he come I suppose the Boatman will expect 2 or 3 shil: for his passage, though they tell me not soe, nor will they take ought of me, nor aske ought of you, but I thinke such a summe must be profered, & if it be taken, I am glad it costs you noe more: I received him meanely clad, & cannot put on him more then these black rags for want of my wife: I send my sister a few Egges; by the last boat I sent her some cabbages & cranberries. I feare for want of a written order, my John might take them home, but know not how it is.

Hearty remembrance to you & sister, The Lord give her a good time. Pray for your Lov: Br: J: C:

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* The writer evidently refers to Hubbard's "Narrative of the Indian Wars," which was printed in 1677.

† Probably an Indian captive.

‡ Constant Southworth.

§ Judges viii. 20.

March 20:

DEARE BROTHER, — Upon after thoughts, it seems to me best at present not to send your boy, because you desired me to keep him till you had occasion to send for him, therefore by these I only informe you that the [boy] shall be readily sent you, when you please to send for him.

I now send your imperfect History:

Good Mr Newman* preaches our Election Sermon, it is not his turne, but because he is newly come out of the fire, *ergo* he was chosen.

Philips boy goes now to be sold: †

If you have more Almanacks then one, etc. if not I desire it not.

Major [Br]adford confidently assures me, that in the Narrative *de Alexandro* [there a]re many mistakes, & fearing lest you should through misinformation print some mistakes on that subject, from his mouth, I thus write: Reports being here that Alex: was plotting or privy to plots against [the E]nglish. Authority sent to him to come down, he came not, whereupon [Ma]ior Winslow ‡ was sent to fetch him, Major Bradford & some others went with him. At Munponset river, (a place not many miles hence) they found Alex: with about 8 men & sundry squaws, he was there about getting canoes: he & his men were at Breakfast under

* Rev. Noah Newman, minister of Rehoboth, son of Rev. Samuel Newman, of the same place, was settled in March, 1668. Allen, in his "Biographical Dictionary," and Bliss, in his "History of Rehoboth," p. 57, say that he died April 16, 1676. The town records give the date of his death April 18, 1678. The date on a silver cup, in the possession of the Congregational Church of Seekonk, is April 16, 1678. Mr. Savage, in his "Genealogical Dictionary," adopts the last date as correct. There is no doubt that he died in 1678; but it is strange that both Allen and Bliss should have made the same mistake, and so great an error, as that of two years.

The fire spoken of in the text refers, without doubt, to the burning of Rehoboth, by the Indians, in March, 1676, when forty houses and thirty barns were destroyed. Mr. Newman behaved with great courage in a conflict with King Philip in July, 1675, when he headed a small party of his congregation and a few of the Mohegans, in attacking and pursuing him. Mr. Hubbard, in relating this transaction, says "he deserved not a little commendation for exciting his neighbors and friends to pursue Philip, animating them by his own example and presence. See Bliss's "History of Rehoboth;" Allen's "Biog. Dict."

† King Philip's son. See Davis's edition of Morton's "Memorial," appendix, p. 455; also appendix to this volume.

‡ Major Josiah Winslow, son of Governor Edward Winslow, was governor from 1673 to 1680, in which year he died, Dec. 18, aged 51 years. He was commander of the Plymouth forces in Philip's War.

their shelter, their guns being without, they saw the English coming, but continued eating, & M: Winsl: telling their businesse, Alex: freely & readily, without the least hæsitancy consented to goe, giving this reason why he came not to the court before, viz., because he waited for Capt Willet's returne from the Dutch, being desirous to speake with him first: They brought him to Mr Collier's that day, & Govr Prince then living remote at Eastham, those few magistrates who were at hand, issued the matter peaceably, & immediately dismissed Alex: to returne home, which he did part of the way, but in 2 or 3 dayes after, he returned & went to Major Winslow's house, intending thence to travell into the Bay & soe home, but at the Major's he was taken very sick, & was by water conveyed to Mr. Bradford's, & thence carried upon the shoulders of his men to Tetchqut river, & thence in canooes home, & about 2 or 3 dayes after, dyed:

After this there was great solemnity in the Congratulating Philip's coming to the crowne, by the flocking of multitudes of Indians from all parts, Sachems & others, with great feasting & rejoycing at Mount Hope; this caused the Govr to call a meeting on purpose, Aug: 6. to doe as the memoriall saith.

JOHN COTTON TO INCREASE MATHER.

[Th]ese [F]or the Reverend, his Deare Brother, Mr Increase Mather, Teacher of a Church of Christ at Boston.

Plimouth, April 14: 1677:

Revd & Deare Brother, — Soe much confidence I have in you, that I durst to put my life in your hands; how it comes to passe that you, my most intire friend, have endangered my losse of my best friends here, besides all that reproach those concerned in the Bay will lay upon me, you will enforme me in your next: I went last Wednesday to visit our Govr; who had lately received letters from Mr. Hubbert & Mr Dudley, informing thus: Mr Hub: saith, Mr John Cotton one of your preachers hath written to his Brother Increase Mather, that some of your magistrates

said there were as many mistakes or untruths in the booke as lines, this he had from Mr Allen, & Mr Thacher, who said he heard the letter read, & 1 of these ministers advised him to send to the Gov^r^ for satisfaction: Mr Dud: writes sharply & reproachfully of me for what I wrote to you: Our Gov^r^ is angry, & sent for the Treasurer, the day before, & possessed him as if he were the maine man whom I intended: but when I came to the Gov^r^, I told his honour, that divers magistrates spake of mistakes in the booke: Mr D: & Mr H: desire our Gov^r^ to put an *Imprimatur*, & to assert the truth of the booke: I told the Govr; I hoped he would returne noe answer that should entrench upon the truth of my words, for I would assert that I had written nothing but the truth: the Gov^r^ said, the most considerable mistake he observed, was about the taking of Peter, & Moseleys taking prisoners as he went to Narrogansett, for he tooke none, but went by water from Prov: or Warwick, to Mr Smiths. Other mistakes were more circumstantiall: I am at a losse what to write at such a distance; my desire is that you would honestly tell me why you trusted J: A: havinge litle reason to expect but that he would make mischeife of it. I am certaine you intended noe harme to me, but if you doe not improove your piety & prudence to suppresse discourse of this subject, —— I am hoping for your answer to my last *de* John: my selfe & wife heartily salute you & yours, longing to heare of God's dealing with her; pray for us & ours, I am,

Your Affectionate Brother JOHN COTTON.

I am in great trouble of spirit, & straitened for time, soe that I cannot write to you as I would about this matter, I lack to speake with you, I hope my letter you keepe close; I finde noe magistrate disowne his words, & therefo[re] truth is my friend, but I feare lest our Gov^r^ write some kinde of Attestation, etc. I dare not write what I thinke: Pray write to me, what the very sentence is, which I wrote about mistakes, *verba*[*tim*.]

JOHN COTTON TO INCREASE MATHER.

These For the Reverend, his Deare Brother, Mr Increase Mather; Teacher of a Church of Christ at Boston.

Plimouth, June, 19: 1677:

Rev^D & Deare Brother, — As yet I heare nothing from you in answer to any thing in my 2 last letters to you, the Elder tells me, you say you have a paper of my fathers concerning Toleration, I have it not, therefore I pray you not to faile of sending it to me by this opportunity, it may now be of some considerable use to me & others: I thanke you for your booke, Major Bradford & Mr. Southworth returne you like thankes for theirs, this day I sent away Mr Hinckley's * & Mr Walley's; † the other 3 shall soone be sent also: I doubt if you had sent one to Mr Arnold he would not have had strength enough to have read it in his life; he is not yet dead, but told me last weeke he expected his great change before our day of Thanksgiving (which is on the morrow); cease not to pray for him while he lives: In thoughts about the Ques: propounded, some things occurre, which I desire your Judgment about; Viz, whether a publick confession might not be agreed upon & subscribed unto, & none to be tolerated for publick worship but such as consent therein? Whether they can be tolerated that in their publick dispensations declare it to be a sin or Antichristian for any of their members to hold communion with any churches that are not of their perswasion? & whether such are to be tolerated who revile & reproach the civill goverment, the churches or ordinances of Xt? other things are in my minde, I shall be glad to have your Judgment of these or any other things relating to this matter: I am perswaded God hath put an opportunity into the hands of the Elders of this Colony to doe some good service for his name, & though wee are very weake, yet who knows but that God who made this poore Colony presidentiall in renewing covenant, may discover something of his minde here also about this matter. Rev^d Mr. Walley is a holy man & will be our great leader. I perceive he is very studious about the Ques: pray earnestly for God's presence with him &

* Governor Thomas Hinckley.

† Probably Rev. Thomas Walley, of Barnstable.

with all engaged, that God may have some glory in the management of this solemne affaire: I perceive John is under your roofe, I need not say, you know my soules desire to God & you on his behalfe: By a letter from Capt Oliver yesterday I understand that you preached a choice sermon June 10: in your owne meeting house; I hope you will not much borrow the helpe of young weake Preachers, till you have warmed the new house with many a pretious sermon: Concerning Ger: Hobart * (because it may be he may sometimes helpe you) I will write a true narrative, & it may be you may doe me right at one time or other: He denyes to pay me rent & sayes I owe him 30 shil: Now Judge you: I desired him to preach for me, promised him some reward as God should enable me, but mentioned not a word of a particular summe, though in my heart I ever intended 10 shil: a sabbath: but because he was forced from his worke, I had such respect to him as to write to our Elder, etc. to move for a contribution for him, upon my motion they contribute & give him betweene 30 & 40 shil: in silver, & because they looke upon him as low, our Deacons added & gave to him 10 shil: in silver more, out of the Church-Treasury, & when he came to Boston I gave him 30 shil: in silver for his preaching here 3 sabbaths, which was the utmost I could doe; & yet this disingenuous man, though he had almost 4 p^{d}, could malapertly charge me with owing him 30 shil: now, & till that is out he will pay me nothing, when I told him, I promised him noe particular summe, he replyed, the bargaine is then yet to make: truth is, the case is soe with me, that I cannot forgive my rent, if ever ought be due to him for preaching for you, I must assigne you to take it, for I shall make conscience to pay you as fast as I can for Johns board: I write thus largly, being desirous that this letter may be findable in your study, if ever there be occasion to discourse G: H: thereabouts, either with or without me: My selfe & wife heartily salute you & yours; desiring your prayers for us & ours, & hoping for a good full letter from you, I rest,

Your Affectionate Brother, JOHN COTTON.

Wee daily expect to have your call of your servant home:

* Rev. Gershom Hobart, son of Rev. Peter Hobart, of Hingham, was ordained at Groton, Nov. 26, 1679.

JOHN COTTON TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Reverend his Deare Brother Mr Increase Mather, Teacher of a Church of Christ at Boston.

PLIMOUTH, January 1: 1677.

REVD & DEARE BROTHER, — Those Gallants that said at Boston they would come & keep Christmasse, (you know where) were as good as their word. How it was celebrated I know not. Our Govr is troubled with the gout. What God is doing with us I know not. Soe God would have it, that a Taunton man must take the infection at Boston & goe home, and 3 or 4 dayes after come downe to Plimouth and soe to Duxbury, & there in a few dayes dye of the small pox. Wee doe not heare that it is begun with any else but the woman of that house where the man dyed hath bin ill these 2 dayes. The Lord fit us for His holy will. I intreat of you to spare my cousen Cotton to buy these necessary things mentioned in the note. I know not who else to request such a kindnesse of; & it being a matter of life & death, pray gratify me herein. Wee also earnestly request of you to send us your Judgment of this disease, what is good to prevent it; & how persons visited with it must be ordered & attended. If any oyle of tarre be to be had, if you send any I will send you money for it. My selfe & wife present due respects to you & yours. Desiring your prayers for us, I rest,

Your affectionate Brother JOHN COTTON.

Pray let my cous: write & now send me an exact copy of Mr Page his bond. I must take some order about what shortly will be due to me therein. I send forty-three shil: in silver to buy what the note mentions.

JOHN COTTON TO INCREASE MATHER.

For the Reverend Mr Mather, Teacher of a Church, at Boston, present.

PLIMOUTH June, 25: 1677:

REVD & DEARE BROTHER, — Mr Shove * was this day at my house; as he passed along to Barnstable, (for your booke he thankes you) & told me that in Mr H's history, things are strangely falsifyed, (I use his owne words) he much commends your History, & sayes had Mr H: followed your Narrative he had showed more truth; my request to you is, that you will prudently of your owne accord (unlesse you see weighty reason to the contrary) write a letter to Mr Shove, & desire him to acquaint you with the mistakes he knowes to be in that booke; I doubt not but he will readily grant your desires, for he freely asserts many things to be notorious, & if you had the particulars in writing, I beleive it would be of good use: If you see meete to write to him, pray doe it now by Mr. Clarke, & send it hither, because here he will call next weeke, & soe you may soone have an answer:

Our due salutations to you & sisters & cousens, craving your prayers, etc., for me & mine, in great haste, I rest,

Your Affectionate Brother, JOHN COTTON.

JOHN COTTON TO INCREASE MATHER.

These For the Reverend, his very Deare Brother, Mr Increase Mather, Teacher of a Church of Christ, at Boston, present.

PLIMOUTH, October, 20: 1677:

REVD & DEARE BROTHER, — Yours I received & the bookes, 7 of those which came first are sold at Bridgwater; I will endeavour to sell as fast as I can: I entreat you to returne by Mr Will: Clarke, who is now at Boston, an answer in writing

* Rev. George Shove, of Taunton, married for his second wife, in 1674–5, Hannah Walley, probably daughter of Rev. Thomas Walley of Barnstable. Savage's "Geneal. Dict."

to my following request, which I affectionately make to you: viz., concerning my Cousen Cotton,* your son, that he may live here with me this winter; God hath given him grace, & his learning is above what those of his standing have usually attained unto, whence he is able to doe good to others; & you know it is recorded as the honour of your blessed father, that at 15 yeares old he was called to be a schoole master, & why may not his Grand-son have it put into the records of his life, that before that age he was accounted worthy to be soe imployed: All the worke I would engage him to should be to be Tutour to my John,† & Rowland's ‡ Teacher, he shall be sure, God helping, not only of a comfortable board free of all charge, but returne in March (if soe you please) with 5 p^{d} of silver in his pocket, though none else should improove him: I doubt not but that many would be glad to improove his helpe for writing & ciphering, & would give him a good reward for his paines, but I would not urge for more then you see meete at present, only assure you the reward above mentioned shall be faithfully paid for the service desired. Most Deare Brother, I professe I have had many serious thoughts of this motion before I made it, & cannot frame any Arguments of weight in opposition; you cannot but thinke my wife & I (to both whom he is deservedly very Deare) shall be as tender of him as the hearts of his tender parents can desire, & although I cannot benefit him in his learning as you can, yet the Logicall & Theologicall notions of Mr. Stone, which I tooke in writing from him may, I question not, be of good use to him in his studies: I intended a more large & better studyed Invitation of my kinsman, but coming this day from Taunton, & the boat going before morning, I am cut short of my purpose: My selfe & wife heartily salute you & yours & him, pray be intreated to send me a speedy & comfortable answer. I hope the motion is of God, my heart is much in it: pray for us, I am,

Your Affectionate Brother, JOHN COTTON:

It may be his being here may prevent his having the small pox this winter: God knows:

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* Cotton Mather was then fifteen years old. — DAVIS.

† John Cotton [H. C. 1681] was born Aug. 3, 1661.

‡ His son Rowland [H. C. 1685] was born Dec. 27, 1667.

JOHN COTTON TO [COTTON MATHER].

PLIMOUTH, December, 11: 1677:

CHARISSIME COGNATE,—I am heartily ingaged to you for your love & respect manifested in your Epistles iterated & reiterated. I hope the next winter (if God till then spare us) wee shall not need to write one to another, but may *vivâ voce* discourse as now wee cannot: The power of Satan in hurrying soules to hell through divine permission is dreadfully amazing; a man of Sandwich about a fortnight since had his neck within the rope, but full execution was prevented by his Brother's timous approach to loosen the rope: Dec: 4: before day & till some time in the night after was here such a dreadfull storme, as hath not bin knowne these 28 yeares, viz. Jan: 13: 1649: the sabbath before your blessed uncle (now in heaven) preached his first sermon in that meeting house lately consumed. In this towne it blew downe one dwelling house & one barne, & killed nigh an 100 geese, which were next morning by sundry taken upon the shoareside, it was with us a day appointed for publick Thanksgiving, but very few could attend it, a humbling providence! That man of Sandwich who the weeke before had almost killed himselfe, was by the fall of his owne house (the top of it) almost killed in this storme, but he is yet spared: I now send by Starkey for John to be with me a while this winter. Your paper-messenger at their returne shall be very welcome: though your Aunt have noe salutations from you, yet by me she heartily salutes you, soe wee doe both, & your father & mother. The God of your father, love & blesse you forever, so prayes,

Your Affectionate Uncle, JOHN COTTON.

Houses & barnes many were blowne downe in other townes by this storme.

JOHN COTTON TO INCREASE MATHER.

BARNSTABLE, March 21, $167\frac{7}{8}$.

REV^D & DEARE BROTHER, — I am now in pretious M^r Walley's study. Just going to the publick worship, this Fast Day. His death is expected before the morrow.* A poore, bleeding, mourning church. The post goes for his son; in great distresse,

I am your affec: Bro: J: C:

Our glory is almost gone.
Ah poore Plimouth Colony!
Wee conclude his death before this come to you.

PLIMOUTH, March 25; '78.

DEARE BROTHER, — The Fast Day above mentioned prooved soe rainy, that they sent not that day to Boston. On Friday morning I tooke my last leave of that holy man of God, who yesterday, about the time of his usuall going to the publick worship, entered into his æternall Sabbath. In the whole time of his languishing he had sweet peace of conscience. The peace of God did rest upon that son of peace. He told me he found as much need of Christ as ever. I asked him what counsell from him I should impart to the ministry. His reply was; he was not worthy to commend any thing to them; but said his desire was, that the ministry would keep their garments pure, & walke close with God. He added, Methinks the Magistracy is more decayed then the Ministry, yet I doubt not but the best minister in the country sees a need to reforme. He did solemnely incourage me with hopes of a blessing upon my ministeriall labours; & said wee must part, but I leave you with confidence of meeting you againe with joy. Many young ones at severall times whilst I was there, flocked to his bed-side, to whom he did with very great seriousnesse & solemnity of spirit give this counsell, that they should highly esteeme of & improove the Covenant God had made with them. It is (said he) not a small thing for God to say, I am thy God, though some have despised it, I hope they are now of a better minde.

* Rev. Thomas Walley died March 24, 1677-8.

The children of the church have peculiar promises made to them, & a peculiar interest in the prayers of the church which are for their owne members. These individuall words & many more, did he more then once utter in my hearing last weeke to church-seed. That blessed mouth is now silenced.

Our church have appointed next Wednesday for a solemne fast. His Funerall is on Thursday, where I thinke to be. I wrote to you last Monday, thinking my sons would soone have bin with you, but crosse winds have hindered. The first faire winde I hope you may have this & that. The messenger from B: to Mr Walley called not at my doore yester evening. If he had, I had written & sent this by him.

JOHN COTTON TO COTTON MATHER.

To my Beloved Cousen, Mr Cotton Mather, at his Father's house in Boston, be these presented.

PLIMOUTH, July 11: 1678:

DEARE COUSEN, — I make noe question but it is your turne to speake, but it being the longest day in the yeare, I will spend a few minutes to salute you, & your deare parents, desiring & hoping that at the returne of this boat you will bestow a few salutatory lines upon me. Election newes wee have have none but *omnia ut prius*. Mr Treat's * Sermon on Dan: 5: 27: was very choice & esteemed by all Judicious, worthy of great Aeknowledgment. I shall be glad to heare that the Lord continues health in your family. Is the commencement & your commencing established? † Let us know whether the goods be come from O: E: My wife is daily ill, the Lord knowes what the issue will be: Your fathers God love you & delight to blesse you, Soe prayes

Your truly loving uncle, JOHN COTTON.

* Rev. Samuel Treat [H. C. 1669], son of Governor Robert Treat, of Connecticut, was minister of Eastham, ordained in 1672.

† Cotton Mather was graduated in 1678.

It is very long since I heard from Cambridge, pray if you can tell how my sons doe there, informe me, & whether the small pox be there? Whom doth Charlestowne call? I would know whether Ratcliffe will take wheat for his worke.

JOHN COTTON TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Reverend his Deare Brother, Mr Increase Mather, Teacher of a Church of Christ at Boston.

Plimouth, July 15: 1678.

Reverend & Deare Brother, — It is soe long a time since I heard of or from you, that I am almost sick of it, & doe therefore greedily embrace this opportunity to salute you, hoping thereby also to heare of the welfare of you & yours in this affecting time by that infectious disease. Through God's great mercy it is a day of health with us. The Lord helpe us to improove it aright, that wee may not provoke Him to turne our health into sicknesse. God hath gratiously blessed meanes for healing those distempers that were soe afflicting to my wife; soe that she hath now her health comfortably. It is a day also of spetiall mercy with me, through the rich & undeserved graee of God in Christ, in respect of the sweet & hearty closing of the spirits of the godly with me in this Church, & the great encouragement & advantage thereby I have to doe my Lord's worke. I have found God by afflictions preparing merey for me. My desire is, that by such choice mercies I may be duly prepared for afflictions, which I have great reason to be in continuall expectation of.

The church & people of Barnstable appointed a Fast last Thursday on purpose to beg of God to bow Mr Thacher's * heart to accept their call; they sent to me to carry on the worke of that day, which through God's helpe I did. They are exceeding unanimous & hearty in their desires to inioy him. I never saw more affection manifested on such an account. I suppose this day will

* Rev. Peter Thacher, afterwards minister of Milton. See notes by Rev. Thomas Prince, to a letter from Rev. Samuel Phillips to Thomas Hinckley, 4 Mass. Hist. Coll. v. 25.

come one from thence to goe to Mr. T: for his answer. I thinke you may doe God & His people good service in advising & perswading his father to be willing to gratify their desires which are soe earnest & scrious. Myselfe & wife present hearty respects & love to you & yours. I suppose your son is at Cambridge. Oh pray for my poore sons there. I beg your prayers for me & all mine, & rest,

Your Affectionate Brother JOHN COTTON.

I long for good newes of your Agents returne.

July, 16:

Last night I was called out of my bed by one of my neighbours, who brought an Indian with him, who with the rest of Namasket Indians was this night run away from thence hither, by reason that yesterday a grown lad of Ketehte[qutt] (about 4 miles from Namasket) was fishing at the river & heard a gun, & then more guns, upon which, getting upon a hill not far from the wigwams he saw above 20 Indians assault those of Ketehtequtt & fire upon them & surround divers of them. He supposes all are taken or slaine. The flying Indians beleve the boy saith true. If our English at Namaskett, Bridgwater or Taunton, who are all in a vicinity thereabouts, hand us any confirmation of this story before sealing you shall have it, else it may passe for an Indian-tale; but because of what was done about Natik wee are now prone to suspect some truth in such reports.

Before sealing, the truth of the matter comes to light, viz. a scout of Punkipaog Indians coming to their countrymen fired their guns in way of salutation. The boy seeing this at a distance was frighted & fled with the other report. Soe let all such stories vanish, if God have a favour for & please to deale gratiously with us:

JOHN COTTON TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Reverend his deare Brother Mr Increase Mather, Teacher of a Church of Christ at Boston.

Plimouth, August 26: 1678:

Rev^d & Deare Brother, — I wrote to you by my Cousen John * last weeke, since which, dear Cousen Cotton hath bin our pleasant companion. He frequents, every morning, our minerall spring, & findes the sutable operation thereoff. If you had once tasted hereoff, I beleive you will leave Linne † for Plimouth, & then wee shall oft enioy your good company. Your son looseth not his time but is a diligent student. He is much delighted with this pleasant aire; & now & then intimates his feares of going into the jawes of infection; but he ownes himselfe *tui non sui Juris*. He is thinking, & once said, he thought there might be some spetiall providence in his being here detained. My horses the 2 John Cottons have to Hampton, whence I cannot soe conveniently transport him home by land, and I suppose it would not please you, neither am I willing, to send him home by the boats. I had much rather at their returne have a commission, or at least permission for his stay till wee are weary of him, & that will be long enough. But if your fatherly wisedome & love say that he must returne to your house speedily, then at the returne of my horses I must (though against my, yea our affectionate desires) take care for his safe returne. Godly Mr Baker ‡ dyed Aug: 22: at night, was buried Aug: 24:

About a fortnight since came into our Harbour a Privateer under the command of one Capt. Daniel. The Master is Solomon Blacklach, son to the old man once resident in Boston.§ They stole away Rodes from New Yorke. I doubt many hellish abominations are here acted in secret by those who have not the feare of God before their eyes. They pretend a commission from

* Probably John [H. C. 1678] son of Seaborn, the writer's elder brother.

† There was a mineral spring of some celebrity in Lynn.

‡ Rev. Nicholas Baker was ordained at Scituate over the first church in 1660, and died August 22, 1678, aged sixty-seven years.

§ Mr. Savage mentions Solomon Blackleach among the sons of John Blackleach, of Salem, freeman in 1635, and an active merchant.

the States of Holland, and designe to take French vessels in your Easterne parts.

Wee heartily salute you & our Sister. Let me & mine have a constant interest in your prayers. I am,

Your Affectionate Brother, JOHN COTTON.

The Small Pox is increasing at Eastham. 4 or 5 are now siek of it since the man that dyed of it there. Since John Sunderlands grandson had that desease his owne son hath had it. They are both recovered, & none else there taken, through mercy. Mr Thornton * hath begun & practised the Synods 5th Prop: in baptising sundry. There are 5 or 6 dissenting bretheren. Your booke of the 11th principles & *de Bap:* I wish 20 of them. in Yarmouth, they might be of great use, to establish the unsetled, etc.

If you could convey this to Deac: Eliot, † Elder Bowles ‡ might soone have it.

Your son presents humble duty to you & his mother, love, etc.

Pray send by this boat the footstoole I left & could not finde for want of sufficient morning light. Nath: I suppose knowes of it.

JOHN COTTON TO COTTON MATHER.

These for his endeared kinsman Mr. Cotton Mather, at his fathers house in Boston.

PLIMOUTH, November, 15: 1678.

MOST DEARE COUSEN, — I greatly rejoyce in the goodnesse of God to you in that you are made whole, & I beleive you are as the Palme-tree, that your growth in grace will be more eminent by the late depression, Amen! It is good for a man to beare the yoke in his youth, & happy is that soule that can take the yoke of Christ upon it. The gentlenesse of your Affliction, & your soe

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* Rev. Thomas Thornton, of Yarmouth, removed to Boston in 1677, and joined Increase Mather's Church. Savage's "Geneal. Dict."

† Jacob Eliot, of Boston.

‡ John Bowles, of Roxbury, Ruling Elder.

speedy deliverance out of it, (wherein soe much distinguishing grace doth appeare) layes you under a very great obligation to endeavour to your utmost to be doing for God; & the good Lord enlarge you therein.

Your letters I received, but the bookes of which you write are in the hands of another boatman, who is not yet come from Boston: In your next, tell me what the binding of the two bibles cost, for they belong not to him that ownes the other, & I must righteously distribute the charges with my 2 neighbours. Your letter, I thinke, answers all I desired of you in my letters sent before I knew of your sicknesse, except Commencement Theses, which I pray send me some of, by the next, for I have not one. The enclosed I intreat a speedy conveyance of, for I earnestly desire him to meete me if he can at M^r^ Norton's * Ordination, 27^th^ of this instant. Myselfe & wife most heartily salute you; soe doth John, Betty, Rowland, etc., yourselfe & the rest of our Cousens.

The Lord blesse you & prepare you to be a rich blessing in your generation. Soe prayes

Your affectionate uncle, JOHN COTTON.

Pray send me word when your father writes to Cos: Tuckney,† for I would send when he doth.

JOHN COTTON TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Reverend his Deare Brother M^r^ Increase Mather, Teacher of a Church of Christ at Boston.

PLIMOUTH, December 2: 1678:

REVEREND & DEARE BROTHER, — The Gov^r^ promised me to deliver my whole Indian salary to any to whom I should assigne it. I intreat you to take the trouble of delivering the note to him & receiving the money which is 22 or 23 p^d^, I know not

* Rev. John Norton [H. C. 1671] second minister of Hingham, was ordained Nov. 27, 1678.

† Jonathan Tuckney. See note to his letters.

which, certainely: I have hopes that 10 p^{d} of what I may leave in your hands for your use upon the same account. you had the 20 p^{d} of Cap^{t} Hull, only I cannot at this time absolutely ingage it, because the hand of the Lord in this Infectious disease is now as neere my house, as Sanders his shop is to yours; & if it please God to visit my family I doubt it will cost me more then that in necessaries from Boston, for sueh a time of triall; otherwise I shall not soone call for that 10 p^{d} from you: I am uncertaine of an opportunity of sending againe this winter, & therefore doe at a venture charge this bill of 10 p^{d} upon you; but I write not a word to M^{ris} Tappin about it, beeause you yet have it not, only I request you, when you have receeived my money of the Gov^{r}, to send to the widow to eome to you to receive the money, & to give you a receipt of it, & withall desire her, from me, to give me soe mueh eredit on her booke.

My last, in whieh I also wrote to P: as yet is by you unanswered. I would hope it will be sueeessfull. If I heare it is not, if I live till after Feb: 17: I shall take speedy eourse to prepare for a sute at Aprill Court, the good Issue of whieh, for recovery of Prineipall & Interest, good lawyers doe assure me of. James Pemb: saith you are about selling your farme to G: White. I suppose it is a mistake. My eare hath bin, is & will be, if God spare life, to helpe you to money as fast as I can for it, if you resolve to sell it. He speakes to me to know whether he may longer injoy the farme, but telles me not what termes my Brother Cotton propounds to him, nor what you say thereabouts. I hope none of us will aske lesse then about 30 p^{d}. in silver per annum, for I finde this other pay at the Tenant's termes eomes not to much more then halfe the summe to answer my ends.

Wee shall be very glad to hear that Cousen Maria doth receover more & more. Wee begin to looke for our day of visitation because it is soe neere us. My eousen John eould be very glad to heare that all your family were past danger of it, for then he hopes his Deare Cousen Cotton would keep him eompany when he is sick of it: but that is too great a favour for us to hope for, yet a merey wee should abundantly blesse God for in sueh a day of triall; however, our earnest request to you is, that you would now by writing eommunieate your experienees, & tell us what you doe every day, from the time they are taken till the height &

afterward. I doe account your observations from your owne practice may be more usefull then any thing else. If you also write the particulars you use, I will take care in season, God willing, to obtaine them. With due respects and love to you, desiring your prayers for us, that wee may be prepared to meete God; & that you may have a comfortable issue of your present trialls, I rest,

Your affectionate Brother, JOHN COTTON.

Laeksimons told me last weeke that Mr Pynchon hath brought over 20 p^{d} due to his wife for 2 yeares rent from old Boston. If soe, why is not our 10 p^{d}. come also? Pray informe me about it.

JOHN COTTON TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Reverend his Deare Brother, Mr. Increase Mather, Teacher of a Church of Christ, at Boston.

PLIMOUTH, March 12: 167$\frac{8}{9}$.

REVEREND & DEARE BROTHER, — I wrote to you last weeke by Mr Saffin. One passage in your letter I forgat to speake to, viz. my buying a house at Boston, which thing indeed was a reality the last yeare, for I had treaty with one (who is not likely long to injoy his house) about buying his house & land, which is very much for a Boston lot, neither doth it stand in much more danger of fire then mine doth here; and I doe beleive if I had come to Boston this winter as I use to doe when the desease was not, I had made a bargaine for it. I therefore in what I wrote I pretended not a thing that was not, but by what I now say, I intend not any obstruction of proceeding with you, if you please (as I desired in my last) to set your lowest price you resolve to stand to, & how long you can waite for some of your money. Also let me know your minde about sute, for I am sollicitous to be in a way to recover the bond of P: If he have since paid you, I hope you have the bond safe for my use & service. By the Commissioners or this boat I desire to heare from you. Last Monday afternoone, just upon the great thunder-clap, died our poore Treas-

urer.* That day six weekes he was taken sick with a feavour & jaundice. Major Cudworth † labours under the same distempers, & his condition is very doubtfull. The Lord raise up a succession of godly faithfull ones. With due love & respects to you & my sister, from myselfe, wife & cousen, etc. desiring your earnest prayers for me (who am but crazy & infirme) I rest,

Your affectionate brother, JOHN COTTON.

All of us present hearty love to Cous: Cotton, etc. Tell him wee thanke him heartily for our Almanacks. Wee are going this day to Treas:s buriall, & *ergo* cannot write to him. I wish Ens: Greene had my letter, for I want his Answer, with the Catechismes I wrote to him for.

JOHN COTTON TO COTTON MATHER.

These for his endeared kinsman Sir Mather, at his father's house in Boston, ddd.

PLIMOUTH, April 19: 1681:

ENDEARED COUSEN, — I have ever cause to acknowledge your love & care of my dear child, & for that alone I oft owe you a letter of gratitude, which though it be slender requitall, yet being the best I have at present, I desire may be accepted. The immediate occasion of now writing is by you to acquaint your father, that this day past I spake with John Cooke,‡ who was a member & Deacon of this church in Mr Rayner's § dayes, but, for scandalous persisting in offence, he was Excommunicated. He hath

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* Constant Southworth.

† Major James Cudworth, of Scituate, 1634, was an Assistant in 1656–8, Deputy-Governor in 1681, and the same year agent to England, where he died, soon after his arrival. In the early part of Philip's War he was commander of the whole force of Plymouth Colony.

‡ John Cooke came with his father in the Mayflower. He was Deacon at Plymouth, but removed, on account of difficulties with the Rev. John Rayner, and settled as minister of Dartmouth in 1676. He was living in 1694, probably the oldest survivor of the male passengers in the Mayflower. Savage's "Geneal. Dict."

§ Rev. John Rayner was a graduate of Magdalen College, 1625. After a ministry of eighteen years at Plymouth, he removed to Dover, and died April 20, 1669.

since joyned himself to the Anabaptist Society in Road Island of which Mr Clarke was Pastour. I asked him who sent him that booke, superscribed, To Brother John Cooke of Dartmouth, (Russel's booke). He answered, one of them in Boston; I asked him whether he had ever bin at their Lord's Supper? His Answer was Noe, but he had twice taught amongst them on two meeting-dayes, & that the church of which he was, at the Island, & that at Boston did hold Communion together upon all occasions. This J. Cooke never sought Reconciliation with this Church, joynes to the Anabaptists at R. Isle, holds communion with them at Boston. I would not have my name mentioned, but doubtlesse it is an aggravation of their sin, who can admit a justly Excommunicate to preach amongst them.

Due respects & salutations to your parents, etc. Praying that you may increase with the increases of God, I rest,

Your affectionate uncle, JOHN COTTON.

Newes from O: E: would be a kindnesse.

JOHN COTTON TO COTTON MATHER.

These for his much endeared kinsman, Mr. Cotton Mather, Preacher of the Gospel, at Boston.

MOST DEARE COUSEN, — You make me your debtor by soe great a readynesse to comply with my desires in any thing, & sending me such good Epistles. Had your 2ond page had noe worse intelligence then your first, I should have had lesse cause of greife then now I have. The Lord heale those breaches, & ours also; Our Gov^r & Magistrates, being desired by the church, did give some advice to us, in a paper worthy to be written in letters of gold, (*me judice*), but our contentious Lord-bretheren deemed it not worthy of hearing the 2ond time, or of desiring a copy to be left of it, which our mag's did take notice of. The Ch: went apart, & have chosen 5 churches to meete in Councill, 18^th instant, Barnstable, Taunton, Bridgwater, Duxbury, Marshfeild. Your & your father's prayers will not be wanting.

Oh, let them be more then ordinary, that I may finde mercy from God in this day. What further proceedings you heare of my brother, & how it is with our son there, please to informe. Our Salutations are respectively to each of our Relations with you. Our fathers God love you. When will you come to us?

I am, Yours affectionately, JOHN COTTON.

PLIMOUTH, March 11. 1683–84.

I hope Mr. Eppes hath my letter I left with you for Cos: Tuckney.

JOHN COTTON TO COTTON MATHER.

These for the Reverend, his Deare Cousen Mr. Cotton Mather, Pastour of a Church of Christ at Boston.

PLIMOUTH, January 21: 1685.

REVD & DEARE COUSEN,—Your last was very welcome, as every thing is that comes from you: The good effects of your being here are, & are likely to be such, that I am sure you will never have cause to repent your last coming to Plimouth. Blessed be God, you left a pretious savour that will render your next appearance amongst us a joyfull day. Your Almanacks I accept with thanks & love, the pay expected. Wee sit longing (& yet trembling) to heare what newes Mr. Jenner* brings, who this time 12 mo: brought tidings of the condemnation of the Charter, etc. But God can make 86 as peaceable as 85: hath bin, Amen; the Lord increase tokens for good, a spirit of prayer is eminently soc. I rejoyce greatly to heare that God smiles upon your catecheticall worke. I have, through grace, found a rich blessing in it. My —— Eliza, your —— hath bin lately & is still exersised with bodily illnesses, but I trust in free grace, soule-health will follow. Mr. Love's last sermons are her constant companion: Keep her neere your heart when you are at prayer. She presents due love & Respects to you, & very thankfully accepts your tender Respect to her soule; Y[our] good mother (as you are affection-

* Thomas Jenner, of Charlestown, captain of a ship.

ately pleased to style her) threatens much to assault you by a paper-representative. I hope the good mood will shortly come upon her. You have her & my hearty love by these presented, with due salutations to parents & our Cousens. Our Fathers' God fill you more abundantly with His Holy Spirit, & crowne all your holy & painfull labours with that successe & blessing that your soule desires, & give you a cup brim-full of consolation in your most disconsolate houres. He will doe it. Oh pray for him, (my endeared kinsman,) who is, Yours as his owne in neerest & strongest bonds JOHN COTTON.

Cos: Dennis letter, deliver as the former.

JOHN COTTON TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Reverend his Deare Brother M^r Increase Mather, Teacher of a Church in Boston.

PLIMOUTH, March 8, $16\frac{8}{8}\frac{7}{8}$.

REV^D & DEARE BROTHER, — I wrote to you this winter, but know not whether you have received it. I waite with some earnestnesse of spirit to heare of the progresse of your motions towards O: E:, resolving I must come & see you (if God permit) before your going. This day past our congregation kept a fast, with reference to the present visitation, so that I am too weary now to write, but Rowl: * going to night, I have but leisure to salute you, & to request, if the 5 p^d for his schollership be attaineable that you would now favour him with it, to discharge his colledge debt. It would be a seasonable mercy from God to me if it be now to be had. If it cannot, I desire to be contented, & must seeke some other way. But I conclude, if it lye in your power, your brotherly kindnesse will helpe. The distemper is almost removed out of our Towne. Hardly any have escaped. Due salutations to you & all yours respectively. O pray for me & mine. I am

Your affectionate brother, JOHN COTTON.

* Rev. Roland Cotton [H. C. 1685], afterwards ordained minister of Sandwich, Nov. 2, 1694.

JOHN COTTON TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Reverend his truly honoured brother Mr. Increase Mather, London.

PLIMOUTH, July 9, 1688.

REVEREND & MOST DEARE BROTHER, — Though Mr Foy* brought noe newes last Thursday of your arrivall, yet all your friends hope you are long agone safely at your desired Port, & in spetiall service for God & His interest.† Very awfull & considerable changes have attended poore Plimouth since your departure from our Gurnett; by reason of the motions *de* Clark's Island,‡ the Committee of 7 men chosen by the Towne to manage that affair were at soe much charge as necessitated our people to ingage by

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* John Foy, mariner, of Boston.

† Increase Mather had sailed for England, April 7th.

‡ Nathaniel Clark succeeded Nathaniel Morton as town clerk of Plymouth and secretary of the Colony, in 1685 He was appointed by Sir E. Andros a member of his Council, and became one of his tools. The story of his connection with the affair mentioned in the text is so well told by Dr. James Thacher, in his "History of Plymouth," that we give it in his own words: "The island in Plymouth harbor, called Clark's Island, contains a little more than 80 acres of fertile land. It was upon this island that the first Christian Sabbath was kept in New England, for it was the earliest resting place of the Pilgrims from amidst the storm which they encountered on the night of Friday, December 18, 1620, while coasting along the bay in their little shallop, before their final landing. These circumstances may have led our fathers to attach a superstitious reverence to this spot. It was neither sold nor allotted in any of the early divisions of the land, but was reserved for the benefit of the poor of the town, to furnish them with wood and with pasture for their cattle.

"The avarice of Counsellor Clark was attracted to this island,—the hallowed ark that had rescued his fathers from the mingled horrors of a night-storm, upon an inclement and unknown shore, and in succeeding years the support of the destitute and the wretched. His master made the wished-for grant, and accordingly, on the 3d of March, 1687–8, it was surveyed and laid out for his use. Immediately, in defiance of arbitrary threatenings, and the heaviest denunciations, a town-meeting was called, and a firm and united resolution was adopted to reclaim the island at every hazard. A committee was chosen to collect subscriptions to defray expenses. Amidst the indignation of his townsmen and neighbors, 'the Secretary stood alone.' He immediately arrested the committee for levying taxes upon his majesty's subjects, and they, together with the town clerk and minister of Duxbury, were bound over to the Supreme Court at Boston." In April, 1689, after the news reached America that the Prince of Orange had landed in England, and when the people of Boston had seized and imprisoned Andros, the inhabitants of Plymouth seized upon Clark, put him in irons, and sent him to England in the same ship which carried back his master. He subsequently returned to his native town, where he was treated with neglect and insult. Dr. Thacher has printed a portion of the above letter on page 154 of the second edition of his History.

Clark's Island was sold by the town, in 1690, to pay the expense of defending its right to the possession of it.

free & voluntary subscriptions to reimburse them, & also to vote the securing some Lands till the money was paid to them; for this Lorkin fetches the 7 men with a Writ, charging they had resolved & raised money upon His Majesties subjects contrary to Law, & the Towne Clerke, godly Deacon Fance for calling for the rate, & Mr Wiswall * for writing the paper to be subscribed; 3 pd. 7 sh. a man, besides all personall expenees that journey cost them, & Mr Wiswall nere 20 shil: more because he could not goe till a weeke after his first arrest by reason of lamenesse, Lorkin made him pay halfe a crowne a day for that weeke: all 9 are bound over to the Superiour Court at Boston, July 31, & our godly brethren & neighbors are likely then to be considerably fined, besides all costs of Court, etc. I hope by these ships you will have a more substantiall Narrative, or by the first opportunity after this approaching sessions. I was entered upon the good worke of collection for something to be sent to a friend in O: E: & should, doubtlesse, have bin successfull therein, but this blow hath soe blasted the designe, that there is not likely to be money enough to keep our best men out of prison without borrowing, unlesse God in mercy appeare to prevent the evils impending. How much wee need pitty & prayers is manifest. The good Lord appeare for His name's sake.

Deare Sir, Last weeke good old Mr Eliot † showed me a letter he had prepared to send to Mr Boyle, in which he doth particularly mention my name, for helping him in translating, etc. Shepard's Sincère Convert & Sound Belever, & moves him to some particular acknowledgement of it. I greatly hope your interest in friends to the Indian-worke may obtaine that for me that may greatly shorten my debt to yourselfe, which is all the grand worldly trouble I have; & unlesse this motion be successfull to attaine the end desired I must be forced to goe to O: E:, if liberties continue, that I may have something to get out of debt. Much waiting is in N: E: for your letters, which if they be incouraging for young schollars to come over, I doubt the Spirituall famine you prophe-

* Rev. Ichabod Wiswall, of Duxbury, having prepared a writing, for the purpose of establishing the right which the town had to Clark's Island, was fined and suffered various indignities from the Governor. He was agent to procure a charter for the Colony from the English government in 1690.

† The Apostle to the Indians, whom the writer had assisted in his translations into the Indian language.

sied of will come speedily on this poore land. Myselfe & wife most heartily salute you, wishing you all possible prosperity & safety. Let me & mine be ever upon your heart in prayer. Our good Elder presents due respects to you, & prayes hard for you, & soe doe thousands more every day.

I take leave & subscribe,

Your very affectionate brother JOHN COTTON.

JOHN COTTON TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Reverend Mr. Increase Mather.

PLIMOUTH, September 10, 1688.

REVEREND & MOST DEARE BROTHER, — After restlesse longings to hear of & from you, yours by the Isle of Wight affoarded much comfort to all that had bin praying for you. God that hath begun to show the greatnesse of his power & goodnesse who can tell what He can, what He will yet doe for His poore people, & for His name's sake! When I read your lines it came powerfully into my minde, Wee ought to lay downe our lives for the bretheren. Verily, good brother, if I am not greatly deceived you have fullfilled that Scripture; before you went & since also I could hardly perswade myselfe that you would adventure into the Royal presence, with resolution, see to speake & declare as you have done, but I am now fully perswaded, that in a cloudy night you had wrestled with the Angel by prayers & teares & prevailed for a blessing, & thence was strengthned thus to plead with man. The good Lord grant the issue may be as comfortable as the beginning is encouraging. Well, my dearest Brother, whatever befall you or become of N: E: Interest, I am assured all will have cause to, & all that feare God will acknowledge that you have now hazarded your life for the name of the Lord Jesus, & for the sake of His litle despised flock in this wildernesse. I doe not know, nor did I ever heare that ever any one man run soe great a hazard attended with such circumstances for this people as you have done. It will adde to your crowne in the

great day & for ever, whatever your trialls, conflicts & censures may be here. The Lord strengthen your heart & hands in His worke, and grant you in this your service, the blessing of Abraham, viz. to be a blessing to this whole land. How farre Plimouth case was carried the last Superiour Court, I suppose you heard by Sir W: Ph[ips] as yet *sub judice his est*, but hard measure is expected if infinite power & mercy prevent not. Our people are soe impoverished by the management of this unhappy Island, that the promises for my salary this yeare are thirty pounds short of what I had the last yeare; & how much shorter the performances will be I know not, but hence it is that I can obtaine promises of very litle for O: E:, though something I hope will shortly be done, & a litle may be better then nothing. Some difficulty there was among the Commissioners many yeares agone about setling good old Mr Eliot's salary, & once a lessening of it, he writing to the Corporation obtained a full establishing of his yearly revenue during life, fifty pounds. The good man is hastning to his journey's end,* & telles me sincerely he hath none to betrust the worke with after his death but myselfe. If your occasions & interest invite to converse with the President & Treasurer, & you can obtaine fixing such a summe for me at least when his worke is done, I hope you will soone be paid what I owe you, which is indeed the greatest concerne & difficulty I have in this world, & were it not for which I should not have troubled you with some lines as I have done once & againe. God hath given a son to my John.

My dearest joynes with me in most hearty salutations of you & prayers for you. Wee beg your prayers for us & ours. I am

Your very affectionate brother JOHN COTTON.

People being left to their Liberty, maintainance of the Ministry is likely to be brought to nothing very speedily.

BOSTON Sept: 21, 1688.

DEARE SIR,—Yester evening came the ship from London with such tidings as filled the hearts of all that feare God, with exceeding joy. How good a thing it is to trust in God, & to committ

* He died May 20, 1690.

our way to God. The good Lord who hath begun to show the greatnesse of his power & goodnesse, in mercy perfect that which concernes you and this His people by you, that being secured from your enemies, you may returne with fullnesse of blessing to this place where constant & fervent prayers are going for you. I shall account myselfe not a litle obliged to you if among your many freinds here, you will give me a line, who am, Dearest Brother,

Yours most intirely, JOHN COTTON.

LETTERS OF JANE HOOKE.*

JANE HOOKE TO REBECCA RUSSELL.

These for Mr^s Rebeckah Rvsall† at Hadly in New England. Pray Leav y^e Letter with M^r Increase Maders at Boston in New England, to be sent.

5 month: 24 day 72.

My der beloved, — I & we al do reioyce to her of yovr welfare for sovle & body, as for the in com of the sperit yov are no stranger to, blesed be the Lord for free grace & mercy. Conserning what mercys the Lord sent in to yov both,‡ by ovr hands, we long to her how safe thay be arived & com safe to yov. Beloved thy anchint kindnes to me & mine the Lord reqvite, I thank yov most kindly. Al your & our freinds very wel, prased be the Lord. You are now in the hands of a dre [dear] & sweetest fay^r. who has delt wel for you in your low estat, & given you many an vnexpected mercy; it is good to trvst in the Lord, oh his dealings & dispensations has bin marvelovs for you to svpport yov vnder your present trials & absent from relations. The Lord has svpplid with his own presence, that what yov have not yov lacke not. Pray if things be com to hand let vs her & know whey^r we have playd the right factor for yov, ye or noe. As for Newes yov will her from betr hands. as for Holand, that is almost swalowed vp by the French & the Bishop of Mvnster, the high & mity stats the Lord has hvmbled down to the dvst, the sivill state quite broken. As for O: E: we are in expectation daly when the Lord will visit vs for ovr sinns & horid blasphemie. as for the contempt of the Gospel by parliment & highr powers, the Lord will never pvt that vp, thovgh Noah, Job, & Daniel & Moses wer here, they shovld bvt delivr

* Wife of Rev. William Hooke. See note on page 122.

† Rebecca Russell, the second wife of Rev. John Russell, of Hadley, was daughter of Thomas Newberry, of Dorchester. Mr. Savage says that "he was engaged to go with Warham to plant Windsor, but died before his migration;" but under the name "John Russell," he locates him at Windsor, instead of Dorchester.

‡ Goffe and Whalley. This letter, though directly addressed to Mrs. Russell, was evidently intended in part for the Regicides.

bvt their own sovles. Ovr freind Kate & Nane & Kate very wel, Nole * is very low of groth but his M^r^ sayes he lerns his book prity wel & savors of the best good. I her how kind M^r^ S: † has bin to you, al from ovr blesed Creator. B.[ecky] pray for me that the Lord wovld please to make known to me his electing love. Vpon consideration & loking in to my sovle things are very sade. The Lord for his mercy sake fvrnish me with faith & patience aganst a evle day that hasten on. Oh that Christ righteovsnes [may be] impvted to me or else I am vndon. Dere B. forget me not ner my great chang. The Lord be with yov.

Yovr Loving Sistr J. H.

JANE HOOKE TO INCREASE MATHER.

ffor M^r^ Increas Mather Minister of the Gospell in Boston New Ingland.

Reverend Sir, — The last day of the 5 mo. my husband did reseve a kind letter from you, blesed be the Lord that you are so wel, but I was sorry to here that N. E. had made no better use of the Lord's stroke upon them. We are much inquiring after the afares of our brethn in N: E: & very much troubled to here of the great distreses that have come from the hethen slaying & murdering so many, & firing so many plantations as your book sent over dos mension, (many thankes for your book to me). S^r^ your sorrowes is ours & your comfort ours. I hop your brethn & sisters here dos simpathise with you, & truly I am sorry when I think of it, that we have not rem̄ our brethn no more, but this I am sure of, we forget you not in our prayers at the throwne of grace. S^r^, give me leave a little to speak to you: Great & very sad is it here. Trading decay & our sins has made sade worke among us. this we cannot but see, the holy God is highly displeased with us becase we hav not brought forth frut sutable to abundance of mercyes resived, The Lord help us to set upon the work of reformation as wel as humiliation. Now had we bin a people as had

* Probably Goffe's wife and children, or near relatives.

† Probably referring to the bounty of Richard Saltonstall, Jr., to Goffe and Whalley. See letter of Edward Collins, on page 134.

walked close with God we mought have bin in a case to show more love than we have done. But my paper will not hold out to tell you the sad & desperat cases that is among the Lord's presious saints who crye daylie for help. Poor Ministers! the Lord our last [refuge] must be looked to, purses made here & there, or else starved. glad to get bd to eate & that is poor. Children keep at schoole by beging only. S[r] I think it would have pleased divers If we had the same lott as Ireland(?): M[r] Maders pray for us. Christ has said, in the world you shal have troubles, & man is born for sorrows as the sparks that fly upward. A sweet blessing above the worlds glory to have our peace made with God by Christ. Some think N: E: to be rich, & have no need, but I have told some if we should have so many fires among us, we would cry help. I am glad the old Cloathes were of any use to our brethn with you. S[r] I was willing to do a little, being incouraged by M[r] Noyse. Now the Lord preseve you & that you may live to see N: E: in her former state of plenty: I beg your prayr that I may live to the Lord.

I am your unworthy sist[r] JANE HOOK.

6 m. 8 day. 77

JANE HOOKE TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Rev'd Preacher of the Gospell M[r] Increase Maders, at Boston, New: England

REV[D] S[R], — Hering how welcom the old cloathes were to those poor ministers the last yeer, I have adventured to send a few more, & I toke order to him to have it paid, & M[r] Jese did promise me it should be paid; & when I went to inquir he told me he had forgot it: but I gave him 19[s] to send after to pay. Pray Sir, be pleased to accept of two pare of gloves, which you will reseve your self. Those 5 poor ministers which M[r] Noyse & Mrs. Nowel did speak of.

I beg your prayrs, & rem O: E: I rest, I fear have I don' well?

Sir Your loving freind JANE HOOK.

4 m. 27, 78.

The mark
H O
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S[r], — I, with the benefactors leav, pay al to be set at your hous, if you please.

JANE HOOKE TO INCREASE MATHER.

For Rev'd M[r]. Encrease Maders

Rev[D] S[R], — Pray bere with my confused former lines. What the Lord has moved harts I have sent. Pray let M[r]. Nowel be rem. cloathes & mony; I leav it to your wisdom & care. Do not forget my Hon'd and presious friends, who is now with the Lord, his grand child. Pray Sir, doe not forget your cousin Maders. The Lord has blessed your lettr sent to me & Hon'd M[r] Davnport piece of his letter. Pray name me not, & I leave it to your wisdom and care; & Dere Sir, you pend your letter so wel that I did show it to many presious soules. My kind respect to your dere wife.

Sir, Your loving freind JANE HOOK.

I have sent two pare of gloves to you, & two pare for my unknon freind M[r] John Cotton.

1 mo. 5 day '79.

JANE HOOKE TO INCREASE MATHER.

For the Reverend M[r]. Increase Mather, Pastor of one of the Churches in Boston in New England, These.

Rev[D] S[R], — I thourough the Lord['s] mercy have made know your lettr here & there, but such is the extremity of O. E. that here are harts who is full of compasion & tendr affection, but strength is wanting. Sir, a few cloathes and 6[l] in mony, you will reseve so much (all from a good God) by M[r] Jese order. Sir, I beg your prayers, & accept of what the Hon'd benefactors has ordered. Truly I had not tim to mend them as I should. Oh

S[r] I beg your prayers. 20[s] of this mony for M[r] Wilson * from M[r] I Ginkins, & a coat. The rest as you judg fit. Sir, the Lord has taken presious M[r] Gale † to himself. He has give a rich present to N. E. I thank you for your book, & did give a good man your bro's book who said he would goe to Ierland & giv it himself, but he staid in som oth[r] country, and the last week he brought the book & did not goe to Ierland, but as son as may be I will send it. Blessed be the Lord that any increase of members. All prase to the Lord. Dere Sir, pray bere with al faults this tim. I have not ben wel. I beg your prayer. I hav put the bundel & the 6[t] into M[r] Jesee hand & to pay for the passadg, to dispose as you shall se fit. Forget not your Broths. sone the 2[t].

(Sir) Your unworthy sister JANE HOOK.

2 m. 7 day. '79.

R'd Augt 23. 79.

JANE HOOKE TO INCREASE MATHER.

To M[r] Increase Mother Minister in Boston.

REVD SIR, — I was very glad to resev your lines, but espesially that the Lord had answered prayer for your life, blessed be the Lord. You were plesed to giv me an acount how that mony was bestoed, M[rs] Davnport whose husband was M[r] Davnport[s'] son of New Haven, very strang : ‡ but I dare not suspect your care to whom to do besto what the benefactors dos send. I am sorry that old England was so slow, foremerly to forget the wars & fire, but the last yeer Hon[d] D[r]. *Owin*[*s*] *Chā* did send, through the Lord'[s] mercy a hansom present, & M[r] Colins he told me he had sent. but worthy M[r] Mader since the last yeer here is extremity of poor obiects, both ministers & poverty of al & among all sorts, sin abounds exeedingly high, & truly we may wonder fire and brimston dos not rain down from heven, but the Lord is wonder-

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* Rev. John Wilson, of Medfield.

† Rev. Theophilus Gale, who died in 1677, was a very eminent theologian, philosopher, and philologist. He left his whole estate to the promotion of education, and his valuable library to Harvard College. See Quincy's "History of Harvard University," vol. i. p. 185.

‡ Strange that she should be so poor as to need alms. See the next letter.

full of compasion to us. Pride abound[s], yet here is, in London & in the cou[n]try, presious people of the Lord that prayes mitily. My worthy freind, shal I say brothr, I beg your prayers, not like to live long here. Oh that the Lord would clere up his electing lov to my soule. Rem̃ my case I pray. Sir, the Lord's benefactors I beleev would not be aganst me. Pray speak to Mr John Wolly * for 10^{lb} all from the Lord, & al those presious saints of the Lord which you did mension of; blesed be the Lord who does provide for his som time by raven birds. (?)

I think I had som report from your letter I think, am now at Mr Jesse writing, or else from my freind Mr John Cotton, how N: E: was wronged about their cruelty about the anabaptis: pray let not Mr Wilson † be forgotten. Pray rem̃ Old E, pray hard Mr Wilson send [sent] in a vesel with canbuires [cranberries] which I sent here & there to the benefactors, very welcom, Mr Jacob Jese factor.

I was desired by a benefactor that on[e] Mrs Stevens may have somthing. Pray Sir if she be a real obiect, & a woman of good report, then let her have 10^{s}. I [must] please my mas[t]er & ladies, but pray let there be great care taken. If no need or on[e] of a lose fram [loose frame] not a peny.

The Lord be with you, & pray for the Lords doners & me your servant.

My love to your dere wife.

I rest Your loving siste[r] I hop in Christ

JANE HOOK.

10^{lbs} from Mr Jacob Jesey.

2 m. 14 day, 81.

From Bishop gat. Half mon [moon] aley.

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* John Walley, son of Rev. Thomas Walley, of London, was of the artillery company in 1671, captain in the militia in 1679, assistant of Plymouth Colony in 1684, and one of the council named in the Royal Commission to Andros in 1686. He was appointed one of the Judges of the Supreme Court, 1700–11. See Savage's "Geneal. Dict."

† Rev. John Wilson, of Medfield.

JANE HOOKE TO INCREASE MATHER.

For worthy Reverend M^r. Increse Maders, at Boston.

Revd S^r, — One N: E sermon more. The 4^lb from the benefactors, M^r Jesse marchant, and so convaid to you by M^r Wolly. I have foloed your coñ.

I reseved two letters from you, in which you give a full acount how the benefactors' mony was laid out; which letters of yours I have showed to divers of the doners. S^r, the Lord has moved divers of His people, & have sent to you to be disposed of 10^lb. Pray let not M^rs Davnport be forgotten, whose husband fay^r (father?) was Pastor of New Haven. I wonder that family should be so low. I suppose that N: E: has reseved what Dr Owin Chû has sent, & divers send, & as I here, there is a great chang in N: E: Horid prid, drukennes, whoreing, comon prayer, which is for a lamentation, & surly you & us mvst look for to be wiped [whipped] to the blud: Never so much light & menes nor never such horid profanes. The Lord is just & wonderfull patientt in staing so long; & worthy Dr. Owin has much of lat caled upon churches; & O, the sines of churches, & sines of members whets God['s] swords to strik. I reñ a speach of famos M^r Davnport. It was this, that when churches dos degenerat, then God look[s] upon them with dedistation & admiration. S^r, I thank you for your book. I should have bine very glad if you would hav let me know how it was in N: E: I hav affections for that place, & as it is reportd here, not from a few, prid & profannes. My worthy freind, the Lord has sent 4^lb more, — 30^s of it for M^r Wilson, sent to him from Rev^d M^r Ginkins, & 10^s from som other. 20^s M^r Cottone must have. S^r, I am but a servant, not a peny of mine, I have it not as onec. I beg your prayers, that the Lord would help me to bleve mor, & that the Lord would clere up His lov to my soule. Oh, my worthy freind M^r Maders; how fare may one goe in profesion & yet com short. Hart sines are dreadfull sights, yet I hop: free grace. The Lord's benefactors has sent first 8^lb which when com you will reseve, by M^r Jesse to M^r Wolly 10^lb, & now throug the Lord['s] mercy 4^lb, which when you reseve will be 5^lb all from the Lord. Oh, M^r Maders, a dreadfull strok hang[s]

over our heads. Sines of sones & daughters cryes loud: Mr Ginkins has sent a co[a]t for Mr John Wilson. Oh pray for your dying freind that I may com save to my dere Lord & Savior.

I am, Sr, Your loving Sister in Christ,

JANE HOOK.

Blesed be the Lord, that has given you such a presious son. Pray rem̃ me kindly to him; and that he may do servis for Christ, though it be with the lose of life. I did resev a letter from Mrs. Anne Pady. I fere I hav not tim to write to your beloved cousen. O: E: lamentable poor cryes up & down. Your letter cam very late, 5 m. 2 day '81. A few old cloathes. The black coat is from Mr Ginkins minister. Sr I hop you had som of that mony which Dr Owin Church sent ovr you to dispose of. Cranburies welcom to the doners.

Mark W: H.
O.

From Bishop gate Street, Halfe mon Aley.

JANE HOOKE TO JOHN WILSON.*

For The Revd Mr Willson at New England present.

WORTHY & DERE BELOVED IN THE LORD, — The Lord has sent you 4lb, 20s of it cam from your worthy frind Mr Ginkines, & 3lb from divers of the Lord's people, not on peny from my purst, so you will reseve when It com to you 5lb, all from the Lord. My desire is that you would: rem̃ me in your prayers. We here that N: E: beginns to be lik Old. I must be short. The Lord is most righteous in what he has laid on vs. Our sines cryes for loud strokes that others my fer & tremble. Horid wikednes here. Oh the patince of God that dos not rane down fire & brimston from heaven. Anti pop shall down, & the Lord Ranes, & dos what he pleses: & what ever the Lord has promised shal sertanly com

* Rev. John Wilson [H.C. 1642], of Medfield, son of Rev. John Wilson, of Boston, was born in England, September, 1621; ordained as colleague with Rev. Richard Mather, of Dorchester, in 1649, and after two years, settled at Medfield.

to pase as though it were don all redy. Be very ernest in your prayers to the Lord, that his people may not be caried away with false worship, bvt stand close to Christ pure worship. I should be glad to here how your son dos doe at Newhaven,* becase you said that he was gon thither to that Chū. Mr Willson, great changes, the Lord for his Christ sake mak vs faithfull to the death. My lov to your wife.

Your Loving Sister in Christ, JANE HOOK.

When y have days of prayer, my case is, these dreadfull heart sins & lack faith, & I have not those affection as I should in hering the word. Mension my case thus, but not my name.

3 m. 25 day, 83. from Bishop gat street, Halfe mon aley.

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* This reference confirms the conjecture expressed in our note, p. 165, that the Mr. Wilson mentioned by Dixwell, and by Dr. Bacon, as having preached at New Haven, was son of Rev. John Wilson, of Medfield.

LETTERS, &c., OF JOHN HIGGINSON.

STATEMENT OF JOHN HIGGINSON.*

Aug: 24: 74: At Mr Mathers in Boston.

I ACQUAINTED Mr Nicholet† that I would acquaint him with letters that I had receiued from Mr Hill & Mr Sally in Virginia, concerning him, also 2 enclosed letters vnsealed directed to him, which I should now deliuer to him: wherein there was matter for his serious consideration, either for his Repentance, or if in any thing he was vnjustly charged that he might take his course by sending to Virginia to clear himselfe.

His reply was with much heat & height of spirit in many words & in a scornfull way; that he would not hear them read, nor receiue any such letters, he knew what was in them, they were lyes, & out of malice to slurre him, & often repeating that the said Mr Hill & Mr Sally were lyars & drunkards & the drunkennest men in all Virginia (& sometimes Atheists) & he could proue them so, saying what had any to doe to write to Virginia concerning him? & what had they to doe to write hither to slurre him?

Being desired againe & againe that (according to his former profession) he would be willing to conferr with Elders about sueh things,

He frequently denyed it, & sayd that he acted by the advise of the best in the Country, mentioning the Governor & Major

* Rev. John Higginson, son of Rev. Francis Higginson, was born at Claybrook, Eng., Aug. 6, 1616, came over with his father in the "Talbot," in 1629. He kept the Grammar School at Hartford, and was afterwards Chaplain of the Fort at Saybrook. He went to Guilford in 1641, and assisted Rev. Henry Whitfield in the ministry. He left there in 1659, with the intention of going to England with his family; but the vessel in which he sailed being compelled to put into Salem Harbor, he was persuaded to settle over the church which his father had planted there about thirty years before. He was ordained in August, 1660, and continued the honored minister of Salem till his death, Dec. 9, 1708.

See Historical Collections of the Essex Institute, vol. 5, No. 1, p. 34.

† See note attached to the next paper.

Hauthorn,* & that if any would accuse him either in Church or Court, he would answer them, but not els.

Often saying Pish Pish, & vsing scornfull terms & carriages.

He knew he had the Church & the town of Salem for him, & the Country, often speaking disdainfully of 2 or 3 men in Salem, saying, Wee know them well enough, &c.

He affirmed that his comeing & snatching away his Sermon when it was writing out by Mr Verin, Mr H: sitting by, was so before contriued & agreed vpon between Mr Verin & him.

He sayd that all the Protestants in Maryland could clear him, & especially 5 men whom he often mentioned, & sayd he would appeal to them. viz., Mr Dent, Mr Hatton, Mr Hull, Mr Hanson, Mr Thoroughgood, but he would not trouble himselfe to write to them, but that I might doe it.

JOHN HIGGINSON, SEN.

JOHN HIGGINSON'S APOLOGY.

An Apologie of John Higginson, Pastor of Church of Salem, & Minister of the Town by law, presented to the Honoured Committee of the Generall Court, mett at Salem, June 8, 1675.

HAVING in my weak measure endeavonred to discharge my dutie vnto Truth & Peace in Salem without the desired successe, finding myselfe no longer able to bear the cumbrance, burden & strife of the place, I had no thoughts of troubling the Generall Court, but onely to apply myselfe to the Church here for my Dismission; but meeting vnexpectedly at Boston with such a Petition of so many of the people of Salem, & seuen of them being church members, & that Petition attested by the Select men: the contents therof considered, I finde myselfe called to Imitate Paul's Example in his Apologies expressed in the 22, 24, & 26 Chapt: of the Acts: Enen so I find it now my dutie to present this my Apologie before this honoured Committee as a necessary means to clear the Truth

* William Hawthorne came in the "Arbella" with Winthrop, was Speaker in 1664, and Assistant for several years. He was a major in Philip's War, &c. Savage's "Geneal. Dict."

& my selfe from the misrepresentations & injurious reflections of the fore said Petition.

And first you may pleas to consider whether divers things, as they are expressed in that Petition, do not need to be enquired into, that so the Truth may be vnderstood, as

1. Whether that Expression that [Mr Nicholet* was called by Church & Town to be an Assistant in the work of the ministry] do not need explication. For though its true that Mr N: was at first in a Church Assembly desired to preach one year vpon triall: yet its as true that for the 2d & 3d year He hath continued preaching here, by a call in Town meetings from year to year, till at last the Town called him to continue during tearm of life, & all this without any regard to the Pastor or the Church here, whether they would consent or not.

A. Witnes one vote of the church & 4 Town votes presented.

2. Whether it be so indeed that 5 ꝑts of 6 in Salem be so minded as these Petitioners.

3. How it can be truly said (without any distinction) that Mr N: hath left the Pulpit, when its known to all that he hath kept the same Pulpit still on Lecture dayes to this day.

4. Whether there was indeed such a Vniversall Vote of Church & Town (as is affirmed) for the building of the meeting howse they are now carrying on.

5. Whether Mr N: preaching abroad (in the manner as he hath done) be an Evidence that He is owned & approved by the

* Rev. Charles Nicholet came to Boston from Virginia, April 2, 1672. He was invited, by a vote of the town of Salem, to preach for the Church there for one year, and again for a second year. When Mr. Higginson found that a majority of his people were about to invite him a third time, he called a church meeting, and stated that he was decidedly opposed to such an arrangement, that his colleague did not preach sound doctrine, and created trouble in the Church. After much debate, Mr. Higginson decided not to press his objections for the present. At the town meeting, in March, 1674, when the wish was expressed that his colleague should remain, he said that "he should be passive, but not concur."

The difficulties between the parties were at length brought to the attention of the General Court, and a committee was appointed to consider them. Their report, signed by Gov. John Leverett and nine others, is dated June 10, 1675. They regret the contention, declare the manner of calling and settling Mr. Nicholet by a promiscuous vote of the town irregular, contrary to the wholesome laws of the Colony, and of a dangerous tendency. They advise a day of fasting and prayer, and that the Church settle their differences, allowing both ministers to officiate, and that when another society shall be formed, it should be done with harmony.

Mr. Nicholet preached his farewell sermons in Salem, in April, 1676; and, being recommended to the churches of London and elsewhere, sailed for England. See Felt's "Ecclesiastical History;" "Records of Massachusetts."

churches of Christ to be a fitt man to be a constant Preacher alone to such a People, in such a divided place & time as this, which is their scope.

6. Whether they do not ouerspeak in saying that the Church did acquitt & discharge Mr N: from every thing which either the Pastor or any of the members had agst him. as if Mr N. had been wrongfully dealt withall, & vnder no blame at all, (of which afterwards.)

7. Whether there was indeed such a necessitie of building another meeting house for Mr N: preaching, when as He might haue continued Preaching in this meeting house to this day, without any hindrance from any (that I know of) except what was in his owne breast.

8. Whether they are so willing to be governed by Law (as they profess) when they insist vpon having a minister called by a Town Vote contrary to Law.

9. What that good old way is which their Fathers lived & dyed in before them, which they intend to set up in their meeting house, is it not meet that the way intended by Mr. N: & them should be known before they have the countenance & encouragemt of the Generall Court?

10. Who these Petitioners are? Whether most of the subscribers do vnderstand the matters contained in the Remonstrance, & whether some of them are not scandalous, the very Presenter of the Petition to the Generall Court being a Church member lying vnder a Publick Church censure.

But leaving these & other things in the Petition to the Wisdome & Integritie of this Honoured Committee, I shall apply myselfe mainly to those passages which doe seem to render the Pastor of the Church to be the Blamable cause of the disturbance & division which now appears to be in Salem, Mr. N: being cleared by them in all. You may therfore pleas to observe, that in their Petition, the case of Salem is represented as if the difference between Mr. N: & me had been but a Personall difference, all others being vnconcerned in it, that it was from Vngrounded Prejudice that he was made an offender for a word, & that it was a Temptation on my part that made the breach, which Temptation might make a 2d breach, &c., & that they were bitter spirits that Excepted against him, &c.

Wheras you may pleas to vnderstand & eonsider, that the matter which was offeneive in Mr N: was a mixture of things let fall in his publick preaehing as were not agreeable to sound doctrine, whieh very many others as well as I did obserue & were vnsatisfyed in: & for my own part this I can say in the presence of God, that out of a loving respect vnto him as a young man, whose gifts might be profitable if He would hearken to wholsome eounsell, I did manietimes speak to him in private of things let fall in publick that were vnsound & vnsafe, & this in the best manner that I could, sometimes in a Placid, & sometimes in a more serious way, manietimes by my selfe alone, & sometimes before others; but finding that He did not hearken, & fearing lest the people here might be endangered, I found it lying vpon me as my duty as the Pastor of this Chureh, & Watchman of Soules, to give some publick warning to them to take heed both what & how they did hear: & this in one sermon towards the end of the first year, & in 2 sermons towards the end of the 2d year: the 3 sermons I have ready to produce, & submitt vnto triall, if it be desired by this honoured Committee. 3 Sermons.

This being taken offensively, & differences growing, I did offer to Mr N: that so farre as eoncerned vs two (without engaging the Church) we might have a Conference with some Elders in the Bay to help vs to a right vnderstanding & reeonciling; This Mr N. in the issue consentèd to, & promised to attend, (before sufficient witnesses) & for this meeting I waited most ꝑt of the sum̄er, but it was neuer ꝑfourmed by him. After this, Mr N: in a most vnusuall way, preached 9 Farwell Sermons, as if he would be gone, which occasioned further motions & commotions in this place, & the Town-call for his life which the Petitioners mention, vpon which he . . . the Pulpitt on the Lord's Day. Not to speak further of those motions whieh occasioned the 1st Attempt of a Chureh gathering at Linne, & a 2d Attempt of a new meeting howse at Salem, both without any consulting with, or acquainting of the Church or Pastor here, but onely this, that I eould not concurre with the Town call of him to preach longer, till he had given some Publick Satisfaction for those things that had been offeneiue in Doctrine & Practise. Though I had really & cordially aeted in concurrence with others, as I did in his call at first in a church assembly, to preach as a Probationer for one year, & Offer to Mr N: in writing presented.

though He went on preaching the 2d & 3d year without any consent of mine or any call of the Church, but meerly vpon a Town call, yet out of respect vnto peace, I was passive & did not oppose, so that there was nothing on my part (that I know of) to necessitate Mr N. & others with him, to such kind of actings as haue been so troublesome to Salem.

And though it be grievous to me to repeat matters which I had hoped might haue been buryed in silence, yet I am now constrayned (by the foresaid Passages in their Petition) to clear the Truth & my selfe, by making a brief Relation of the Reconciliation at the Church meeting, & how it came about: I doe therfore present the writing of Exceptions agst Mr N. Doctrine & Practise, (some few out of many which might have been produced) with the first letters of the names of some of the witnesses in the Margine, which I present to this honoured Committee, to see whether He was made an offender for a word, & whether it was a difference onely between him & me, & whether it was a Temptation on my part to insist vpon such things that he must be humbled & reformed both in the way of his preaching & Practise; nay rather, whether it was not indeed an indispensible duty of my office, as Pastor & Watchman of Soules, to require it, that He must be Humbled for what was past, & Reformed for time to come, & that there was indeed cause & reason for it.

The writing of exceptions agst Mr N. doctrine & practise presented.

The foresaid writing was read over at first together (by me as Pastor of the Church) & then a 2d time the Particulars were read one by one, & He had liberty to giue his Answer to the severalls, & the Brethren also had liberty to speak vnto particulars. Some howres being spent in this way, I obserued that Mr N: did at severall times, & with respect vnto particulars did expresse something of an Aeknowledgmt, which being layd together was to this effect: that (though he had not a designe to bring in Errors, yet having let fall such things, He did see cause to be humbled, & to confess his weaknes; with respect to some of them he confessed they were errors, & he did renounce them; with respect to many of them, He confessed they were vnsafe expressions; & in some of them He did explaine his meaning, & what he had obserued to be offencive He should be more watchfull for time to come (to this effect in substance it was.)

Acknowledgmt

I did indeed expresse my selfe to encline to accept of his

Acknowledgm[t] as Satisfaction for what was past; after some Consideration, some Brethren desiring it might be voted, it was so, & to my observation the Major pt. at least, did aecept it as satisfaction for what was past. My own Reasons, though I did not then, yet I see it needfull to expresse now. For 1. there was something of an acknowledgm[t] on his part. 2, I feared a Breach in the Church, if there should have been a further prosecution of the matter. 3. All the circumstances of the Case considered, (& my selfe having layen vnder the causles reproach of an Implacable & Irreconcilable man towards M[r] N.) I thought it my duty rather to encline to Charity as the safest, then to a rigid severity. I confess that I had this scruple before the meeting, that if Mr. N. should incline himselfe, & be counselled by others, out of Policie to make some acknowledgm[t], & it should not be reall, that then He & they might make some such vse of the satisfaction given & taken as now the Petitioners doe, but I satisfyed myselfe with this, that if I walked in Christian Simplicitie, & others vse Carnall Policie, their Sin would find them out; so that I left the matter with God for the issue then, & so I doe now. Satisfaction.

And I must say in the presence of God, that as I was reall in what I did then, according to my best light, so I was glad that I might haue an opportunity giuen me (by such an acknowledgm[t] of his,) that I might now with a good conscience manifest my concurrence with those that had desired his Preaching againe on the Lords day; therfore I took the opportunity of the next church meeting (which was soon after) to propound unto the Church being together; 1, whether there was not now some hope of M[r] N. Reforming, & 2. whether it did not tend to Reconciling amongst our selues, to desire M[r] N. to preach againe as formerly, (viz. another year vpon tryall,) For though I could not concurre with the Town Votes as being Irregular, yet now (after his acknowledgm[t]) I shew'd my readines to concurre with the Church if they desired it; I say, it was vpon hopes of his Reformation, & as a means for Reconciliation, that I made the motion, the which motion of mine was left vnto further consideration. How it came about that this motion did not take effect, it is not for me to say. I am sure the hindrance was not in me, for having born witnes to Truth I looked at it as my dutie to be also studious of Peace, that there might be Truth & Peace in their conjunction in Salem together. Motion for his preaching againe.

Yet since the matter is brought about in a mysterious way to such a contrary Point (as appears by their Petition, & the Roof of the meeting house erected vpon the Green) I finding myselfe concerned in the welfare of the Soules of this People (whilest I stay amongst them) I propound & leave it before this Honoured Committee as a Sollemn Quere, Whether it be meet to settle Mr N. alone as an approved Preacher in a meeting howse by himselfe without further tryall, & till there be more experience of his Reformation. Considering what Doctrines he hath delivered here, & what an acknowledgmt he hath made, & what Discipline He hath exercised in Virginia, &c. I leaue it with the wisdome & Integrity of the Honoured Committee to judge of this; applying my selfe to my owne concernmts.

Quære.

And here I craue leaue to adde something to one passage in my owne Remonstrance, viz, about the Reproaches & fals reports I suffer vnder; wherin though I would not giue heed vnto euery word that is spoken, but committ my cause to Him that judgeth righteously, yet I look vpon it as my duty to take notice of one false report raysed vpon me & spread in Town & Countrey, viz. (that I am a Presbyterian & haue taken away the liberties of the Church) which though it be no other, then what in these times many of the Faithfull Servants of Christ are vndeservedly reproached withall, & that the Reverend Servant of Christ, good old Mr Norris * was reproached with in Salem before me, as I have to shew out [of] Church Records here, under Mr Norris's own hand, a copy of which I doe here present before this [Honour]ed Committee: yet considering that Satan hath made vse of it as an Engine to cause obstructions [to] Church work, & to rayse the present commotions in Salem, I look vpon my selfe as called to make this my Sollemn Profession before this Honoured Committee, viz.

Mr Norris, his writing presented.

That I am not a Presbyterian, nor doe I know that I haue taken away any of the Churches libertyes. I profess my selfe to have been, & that I am for the Congregationall way, & for the liberties of the Church, according to my best light from Scripture & the writings of our Divines of that way in both Englands; also that

* Rev. Edward Norris, fourth minister of Salem Church; ordained March 18, 1640, and died in 1659.

I haue had a respect vnto the differing judgm^ts^ of many good people here, so farre as I could with a good conscience, & so farre as would stand with my office work. Yet if in any partic[ular] case in so long a time I haue missed it, out of weaknes, I hope through the grace of God in Christ Jesus, I shall be willing to acknowledge & reform for time to come. And what I haue learned by Experience & by Events which I knew not before to haue been offenciue to any, I shall endeavour so farre as may stand with a good conscience to prevent for time to come, becanse ædifica[tion] & peace of the wholl is more to be attended then a particular person or case. With respect vnto this my profession I haue extracted from the writings of our Divines of the Congreg: way in both Englands the summe of that way, with which I profess to concurre, & shall produce it, if it be desired; hauing also manie things more to say in my just defence in this matter, if there should be need.

An Extract writing.

I craue leaue to adde but one thing more to my Remonstrance, that wheras I gaue notice of my case in Salem to be such as I had left it vnto the consideration of the Church, for them to giue me a [Dis]mission, & that from the Town's Petition I was convinced it was my duty to insist vpon the desire of my D[is]-mission, & to bring it to an issue: I doe further inform this Honoured Committee, that since my comeing home I haue in a church meeting desired that I may obtaine from them this or the like dismiss^n^ which I doe here present, (as necessary in my case,) & because I did foresee & haue found some difficulty in procuring a Dismission from the Church, & yet cannot stay here with any comfort: therfore I doe herewith present 7 Propositions, which if by the Advise of this honoured Committee, they be consented to & agreed vpon by the Church & people of Salem (respectiuely) with a reconciling frame & spirit of love, that all former things being forgotten, we may all minde the same thing, aiming at the conjunction of Truth & Peace: I doe then consent to stay & try & wait vpon God in my work in this place as formerly; but if not, then I cannot consent to continue here, but doe humbly & earnestly desire that by the mediation & advise of this Honoured Committee I may obtain from the Church here my aforesaid Dismission, as that which is my Right & Due in my case, that when I cannot stay as a Pastor, I may not be kept as a Prisoner with-

Dismission or 7 propositions presented.

A Paper concerning Dismission presented.

out my owne consent, contrary to the liberty of a Dismission, which is professed by all that are for the Congregationall way, to be one of the liberties of the Church, as appears by this writing concerning Dismissions, which I doe here present.

And my earnest desire & prayer to God is (& my request vnto this honoured Committee that they would be instrumentall in it) that there may be a Pastor after God's owne heart in this Church, of more wisdome & grace then my vnworthy selfe, & of better acceptance with them, & of better successe among them, & that there may be Truth & peace in Salem foreuer.

Let the oppressed goe free. Is. 58. 6.

If thou mayest be free vse it rather. 1. Cor. 7, 21.

Here I am, let Him doe to me as seemeth good to Him. 1. [2.] Sam. 15, 26.

Now is my soul troubled. Father, saue me from this hower, neuertheles vnto this hower I am come. Father glorify thy Name. Jo: 12, 27.

Father, if it be possible let this cup passe from me, nevertheles not as I will but as thou wilt. Mark 14: 36. [Matt. 26, 39.]

John Higginson.

Salem, June 8, 1657. [75.]

Indorsed — My Apologie to the Committee, June 8. 75.

JOHN HIGGINSON TO INCREASE MATHER.

For the Reverend Mr Mather, Pastor of the Church at the North End of Boston.

Salem, Sept. 30, 78.

Rev^{D} & Dear S^{R}, — My stay in Boston lately was so short that I had not an opportunity to visit yourselfe as I much desired; & therfore take this opportunity to acquaint you with 2 things that have been in my thoughts. The one is, that though in Sept: last year & in March this year I did, on' the Lord's Day read the Lawes about the Observation of the Sabbath, as the

Law enjoyns all ministers to doe,* yet upon my experience in doing of it, I have found a 2 fold scruple of conscience touching the expediencie (at least) of ministers doing of it.

1. There are divers pænalties annexed to those Lawes, as 5ˢ a time for such as come not to the meeting; in some other Lawes 10ˢ, 20ˢ, & in some cases Whipping, &c. Now I find it very unsuitable to a minister's calling & spirit to mention such things. It seems to expose vs to the reproach & contempt of ill minded people, & to give them occasion to say this & that against the ministers.

2. It seems to be an injunction & imposition of such things as cannot be clearly made out to be the minister's duty, & it may be made vse of by, we know not who, that may come after, to impose worser things. Vpon such grounds I haue omitted reading those lawes this Sept: Now, becaus it concerns yourself & other ministers as well as me, I entreat you to consult with Mr Eliot, Mr Thatcher, Mr Willard, Mr Allen, &c. as you see cause,

Whether it be not advisable (as our Deputies here think it is) for some ministers to draw up a Motion or Petition to the Generall Court, that they would pleas to alter that Law so as that the ministers may be freed from reading those Lawes about the Sabbath, & some civill officers, such as Select-men, Constables, &c. may be appointed to read them, & that the ministers may be onely required to preach frequently (once or twice a year) about the observation of the Sabbath, out of the Word of God; if you doe so agree I pray set my name to such a Petition. At this Generall Court.

The 2ᵈ thing is, I have lately, again read over your first Principles about the subject of Bapt: which not onely I but all the

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* In 1677, May 24, the Court, in addition to former laws referring to the violation of the Sabbath, ordered and enacted that all the laws for the sanctification of the "Sabaoth" be twice in the year, namely, in March and September, publicly read by the ministers, on the Lord's day, in their respective assemblies. At the same time, among several new provisions for preventing the violation of the Sabbath, it was ordered, that the Inspector should apprehend any person making a noise during the day, or misbehaving in the meeting-house, and put him in a cage, which the selectmen were directed to set up in the market-place in Boston and other towns; and cause him to be kept there till the proper authorities should examine him and give order for his punishment, according to the laws.

The law requiring ministers to read the laws respecting the Sabbath to their congregations, was repealed October 15, 1679, and the constable or town clerk of each town was ordered to read them at some public meeting of the inhabitants. This change is in accord with the advice of Mr. Higginson given in this letter.- We have not been able to discover any petition on the subject by the ministers to the General Court, such as Higginson recommends. See Records of Massachusetts, 1677-9.

churches are beholden to you for as a seasonable service to the cause of Christ amongst vs; but having heard that Mr Bond * (who they say is comeing) wrote against it, also that you have answered him, I do entreat that you would pleasure me so farre as by the bearer herof, Mr Gidny, to lend me the writing of Mr Bond's & your Answer. If you set me a time I shall but satisfy myselfe, in pvsing of them, & return them safely by a safe hand. So commending you to the Grace of God in Christ Jesus, I rest

Yours unfeynedly, JOHN HIGGINSON.

JOHN HIGGINSON TO INCREASE MATHER.†

For the Reverend Mr Mather, Pastor of the North Church at Boston.

[80-1. — PRINCE.]

REVD & DEAR BROTHER, — The reason of my writing to you at this time is, I received a writing from Mr Secretary, that the Governor & Council desired as many Elders as could might be present at the Fast of the Generall Court, next 4th day, Jan. 5, mentioning me as one. I think it my duty to signify, that the onely reason of my not comeing is, that finding the crazines . . . growing upon me, & the uncertainty of getting a supply for the Sabbath, if I should be stayed there by weather, I find my selfe unfitt for such a journey this winter season. I doubt not but the Elders about Boston, &c. will be there, & there willbe no need of me.

Yet, because it is not out of any withdrawing from the work & cause of God & His people now labouring amongst vs. No, God forbid that I or any of the ministers should withdraw in the least measure. My desire is (through grace) to be found amongst the Number of those that choose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, &c. And therfore I intend, with some brethren here to spend the same day in Fasting & Prayer here, as Ester 4. 16.

And because I have seen the King's letter, ‡ & suppose that the

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* Rev. Sampson Bond. See note on p. 96.

† Indorsed by Increase Mather, "Elder's Answer about sending Agents."

‡ The King addressed an angry letter to the people of Massachusetts, Sept. 30, 1680, commanding them to send agents to England within three months after their reception of

end & reason of [the] Generall Courts meeting at this time is to consider whether to send . . . & it may be they may desire advice of the Elders, therfore . . . fear of God) expresse briefly & plainly, what seems to me to be . . . re Evidence to be our duty in this case.

1. . . . We nor our Agents doe Act or Consent to any thing that . . . y tendency to yield up or weaken this Government, accord[ing] . . . ent: we should humbly yet plainly return Naboths [answer though] we should meet with Naboth's successe. 1 Kings, 21, 3. . . . we should give away the Inheritance of our Fathers.

2. . . . [co]nceive that it is our duty both in conscience & prudence to send . . . duly instructed & limited both to answer . . . tions ag[t] vs, & to plead the righteous cause of our Patent.

1. According to the Example of God's people who pleaded against the[ir ad]versaries their Patent, viz. the Decree of Cyrus menti[oned in] Ezra 1, 1 to 5, and Chap: 4, 1 to 4: & ch. 5, 13, 14, 17. Chap. 6. . . .

2. According to Mordecai's counsell, & Ester's practise, Est. 4, 8, 14. go in to the King, & if I perish, I perish. So let vs be found in the way of our duty, leaving the events to God. Let Him do to vs as seems good in His si[ght.]

Sir, I leaue it with yourselfe to communicate these my poor thoughts, either to the Elders, or to the Generall Court as ther may be any need or occasion, that I may not be thought to have any withdrawings from that which may be duty in such a case.

I commend you to the grace of God in Christ Jesus & rest Your brother & companion in the Kingdom & patience of Jesus Christ, JOHN HIGGINSON.

Also, I humbly conceiue, that whoeuer shall be called by the Generall Court as the fittest persons to be our Agents, they will fall under Mordecai's counsell to Ester, Chap 4, 8, & 14: The Lord give them the resolution & spirit of Ester expressed v. 16, & the same successe. Amen.

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the order, for his speedy satisfaction, and threatening them with summary measures if they should refuse to comply. A special General Court was called to consider this communication, in January, 1680–1, at which agents were appointed.

JOHN HIGGINSON TO INCREASE MATHER.

For the Reverend Mr Mather, Teacher of the 2d Church at Boston.

Revd Sr, — As I haue allwayes been thankfull to you for your former, so for this last book, about Prayer & the Sacraments; & am exceedingly satisfyed in the sermons both for matter & manner, praying the Lord to adde His blessing for the ædification of many; onely some both of Boston & here think the sermons would haue been more vsefull, if the Preface had been left out, but that may not be the apprehensions of all. I haue now sent you the enclosed; if you make not too much hast, it may be you may enereas the Number of examples; you may consider whether intending & confining your collections to N E: you may not insert those N. E. examples in Mr Janeway's treatise.* As you have in your hands a larg addition to Mr Grafton's story,† so I know you may haue a considerable addition to that of Mr Gidny, & it may be of some others.

I have lately received a large & exeellent Narrative of the Life & Death of Mr Eaton, ‡ Governor of New Haven, to be added to the rest. If you ean contribute materialls for any other, I think you will do well: & that it will be very advisable to insert your 2 Fathers' liues § & joyn them with the rest, & so to make vp the Hystory of New Englands Worthies as full & compleat as may be.

So I commend you to the graee of God in Christ Jesus & rest

Yours unfeynedly euer JOHN HIGGINSON.

Aug. 22, '82:

Iust as I had finished, Mr Moody eame in, & told me that he hath kept 30 years' Almanaeks together with fayr paper between every year, setting down remarkable Providenees; so that I doubt

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* Rev. James Janeway, a nonconformist divine at Rotherhithe, wrote an account of remarkable deliverances at sea, some of which relate to New-England mariners.

† John Grafton, of Salem, a mariner, the story of whose preservation is related by Increase Mather, in his "Essay for Recording of Illustrious Providences," p. 20, *et seq.*

‡ Theophilus Eaton came to Boston in 1637; assisted Davenport in founding New Haven. In 1639 was made Governor, and chosen annually till his death, in 1658. See note to a letter of John Whiting dated October 17, 1683.

§ Richard Mather and John Cotton.

not but besides those he hath sent you, you may have many more from him. For instance, — he speaks of 26 men therabouts, dying or cast away in their drunkennes, which calls to mind some such cases here.

I forgot to tell you Mr Henfield sayd he would make it in his bargain to have one of your books. I told him, I would mention it to you.

JOHN HIGGINSON TO INCREASE MATHER.

For the Reverend Mr. Mather, Teacher of the Church at the North End of Boston.

SALEM, Febr. 5, '83.

REVD SR, — I unfeynedly thank you for your kindnes to my wife, — sending her one of your last books; & to me, in promising to send me another, if I desire it: which I doe, & shall be thankfull to you for it. Since, by our subscription, we haue submitted ourselves one to another in the fear of God, & to our 2 brethren for a finall issue, I hope there is nothing remains between vs but that love which our Saviour hath enjoyned all his disciples one to another. I assure you there doth not on my part. I do also unfeynedly thank you for your prayer for me, that the Lord would prepare vs for the worst of times, & make us faithfull to his cause, even to the death, that so we may receiue the crown of life: This falling in with the text I am upon, Mark 8. 35, on which I have & am preaching many sermons to prepare us for sufferings for Christ & his gospel sake, together with a letter I receiued last week from Mr. Moody,* informing that after his negative Answer, he was bound ouer to giue his reasons at their quarter sessions on this very day, Feb. 5. The least he expected was 6 moneths imprisonment. He desires our sympathy, counsels & prayers &c. These & many other such like things, haue moued me to consider, which also I propound unto your selfe (& to Mr. Allen, Willard, & Torry) whether it may not be very vsefull to drawe up a short treatise to make good such a Title as this in the Frontispiece.

* Rev. Joshua Moodey was committed to prison Feb. 6, 1683-4. See note †, p. 57.

The Divine Right of the liberty of Christians, in all things that belong to the Christian Religion, according to the blessed Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.* This was the cause for which our fathers came into this wildernes. We, their children & successors in the ministry of the gospel, whose names are subscribed, do professedly own the same cause. Resolving (by the grace of God) to persevere therin to our lives end.

The usefulnes & seasonablenes of such a treatise seems to appear to me upon such like Reasons as these.

1. It may be a means to vnite all the Ministers of N E in the cause of Religion, which is our prædominant interest & cause. For though we are many wayes obliged to do our duty, to preserue our Civill Rights according to the Charter of this Colony, yet they are not to be confounded with, but distinguished from our Religious Rights, which we have (not from men, but) from the Charter of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and tho good men differ in their apprehensions about [the wa]y & manner of keeping our Charter, (as in the Gen: Court,) [yet I] would hope there is not a conscientious minister in N E but will agree in the caus of religion as expressed before.

2. It may be a means to info . . . n throughout N E of the cause of God and . . . which many do not understand, & be both an encouragement to the godly people amongst us, & an engagement both to Ministers & Christians to stand together, & be of good report among the churches & people of God abroad, &c. &c. It may be also a terror to others, &c.

Me thinks such a thing may be done within less than one sermon, & being consulted or agreed on & subscribed by the Ministers of this Colony, it may be sent to, & we may have the subscriptions of the Ministers in Connecticut & Plimouth Colony, & in Hampshire too. I do also think the sooner it is done, the better. Also I do unfeynedly propound it to your selfe to draw it up, you being many wayes advantaged to doe such a thing. So I commend you to the grace of God in Christ Jesus, & rest

Yours unfeynedly in brotherly love,

JOHN HIGGINSON.

I send you the verse which Mr. Moody sent unto me

"*Tunc tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet Vcaligon.*"

* Without any humane additions, inventions & imposit'ons. — HIGGINSON.

What I have written is with submission to yourselfe & the other brethren mentioned.

The spirit of the prophets should be subject to the prophets.

Indorsed — Red. 12m 14d 83.

JOHN HIGGINSON TO INCREASE MATHER.

For the Reverend Mr. Mather, Teacher of the Church at the Northend of Boston.

Reverend Sr, — Being lately at Mr. Shepard's I understood from him that you do not confine yourselfe in giving Instances of Illustrious Providences to things done in N E: which made me remember 2 instances which I now send you to consider of them & do as you see cause. The persons credible, & I believe the things to be certain. The one is; godly Mr. Sharp,* who was Ruling Elder of the Church of Salem allmost 30 years, often related it of himselfe, that being bred vp to learning till he was 18 years old, & then taken off, & put to be an apprentice to a draper in London; he yet, notwithstanding, continued a strong inclination & eager affection to books, with a curiosity of hearkning after, & reading of the strangest & oddest books he could get; spending much of his time that way, to the neglecting of his buisines. At one time there came a man into the shop, & brought a book with him, & sayd to him, here is a book for you; keep this till I call for it agayne, and so went away. Mr. Sharp, after his wonted bookish manner, was eagerly affected to look into that book, & to read in it, which he did, but, as he read in it, he was seized on by a strange kind [of] Horror, both of Body & minde, the hair of his head standing up, &c. Finding these effects seuerall times, he acquainted his master with it, who observing the same effects, they concluding it was a Conjuring Book, resolued

* Samuel Sharp came in the "George Bonadventure" in 1629, intrusted with a duplicate of the charter of the Colony by the Governor and Assistants of Massachusetts. He was chosen Assistant at the General Court in London, in October, 1629, when Winthrop was chosen Governor; but, being in New England, he never took the oath of qualification. Savage's "Geneal. Dict." See a long note on the subject of this charter in Mass. Hist. Coll., 4th series, vol. 7. p. 159. The remainder of this paragraph is printed in Upham's "Salem Witchcraft," vol. i. p. 388.

to burn it, which they did. He that brought it, in the shape of a man, neuer coming to call for it, they concluded it was the Devil. He taking this as a sollemn warning from God to take heed what books he did read, was much taken off from his former bookishnes, confining himselfe to reading the Bible & other known good books of Divinity, which were profitable to his Soul.

The other I heard at Gilford from a godly old man yet living. He came from Essex, and hath been in N. E. about 50 years.

There was in Essex, a man of a considerable estate, & of good esteem amongst his neighbors, & in the country where he lived, but was ambitiously affected to be counted a wise man. Being under the power & predominancy of that sinfull distemper, God left him so farre, that the Devil appeared to him, & promised him that vpon one condition, he would make him famous for wisdome all the country over. The condition was, that when he was in Reputation for wisdome, he should take all opportunities to instill it into the mindes of people that came to him for counsel, that there was neither God nor Devil, nor Heaven nor Hell. In the issue he made a Covenant with the Devil, giving his Soul to him after so many years, upon the former Conditions. He continued after in his former course without any change, of a civil conversation, doing no hurt unto any, but good unto many; & by degrees grew in his Reputation for a very wise man, insomuch as he was sought unto for his Counsell farre & near, & he was all the country ouer called & counted a wise man; & his words were esteemed as Oracles amongst the common sort of people; all the while, for many years, taking all occasions to disseminate those damned principles of Atheisme before mentioned, & yet was neuer suspected to be a witch, till some few weeks before his Covenant with the Devil was to expire, & then he was dreadfully awakened, & filled with Horror, & would often with crying & roaring tell those that then came to him that now he knew there was a God & a Devil, & a Heaven & a Hell, & so he unsaid all that he had formerly said that way, telling them also what he had done, & of his fearfull expectations of the Devils fetching away his soul at the time appointed: & so he dyed miserably, as a spectacle of the Righteous Judgments of God.

I commend you to the grace of God in Christ Jesus, & rest

Yours unfeynedly ever, Jo: Higginson.

Salem, Aug: 17. 83.

I also had eredible information of one in Leicestershire, in the time of the Long Parlament, that gave his soul to the Divel, upon eondition to be a Famous Preacher, which he was for a time, &c. but I am imperfect in the story.

JOHN HIGGINSON TO INCREASE MATHER.

For the Reverend Mr. Mather, Pastor of one of the Churches at Boston.

Rev^{D} & Dear Sir,—After my due respects to your selfe. I think it expedient to inform you that the church here hath agreed upon & appointed Nov. 14, being the 4th day of the week, for the Ordination of Mr. Noys,* & though in the year 60, when I was ordained, they did then send to one of the Churches at Boston; yet now there being divers neighbor Churches hereabouts, which were not then in being, they concluded to send onely to the 6 neighbor Churches in this County. Yet if your selfe pleas to come at such a time, your presence & company will be acceptable to all. I committ you to the grace of God in Christ Jesus, & rest

Yours unfeynedly, John Higginson.

Salem, Nov 1. 83.

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* Rev. Nicholas Noyes preached many years at Haddam, but was called to Salem, and settled as assistant of Rev. John Higginson, Nov. 14, 1683. He was one of the promoters of the witchcraft delusion of 1692. He died December 13, 1717.

LETTERS OF THOMAS COBBET.

THOMAS COBBET* AND ROBERT PAYNE† TO INCREASE MATHER AND THE NORTH CHURCH IN BOSTON.

To the Reverend Mr Increase Mather, Pastor, together with the rest of the Honoured & beloved Brethren of the North Church in Boston: Grace, mercy & peace bee multiplied, in Jesus Christ, your Lord & ours.

WHEREAS our dearely Beloved Sister, Mris Judith Haey, hath the place of her constant Abode nearest to your Church, & hath desired of vs, that she might have our Letter of recommendation from our Church to yours, that she might, in a way of Christ, partake of the speciall ordinances of the Gospell with you, by virtue of the Cōmunion of Churches: this Church at Ipswich, considering the piety of this her request, hath readily consented thereto: & therefore doe hereby recomend this our Beloved Sister to you, desireing that she may partake with you in your holy Comunion in gospell ordinances, as one that we judge faithfull, & to have shared in gospell grace & mercies, & Adorned the same by her Gospell conversation Amongst us; requesting of you, to waeh over in the Lord & to tender her as becometh saints. And so praying that the gracious presence of the Lord may bee with you, & his speciall blessing may bee upon you, in All his gospell dispensations Amongst you, desireing the benefit of your prevayleing prayers for us here, in like sort: we take leave, resting,

Your fellow brethren & servants in the Lord,

THO: COBBET.
ROBERT PAYNE.

With the consent of the brethren of the Church at Ipswich. the 12th of the 9th, 75.

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* Rev. Thomas Cobbet, was born in England, and educated at Oxford, but did not take his degree on account of the plague. He was Minister of Lynn, and afterwards, in 1656, successor of Rev. Nathaniel Rogers at Ipswich.

† Robert Payne, a Ruling Elder at Ipswich, and Treasurer of Essex county, a rich and liberal man.

THOMAS COBBET TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Reverend Mr Increase Mather, Pastor of the North Church in Boston, deliuer this I pray you.

Reverend & Deare Sir, — I salute you & yours in the Lord, desiring to rejoice with you in the Lord, & to bless Him for His great goodness to you & yours, in this time of His sad & sore visitation of Boston, that yet He hath spared you & yours, at least, as to your precious liues. And it is some refreshment to my heart, in theise evill times for sins & sufferings of ours, that the Lord put it into the hearts of the Coñissioners of the Vnited Collonies at theyr late meeting at Hartford, to conclude of the expediency & necessity of a solemne day of prayer & humiliation, to bee kept at once by all the respective churches in the three collonies, for the obtaineing of the Lord's gracious expression of himself unto, & continuance of himself with vs, as in the six particulars by them is signified; & that our Generall Court so freely & fully consented to that pious & prudent motion of the sayd Coñissioners, so far as concerneth the churches of this Jurisdiction: being stirred vp to an holy confidence in the mercy of our God; that in the things which we are agreed to aske according to His will, He will graciously honor & bee propitious to His servants. & O that the Lord would power upon all orders & ranks in the civil & ecclesiasticall polities, in the respective Collonies, that spirit of grace & supplication, that the fountaine might be set wide & effectually open to them to wash in, from sin & from uncleaness. Although I cannot get rid of my fears least God's quarrel with New England should bee continued; when I consider that no externall means vsed for reformation of our provokeing sins, whether by men, in way of ciuil or ecclesiasticall means: nor yet by the speaking hand of God in His rods & Judgements, hath not yet attained our reformation, & I know no other externall means left to further our reformation but a solemne renuing of Covenant with God by all & every of our respective churches: which, alas, I see litle likelyhood to bee fully & freely yeilded vnto; for my owne part I did in conscience to my duty, essay to persuade to it here, & preached about it occasionally from that Josh. 24: 14, six or 7 times; propound-

ing many positions about it; in one or two whereof I indeauoured to cleare it, as foretold to bee practised in Gospell times, & by virtue of Gospell coñands, & the body of our church would faine haue had it put here into practise, but two leadeing persons in our church, startled at it, & so it sticks at present, but I haue peace in it (as I told them) in the discharge of my duty to my vtmost ability, to cleare vp the mind of God therein; & if they had ought to object against that (or any of them) I would endeavour to answer the same; but hear of no objections: & indeed, the forme of that Covenant I drew vp, was with onely reference to the six prouokeing evils which the Generall Court hath mentioned & published, that this church therefore, in a church way, would ingage to doe theyr vtmost to reform the sayd euils, so far as any of them might bee found amongst any in our church, & to preuent any others of them which yet appeare not to haue broken forth amongst vs as Quakerisme and swearing. I thinke to transcribe the sume of what I publiq̄ly delinered, that any others may judge whether religion or right reason might afford any argument of weight to startle at such a motion. Deare S^{r}, I humbly thanke you for your seasonable & proffitable sermon which you sent me; preached from Esay 44; touching that sweet promise of graee to beleiuers' children now, in the dayes of the gospell; & the Lord increase your holy bread, in & by your distribution of it to so many of his for theyr spirituall good. I am still vnder that Afflictive hand of the Lord in my dulness of hearing. Good S^{r}, lift up a prayer to the Lord for me in that respect, that if he haue any further work for me to doe for Him, before I goe hence & bee no more, He would more capacitate me for doing & getting good, than now I am, whilst vnder so much deafness. & so desireing the Lord to strengthen you more & more in the outward, but especially in the inward man, I rest

Your very owne, in Him, THO: COBBET.

Irsw^{m} this 12th of the 9^{b}, 78.

Good S^{r}, Remember my son Thomas,* whom we report this month from Barbadoes, that in this season of difficulty to make

* Thomas Cobbet was captured by the Indians in Philip's War. A long narrative of his captivity and redemption by his father is contained in the Mather Papers. It is printed in the "Geneal. Register," vol. 7, p. 209, *et seq.*

theise Coasts, the Lord would giue him & his company some suitable gales of wind, for theyr safe & seasonable returne to theyr port & relations.

THOMAS COBBET TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Reverend & my very Deare freind Mr Increase Mather, pastour of the North Church in Boston, Deliuer this with care I pray you.

Reverend & Deare Sir, — The remembrance of my Intire respects to you to Mrs Mather, & to your son, Mr Cotton Mather, prænised.

Sr, I receiued your letters, & therein the certain newes of that speciall measure of your health for this twelmonths space, far aboue what you had before, which, I conclude to bee a gracious Answer of the Hearer of Prayers, & desire to returne unto Him the praises due to His blessed name. Sr, I also receiued from you a booke of Mr Willard's * in answer to the late Absurd & scandalous narrative of John Russel † and his Anabaptisticall crew in Boston; which fallacious & fowle mouthed Russel, although suddenly taken away by Death, & not long surviueing his slanderous narratiue, yet his Associats & Abbettors therein will have no cause now to bee wise in theyr owne conceits, beeing so fully answered according to theyr folly, in & by this good booke of Mr Willard's, whereby also I should hope that our eminently godly Brethren & freinds in England, as also by the good Epistle to the reader of that book, Annexed to it, they will bee so Abundantly satisfied, as no more to plead for the tolleration of such scandalous Anabaptists amongst us. And as you well say concerning toleration of Antipedobaptists in the generall, here in New England, as they are in Old, they might soone flock over hither thereupon so many as would sinke our small vessel; whereas in that greater

* Rev. Samuel Willard published *Ne Sutor ultra Crepidam*, or "Brief Animadversions upon the New England Anabaptists Late Fallacious Narrative," with a preface by Increase Mather, in 1681.

† John Russell was a shoemaker, one of the founders of the first Baptist Church in Boston, in 1669, and its elder, or deacon. This Church was first gathered on Noddle's Island. His occupation explains Mr. Willard's title.

ship of England, there is no such danger of those multitudes to founder the same. And I add, what I sometimes publiquely spake in the midle church of Boston: that theyr very principle of makeing infant Baptisme a nullity, it doth make at once, all our churches, & our religions, Civill state & polity, & all the officers & members thereof to be vnbaptised, & to bee no Christians, & so, our churches to bee no churches; & so we have no regular freemen, which by our lawes, are to bee members of churches: & so we have no regular power to choose Depnties for any Generall Courts, nor to chuse any Magistrates; bnt all beeing, according to that pernicious doctrine, non members of any true church, and all our holsom lawes & orders made a nullity; & that hedge is pulled downe, & all left open to state destroyers; & the other hedge of church gonernement is as well broken downe therby, for we haue no regnlar officers & church rulers, nor any true church brethren, in their fraternall way to consent vnto & ratify the same; so that our very fundaments of civil & sacred order, here in New England, are at once thereby vndermined, and ouerturned, & what orthodox & godly wise person, when he considers the case as it is with vs, will say, that such principls, so circumstanced, beeing openly vented, & obstinately persisted in, against all Admonitions & means vsed of conniction, should bee tollerated here? As for the paper sent to put on praying christians amongst us, as those in other churches here & elswhere, to spend one hour in priuate prayer each 2d day of the weeke, & that abont noon; I had the like paper from Mr Wm. Adams * of Deadham lately; & Mr Brock † of Reading told the ministers & elders met at my house in the end of last September, of that motion made to the praying Christians in England, which I thought to bee a most pious motion, & by such wise suppliants wrath may bee turned away from the Lord's people both in Europe & America, & I have beene speakeing, & will, (the Lord helping, as I haue opportunity) be putting on such like christians here to make conscience of this duty, backed with so many scriptnre Argnments as it is.

Sr, I return you many thanks, as for the many good books which you have sent me, so I giue many thanks to you & to good

* Rev. William Adams, the second minister of Dedham, was ordained Dec. 3, 1673.

† Rev. John Brock came over in 1637, taught a school, and preached for a time at the Isles of Shoals. He was ordained at Reading Nov. 13, 1662. Savage's "Geneal. Dict."

Mr Willard (to whom I pray you present my Intire respects) for this booke. Sr, I had letters at spring last from your good brother, Mr Nathaniel Mather, pastor of the Church at Dublin, & from Mrs Bridges a member of that church, & would faine wright againe to them, if I knew of any safe way & hand by whom to conuey it to them. If any vessel bee bound for Ireland, I pray send me word, or if any vessel bee bound shortly for London, I can then send any letters of mine for Dublin, as I did the other yeare, inclosed in a letter of my brother John Hill, one of the Treasury office for the Navy, dwelling in Riuer (?) street, neare Towre Hill; between whom & Mris Bridges there are frequent entercourse of letters. Good Sr, Let me craue the benefit of your fervent prayers for me, that the Lord would bee fitting of me dayly for my change, who grow more deafe & dim sighted & short breathed (although the Lord is graciously pleased to help me, aboue my owne strength, to carry on my publiq worke, blessed be His name,) and that if he hath any further worke for me to doe, and to dispatch for him, I may recouer Answerable strength before I goe hence & am no more here below. And now the Lord Jesus bee with your spirit, & cause you to bring forth much ministeriall fruit, & that which may remaine, according as he hath ordeined you to doe; that whatsoeuer you aske his & your blessed Father in His name He may giue it to you. In Him I rest, Your very owne Tho: Cobbet.

Ipswich, this 13th of December, 81.

THOMAS COBBET TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Reverend & my very worthy freind, Mr Increase Mather, Teacher to the North Church in Boston, bee these presented.

Ipswich, this 18th of the 3d '82.

Reverend & Deare Sir, — Yours of the 2d of this instant I received, & with it your good booke upon occasion of the sore persecution of the Saints in France,* wherewith I doubt too many

* "The Church a Subject of Persecution." Fast Sermon on the Persecution of the Protestants in France. 4to. pp. 24. Boston: 1682.

professors to the same interest in New England are too litle affected: & blessed bee the Lord who stirred vp your heart to such a large measure of sympathy with those sufferers for Christ & pure religion, so far as to set time apart for solemne humiliation in your church, & to set forth that which might stirr up other ministers & churches to doe the like: but I doubt not onely that we at Ipswich, but too many others in other churches will bee too backward to follow your good example. But I don't doubt, that the Lord Jesus will one day solemnely owne & graciously recompense what you have done & written. I thanke you hartily for your letter & booke now sent, & your many, very many other books & letters which I have received from you, which abundant kindness, although I [may] never requite you, yet I beg of the Lord, that he who can best doe it, & in the best way & season, would abundantly recompense it to you here & hereafter. What you inquire of whether about 50 persons (as you have heard) have joyned lately in full cõmunion with our church here, is a mistake in the Reporters. I suppose of late we have had vpwards of 20 persons, children of the church, who have beene admitted into full cõmunion with vs, but I cañot call to mind any more; although my heart hath beene glad to see & heare of so good a spirit stirring in our young men & weomen to bee pressing thus into Christ's gospell kingdom. As for my owne particular estate, my son John can particularly informe you how narrowly I escaped with my life 8 or 9 weeks since, by a dangerous rush & fall from a firey mettald horse; & its but very lately that I recouered my voice to preach, & how weake & feeble & exceeding short breathed I am, & I doubt I am inclineing to a lethargy, beeing so sleepy a-dayes, that I to forget myself even in holy duties, what I was saying or doing. There were some unwary expressions in a letter of Mr Moodies written toward the end of the first month, 82, which so surely exercised my owne & my wife's heart for three dayes & nights at least, conceiueing thence that my son John was left, dead or dying at Barbadoes, beeause even my son Thomas, who heard of his brother's safety in Barbadoes, & had a letter conveyed from John to him, then at Saltartudies,* yet Thomas writ us nothing of his

* Probably Sal't Tortuga, a small island on the north coast of South America. — Salmon's "Modern Gazetteer."

safety, though he arrived at Piscatoa divers dayes before Mr Moody writ to vs about my son Thomas his concernments, & it was told vs, that a gentleman of Piscatoa, who was at Nubury about the 22 of March, $\frac{81}{82}$, when & whence Mr Moody writ his letters to vs, that reported there, that John Cobbet was dead, &c; & the ablest & wisest men we had here & at Chebacco, who had the sight and ꝑuseal of Mr Moodies letter, judged that John was dead; so that my spirits were hurried much & ran so much downe hill, that I was ever & anon exercised with Fainting fumes, ready to stop my breathing, so as I was fane to pant a while to recover a free breathing, so that though I wanted sleepe & should bee sometimes disposed to it, yet those fainteing turns would too often put me by my naturall rest, so that what by my sore cough I had 6 or 7 weekes together imediately before and after my cough left me, with these troubls I grew very feeble, my flesh wasted to skin & bone, and indeed I am still very poore in my body & feeble in my leggs, although, thorough merey, I lately sleep well a nights, & have good stomach to & digestion of my food. But possible the Lord may have something more for me to doe for him, as indeed I thought when I saw how narrowly I escaped haueing my brains dashed out by that great knaggy prop, mortieed into a piece of timber below, & so put vnder the maine beame of our barne, aboue; which the horse with me on his back at first right against, & flung me backward off his back. And together with it forced out the prop from the timber into which it was set below, so as that prop suddenly fell upon me yet missing my head, & but glanceingly fell upon my shoulder, which, though I felt not then (being stounded with this rush & fall), my hearing more dulled, & my sight more dimmed & bleeding exceedingly, first at my nose, a great while, & after that, with much adoe was stopped, then 4 or 5 howres after, about 10 of the clock at night, my right eye fell a bleeding so violently that it run into my mouth, but sending for the Surgeon, by the blessing of God, that was with some difficulty stopped. Good Sr, let me request your thankfull acknowlegement of the gracious dispensations of the Lord towards me in all these His orderings, none of which I see I could have beene without, & haue through His merey seene more of my owne heart's evills, & more of His goodness & faithfullness than before, & that you would beg of the Lord that He would renew strength in my

outward & inward man as to what service He hath for me to doe for Him or His or mine (which I hope are His.) And the Lord be abundantly present with & assistant to you in all your holy labours & Administrations, & His choicest blessings bee upon your good wife, your son, Cotton Mather, & all the rest of your hopefull posterity. Sir,

I am yours in Him, vnfeignedly, THO: COBBET.

THOMAS COBBET TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Reverend and my much esteemed & very good freind M. Increase Mather, Pastour of the North Church in Boston, deliuer this I pray you.

Febr. 19. '82.

REUEREND & DEARE SIR, — I heartily salute you & yours in the Lord. S^r^, perceiueing by what is mentioned in the new year's Almanack * that you ar setting forth an vsefull tract upon occasion of the late Comet, what effects in Diuine prouidence have followed Comets, I longe for an opportunity to acquaint you with a portentious sight, like vnto which I never read or heard before, namely, of a perfect crosse through the moone, with a pretty long, & broad, & pale couloured streame like the coulour of the late Comet, though nothing so broad or long as that was in the late comet, which streame passed thorough the moone from east to west, & from the north to the south. It was seene the 25^th^ of last December, a litle after nine of the clock at night, seene by ten credible persons which were occasionally at my house; & another credible person told me that the same night he and his brother, & another credible neighbour being talking without doores, they saw the same form of that cross thorough the moone: And a sister of our church told me that she beeing without doores that night saw the same sight. Now when I considered that the papacy of Rome had a cheife hand both in the signe of the cross, & in the

* See Boston Ephemeris, an Almanack for MDCLXXXIII.

superstitious setting up of Christmas, & that such a cross should bee seene on the night (which to them is a part) of theyr Christmas day, I wished that it did not portend a vigorous prosecution & spreading of popery, east, west, north, & south; but I the rather propound it to yourself, that as you may see cause, you would further consider thereof, & give your thoughts about the same.

We are waiting for the Lord, & for some day peep of mercy from him, as to speciall guidance of our honoured Generall Court, and theyr unanimous accord in such an answer to letters now before them, as may not in the least give away what we have as to our government & churches, & the liberties, civil & sacred, which, by the good hand of God, & by virtue of our precious charter & patent, we have had this 50 years & upward; looking unto Him for a gracious answer to the prayers of his people, not alone in other churches with you, &c. but here in Ipswich, which in 5 or six private companies (as I, for my part) desired that they would turne at that time theyr wonted day of meeteing for other ordinary worke into a solemne day of fasting & prayer, & pleading for our Generall Courts speciall guidance, &c., & the blessing upon our messengers in Engl[and], & the turning of his majesties & counsel's heart toward vs. I was one day at one single meeting of such, & prayed with them twice, & the next day when two companies met, & prayed with them also. And the Lord help you & vs who have [been]? loving his praying, now to abide not alone his praying, but his waitinge men & woemen, quietly comitting our All to him in whose hand are all our times. Good S^r^, as you have beene in my heart often to cry for you by name, so let me craue a roome in your heart, to pray earnestly for me, who am, Sir,

Your very owne THO: COBBET.

LETTERS OF JOHN BISHOP.*

JOHN BISHOP TO INCREASE MATHER.

Rev^d & dear brother, — My cordial respects unto you, & to M^rs Mather your wife (my wife desiring the same). I writ to you twice by M^r Alden, in the later of which (as I remember) I intreated your helpfulnes to my poor sister Lake † in her afflicted state, & now renew that request, though I nothing doubt of your own christian forwardnes therevnto, without further motive. & no[w] hearing of the Lord's dreadful hand stretched out upon that place in a consuming fire ‡ to the laying wast many habitacons, besides your meeting house, & your owning [*sic*] dwelling house, whereby yourself are a sufferer in that sad calamity, but being comforted (I doubt not) of your God in that fiery trial, yourself, you wilbe the more able to comfort others with the same comfort, who are sharers in that or any other sharp affliction. I am sorry for your great affliction & losse, especially if your bookes should be burnt, as I hope they are not, for that losse would be greater & more irreparable then all the rest. I pray let me hear how it is in that respect, & the certain number of houses that were burnt, & whether much goods withall, & especially if any life were lost, or limbs impaired in that dreadful hurry, as oft times comes to passe. The Lord is proceeding stil to humble his poor wildernes people, (if any thing at last may do) by stroke vpon stroke, correction vpon correction, (as we have had line vpon line, precept

* Rev. John Bishop was at Taunton in 1640. Perhaps he was the schoolmaster who assisted in ordaining William Hooke. He was afterwards minister of Stamford, whither he went on foot from Boston. He preached nearly fifty years, and died probably in November or December, 1694.

† Capt. Thomas Lake, of Boston, is mentioned by Hubbard ("Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New England," pt. ii. p. 42) as having been killed by the Indians in Maine in August, 1676. See the letter on pp. 300, 301.

‡ The great fire referred to happened November 27, 1676. It burned forty-six dwelling-houses, and several other buildings, together with the meeting-house of the Second Church, that of the Mathers. Increase Mather's own house was destroyed; but the greater part of his library was saved.

upon precept) to teach us instruction, saying as in Zeph. 3. Surely thou wilt feare me, thou wilt receive instruction, & Oh that we might! that our dwellings be not cutt off, nor more desolation made in the land, that by continuall corrupting our wayes we make not this pleasant land desolate! The Lord hath been proving us many wayes, by fire, by water, by sword, & mortality in many places, heavy burdens vpon all places. An horrid murther comitted among us, here at Stamford. A brother killing his own dear sister, a very good woman that loved him dearly, but was ill requited, killed her with an ax, maulling & mashing her head to many pieces, in a barbarous & bloudy maner. It was one Benjamin Tuttle, whom my sister Lake may possibly have known. but I must abruptly end, Mr Holman calling in haste to take the wind & tide while it serves. The Lord sanctify all his dealings with us unto us. Amen.

Yours In Christ, JOHN BISHOPP.

STAMFORD, 2 m. 26. 76.

JOHN BISHOP TO INCREASE MATHER.

ffor the Revd & his much respected freind Mr Increase Mather, Teacher to a Chch of Clt in Boston, these.

REVD SIR & DEAR BROTHER,—Cordial salutacons in Christ to yourself & Mrs Mather; my wife desiring the same. I was glad to hear of your good recovery from your former great weaknes, & that I hear nothing of your sicknes, in the late visitacon of the Lord, in that place (as with us) by much sicknes & mortality, which gives me to hope you are in health, as I & my family at prsent, save my wife not well. We have been all down, & some of us dangerously sick, but graciously restored. We buried 6 (?) in one week in our little town; neer 20 this spring; about an 100 sick at once; besides sundry slain in the war. The sword bereaved abroad, at home here was death. The Lord is righteous in all His awfull dispensacons throughout the Country as we must acknowledg, with submission, and studdy reformacon of life & maners, & the getting another spirit then grally is found with us; for the prventing of further evils & calamities,

like else to come vpon vs. I doubt not of your diligence to stirre vp hereunto, & the quickning your hearers (as you have done your readers) to duty incumbent in these sad & evil times. The good Lord evermore blesse all your endeavo^{rs} that way. Sir, I was formerly desirous, but opportunity slipt me, to have written vnto you, about the original of this unhappy war, how it began, & whether our English were wholly iñocent on that account, viz. our freinds of Plimouth parts, as being willing to iustifye them against vncomfortable & dishono^{r}able reports concerning them, which I was grieved to hear; & it proved very difficult, dissatisfying, & vncomfortable to conscientious parents and other Relations, to send out their children, & other dear relations vnto the war, where many of them were slain, & all in danger of their lives, though that would not be the worst, but the dishon^{r} would redound to the Name of God, if N. E. should goe to war in a bad cause, or not every way iustifiable in the sight of God & all the world. I was troubled & many more that nothing came to cleare that matter; for we knew nor heard of any thing Printed, til of late M^{r} Alden told me there was, & wondred that we had it not.

But now understanding further by him that the full state of matters is with you, I would intreate you to impart vnto me, as you may, what may be satisfying to my self & all others in this important matter. I must not ad but my desire of mutual prayers to be continued, Resting

Yours in Christ, JOHN BISHOPP.

STAMFORD, 5 m. 8. 76.

JOHN BISHOP TO INCREASE MATHER.

ffor the Reverend, & his much respected freind M^{r} Increase Mather, Pasto^{r} to a ch^{ch} of Ch^{t} in Boston these.

Rev^{D} S^{R}, — Yours of 1 m. 12. $\frac{76}{77}$ I have received, & am glad therby to understand that your bookes were p^{r}eserved from those consuming flames, though some inconsidr̃able losse in that kind sustained. And that my good brother Lakes bones (at least)

were found & brought to decent burial in Boston,* a renewall of his wife's sorrow doubtles it must be, yet tending to her satisfaction in the thing itself. I am glad to hear that the History of N. E. is on foot & procesſe been made so far. The good Lord prosper endeavo^{rs} to the perfecting the same, in due time. S^{r}, in your letter I received one inclosed frõ M^{r} Hook in Engld, my ancient choice freind, to whõ I would make return, & have herein sent it to you, supposing you to have intercourse with him, & so know how to send vnto him as I do not, but made use of M^{r} Atwater when living to help therein. If you should not know, I pray vnd^{r}stand if my sister Lake, or M^{rs}. Atwater, that was, do know & will vnd^{r}take the conveyance, or M^{r} John Lake of Boston.

Likewise must further intreat to send the other to M^{r} Blinman, whõ I suppose you may likewise know, & have acquaintance withall, if not, as in the oth^{r} case, to use the best meanes you can for a safe conveyance thereof, there being in it, a letter to my own & only sister in England, w^{ch} I would might reach her. No more at p^{r}sent but cordial respects, to yo^{r}self & Mrs. Mather frõ me & my wife. I rest

Yours in Christ, JOHN BISHOPP.

STAMFORD, 2 m. 13. 77.

JOHN BISHOP TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Reverend his well-respected good freind M^{r} Increase Mather Pasto^{r} to a Ch^{ch} of Ch^{t} in Boston these dd.

REVEREND S^{R}, — Since my last letter lately sent to you by Skipper Alsop of Newhaven, I have received two lett^{rs}, one frõ

* His remains were not found till several months after he was killed. They were then brought to Boston, and buried in the cemetery on Copp's Hill, where the following epitaph may still be seen upon his gravestone: —

CAP^{T}
THOMAS LAKE
AGED 61 YEERES
AN EMINENTLY FAITHFVLL
SERVANT OF GOD, & ONE
OF A PVBLICK SPIRIT, WAS
PERFIDIOVSLY SLAIN BY
y^{e} INDIANS AT KENNIBECK,
AVGVST y^{e} 14, 1676, &
HERE INTERRED y^{e} 13
OF MARCH FOLLOWING.

East & the oth^r frō Westchester men, who both beyond my expectacon, shew great affection & desire to enjoy the word among them, If God may favo^r them with a good minister. It seemes they have had consultacon together in each place, & the inhabitants of one plantacon with the other, about the matter. They being neer together, & in a sort (as they say) so belonging one to the other, that they cañot well act to a determinacon of the matter at whether place the minister may be, & vntil the Governo^r may be spoken w^th. They both desirous to have one, makes the matter more hopefull, both for the successe of the work, & the comfortable subsistence of the workman, by what they have expressed.

They say they intend to write to you, as I directed them, & I hope you will be helpfull as you can, who knowes w^t souls the Lord may have in such places, where may be many young ones grown & growing up, that never lived vnder the meanes, & scarce ever heard sermon in all their lives, some of them. There is more hopes of such then of those that have turned their backs on the word, as these have not done, but may be ready to hear, & God may open their hearts. Truly in my thoughts, it is worthy a good mans consideracon, & labo^r also of coñing into these parts, to prove the good pleasure of God in this kind, & if some able & worthy man shall so far deny himself for Chr, he shalbe no looser in the end, though he may have greater things elsewhere.

I pray sir, help w^t you can, & signify w^t hope there is, & the person if you know, that may be likely. I hope no want of livelyhood or liberty shall send any back that may come on this account. There being examples of two Ches lately gathered on the Island, viz. at Jamaica & Huntington, with the Gov: good & free allowance, as soon as asked, & that in the way of N. E. Congrãal Chēs, which liberty I doubt not but he will readily grant to any other people, & able good minister, if desired, Our neighbors of Greenwich having written to M^r Wiswal (Ichabod Wiswal) * are in some hopes of him, but hearing as I do of his going to sea, I have little hopes that way, though I should be glad

* Rev. Ichabod Wiswall entered Harvard College in 1654, but left in 1657. He was ordained at Duxbury in 1676, and sent to England to procure a new charter for the Colony of Plymouth in 1689.

to have him, or some other good minister so neer neighbo^{r} to me. No more at p^{r}sent but cordial respects. I rest

Yours In Cht & fellowship of his Gospel,

JOHN BISHOPP.

STAMFORD, 7 m. 10. 77.

JOHN BISHOP TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Reverend, & his much respected ffreind, M^{r} Increase Mather, Pasto^{r} to a Ch^{ch} of Ch^{t} in Boston. These with care, dd.

REVEREND S^{R}, — *Salutem in Christo.* Our neighbo^{rs} of Westchester having sent me a lett^{r} directed to yourself, with request of your helpfulnes vnto them for the procuring a good minister to come among them: as the contents of their letter will more fully show, I have, according to their desire (herew hall) sent it vnto you, not doubting but the Lord will stir up your heart to do what is doable in their behalf. Their case is very considrable & worthy of compassion, & for incouragm^{t} of a good minister (above all they present) I think still (as I intimated in my last vnto you) that there is much in this, that many of the young ones grown & growing up among them may searce have ever heard Sermon in their lives, or not so many as they have lived yeares, & so having never despised nor contemned the Gospel, if God give it to them, it may (possibly) more readily be embraced by them, & make the more impression vpon them. The novelty of the thing may bring them to hear, & the mercy of God may blesse the word unto them. Its hopeful if God send the Gospel vnto them, that he hath some souls among them. However it is our part to endeavo^{r}, that the Gospel may be preached unto them under the hopes of a Who can tell? What the successe may be. I shall not adde, but my respects to M^{rs} Mather. Resting

Yours in Christ, JOHN BISHOPP.

STAMFORD, 8 m. 2. 77.

JOHN BISHOP TO INCREASE MATHER.

ffor the Reverend his much respected freind Mr. Increase Mather, Pastor to a Chh of Christ in Boston, these.

STAMFORD, 1 mo. 25, 78.

REVEREND Sr, — Endeared respects, &c. These are to let you vndrstand that the men of West Chester (whose letter I sent you before winter, seconded with mine own in their behalf) are very sollicitous concerning the successe of both, as touching a minister to come vnto them, & what ground of hope can be given them; & I have received frõ you of such a thing, of which I would intreat you to certify, by the next opportunity. I receeived a letter (through your carefull conveyance) frõ good Mr Hooke, of 6 m. 7, 77. wherein he certifyes of 40 ministers, in & about the city within few years deceased; & saith he hath sent you a list of them; * but fearing that by mistake it might be put into my letter, which was intended for yours, I have sent it to you. If it be otherwise, & he sent one unto each, there is no hurt done. The thing is deplorable in itself, & the more, as such tydings come in conjunction with God's present dispensacõn in these parts, both yours & ours: whence God hath been calling home several of his faithfull labo ers, & is threatning the removal of more, by bodily weaknesses laid upon them, & oft disabling them from their work. Mr. Street † some years since dead, & that chch not yet supplyed with a Teaching officer. Mr Newton ‡ of Milford crazy & feeble, having yet for present helpfulnes your hopeful kinsman, whose settlement there I heartily wish, or somewhere among us. Mr Wakeman § of ffairfield in an hazzardous state; if speedy meanes be not afforded & blessed for his recovery. All these things are against us, & our sins are the cause of all our evils, chiefly that great sin of Gospel-sliting so comon in the country.

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* See letter of William Hooke, dated August, 1677, in this volume.

† Rev. Nicholas Street, successor of Davenport at New Haven in 1659, died April 22, 1674.

‡ Rev. Roger Newton, the first minister of Hartford, afterwards installed at Milford, August 22, 1660. He died June 7, 1683. Savage's "Geneal. Dict."

§ Rev. Samuel Wakeman left Harvard College in 1655, was ordained at Fairfield Sept. 30, 1665, and died March 8, 1692.

Good S^r^, if any intelligence of truth be with you of the captives *et ejusmodi*, give me to understand in a word. One word more, being in haste. Whereas God hath given me 4 living sons (of eight I have had) & none of them brought up to learning, to my great grief, though two of them in a good forwardnes long since, but our Latin schole failing, & my estate too feeble to send them forth, their progresse also failed. I have one, now entring in his gramm̃ar, whom I would fain give learning vnto, so far as able, & shall strain hard to school him hear, or send him to Boston, if hopes may be had of attaining my farther end as to colledge learning. I understand that M^r^ Penoir * of England, deceased, hath made a bequeathment to the Colledge (considerable) for the incouragement & helpfulnes of schollers, & somthing ordered by his will with respect to Newhaven that way. I would earnestly request you to inquire into the matter effectually, & that if any thing appeare hopefull in that behalf, that my poor child may share in that benefit (which would be a great comfort to me before my death), that you would intimate the same as soon as may be, that I may be doing what I can whilst I live; that some of mine, (if God please) may be serviceable in such a way wherein I am willing to devote them vnto the Lord. Thus com̃ending you & your holy labo^rs^ unto the Lord's blessing, I rest

Yours in Christ, JOHN BISHOPP.

My wife (with myself) presents her kind respects to yourself & M^rs^ Mather.

I pray remember our dear love & respects to sister Lake when you se her, to whom I would have now written, if time would permit.

Our family in competent health.

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* William Pennoyer, an English gentleman of learning and piety, established a permanent fund for "one of those periodical distributions of money to indigent students, called 'Exhibitions.' By his will, dated in May, 1670, he constituted a rent charge upon an estate in the county of Norfolk, in England, of forty-four pounds per annum, for ever; of which sum thirty-four pounds were appropriated for the education of two fellows and two scholars, for ever, in the College called Cambridge in New England." — Quincy's History of Harvard University. His portrait was burned in the fire which destroyed the library of the College, Jan. 24, 1764.

JOHN BISHOP TO INCREASE MATHER.

[For the Reverend his much respected freind Mr Increase Mather, Pastor to a Ch^ch of Christ in Boston, these.

Reverend S^r & Dear Brother, — Yours of 3 mo. 28, '78, I received; and as toneling reports you enquire of (though in great haste, by reason of the vessels hastening away) I cañot but make a short returne. There have been, doubtles things of a prodigious n^re among vs, by which we should be awakened; but it is to [be] bewailed, that the awful workes of God are so variously & vncertainly spoken of; as many times I find that we know not what to beleeve, nor how to be affected as we should with what we heare. As for the noise of a great gun in the air at some of the Norwootuck Plantacons, it is generally reported & credited for a truth, but you may have more intercourse with them for neernes of situacon & relacon then ourselves so far westward. Also it is said, & I have heard often affirmed that a noise of small guns in the air likewise hath been heard in several plantacons more east & northward from us. As touching the Earthquake lately in these parts, I can speak to that as being sensible thereof, & many others in this Town, & other Townes also perceived the same; though more westward of vs it was more perceived, & more eastward, lesse. It was on an evening after the Sabbath viz. 12 m. 3. 77. Likewise on 4 m. 20, 78, a like noise was heard here by myselfe & many others, who took it to be an Earthquake, rather then thunder, considering circumstances, though the terræ-moćon not so perceptible. On the last day, same month, here was a violent storme of hail in several plantacons, one west & others east of vs, that did much damage as its said, & I do verily beleeve, though I forbear to mencon the quantity of that hail & the effects of it, because I cañot fully beleeve all thats said of it. At Stamford it was only a storme of wind & rain, & that but short. This 5 m. 6 & 7 dayes, it pleased the Lord, after a great & threatning dronght, to send a plentifull, sober & soaking rain, that sweetly refreshed the earth & revived its dying product. Praised be the Lord. S^r, I am sorry to hear of the disease among you so prevailing & spreading. Yet glad for the Lord's

great goodnes in sparing your family so far. With my sister Lakes & some other freinds, sorry for good Mrs. Dav: & her sick children. I pray Sir, signify a word concerning her in your next, for that I hear she is dangerous sick, &c., but I must seal vp & send away lest all be left behind. Dear S^r^, my kind respect to your self & M^rs^ Mather. Committing you all to the Lord's gracious protection, I rest

Yours to pray for you, JOHN BISHOPP.

STAMFORD, 5 m. 11, 78.

JOHN BISHOP TO INCREASE MATHER.

ffor the Reverend & his much-respected freind, M^r^ Increase Mather, Teacher of a ch^ch^ of Christ in Boston, these.

REVEREND S^R^, —My cordial respects vnto you & M^rs^ Mather, your dear consort (whom the Lord preserve for your comfort.) It hath pleased Him who is the disposer of all, to lay me vnder bereavem^t^ of my dear yoke-fellow, a great breach upon my poor family, myself & children. But it is the Lord, & that calls to silence & submission. S^r^, I received 2 bookes of yours, one with a letter to my brother Wakeman of ffairfield, which I gave him. The other I kindly aeecpt of as given to me. I also received some letters from M^r^ Blinman * of Bristol † with a fardle directed to you for me, which Joseph Alsop ‡ of N. H. hath brought up. I would intreat your eare for conveyance of the enclosed to M^r^ Blinman. I know not rightly how to direct it to him, as I suppose you can. I am glad the Lord hath so graciously preserved you in so sickly & dangerous a season; & that your labo^rs^ are continued; & may His blessing be continually added therevnto. I understand of your love to my sister Lake, & her son, in letting your son be an help vnto him in learning. I earnestly desire to give some of mine some learning, if I can attain it. I se it growes to be gr̃ally slited & neglected, which makes my

* Rev. Richard Blinman. See note to his letters in this volume.

† *i. e.* in England. — PRINCE.

‡ Probably Joseph Alsop, Jr., of New Haven.

desires more earnest. I formerly desired your help for promoving that matter, by seing if any encouragem^t^ may be had on N. H. account or otherwise, at Colledge. I perceive you were not vnmindfull nor wanting, but waited an after opportunity that you expected. If any thing may yet appear that way, your signifying of it will be a further favo^r^, & stil further obliging me to continue

Yours, JOHN BISHOP.

STAMFORD, 6 m. 12, 79.

JOHN BISHOP TO INCREASE MATHER.

ffor the Reverend his worthy good freind M^r^ Increase Mather, Teacher to a Church of Christ in Boston, these.

REVEREND S^R^ & DEAR BROTHER, — Kind & cordial salutacõns in the Lord vnto you, & good M^rs^. Mather, my wife (that was M^rs^ Willet)* desiring the same. I long much to receive some further lines frõ you, having received many, with many good things withall, to my great refreshing. I was in great hope when I heard that N. H. ch^h^ had made applicacõn to your son, M^r^ Cotton Mather, that I should have seen him in these parts, but it seemes the Only Wise God hath otherwise disposed of him, & withheld that blessing from them, for their further hvmbling, & (I hope) preparing them for what mercy of that kind He may in His time bestow on them, for truly there are a precious people in that place, though vnder a dark dispensacõn at present. I desire you would afford them the help of your holy prayers, & what further hel[p]fvlnes may fall in your way for their supply. What you do for them, His poor church & people, Christ will pvt to accovnt, & own as a kindnes done to himself. I need say no more, Christ and His interest (I know) lyes so neer your heart, that you will be willing to do any thing for them. What you understand from England & is of common concernment to all christians, as such I would intreat you to hint vnto me, & what of the trvth of that report of strange things & sights in Sovth Wales.

* Mr. Bishop's second wife was Joanna, daughter of Capt. Thomas Willet, and widow of Rev. Peter Prudden. His first wife died in 1679. See the preceding letter.

It is sad, we cañot come at the certainty of such things we hear many times. It is pity & most vnmeet that the Providence of God (especially in such awful works) should be either belyed or concealed. I am glad of so good a work in hand, for the recording Illustrious Providences, so conducing to God's glory & the good of Posterity. The Lord prosper the vnd^{r}taking. I receiving a letter importing remarkable things, I had thoughts of transcribing the substance thereof, & to send it unto you, but it being larg & my time short, I have sent the whole as it came to my hand, which having pervsed, you may please to return again. Here was also, at Stamford, a notorious drunkard who (in the pursuance of that lust & seeking more drink, but being denyed as having too much before) went forth in the night & was found in the morning drownd dead in the mill river. Being missed at home he was sought for, but could not be found before; & now was a sad spectacle to all beholders. This was on 10 m. 22, 79. I shall not further enlarge, but adding my kind respects, well-wishes, & hearty prayers for both your hopeful soñes, with desire of God's blessing on all your seed, craving your prayers for me & mine, I take leave & rest,

Yours in the Lord, & fellowship of the Gospel,

JOHN BISHOPP.

STAMFORD, 2 m. 11, 1682

JOHN BISHOP TO INCREASE MATHER.

ffor the Reverend his much respected freind M^{r} Increase Mather, Teacher to a Ch^{h} in Boston, these.

REVEREND S^{R} & DEAR BRO., — Yours I received, what sent by Capt. Selleck to myself & freinds, M^{r} Wakeman & M^{r} Chauncey, of your own & M^{r} Hookes good labo^{rs}. What was belonging to me I kindly accept; & what to others, I have conveyed according to your mind. I have also received lately what was sent by skipper Alsop; viz. your elaborate little Tract, *de signo Filij Hominis*, &c. one to my self & the other to my brother Wakeman, which I shall carefully hand to him. I thanke you for

your great lone in all the former & later expressions of it in this way, & blessed be the Lord for what you have received from Him, so to give out unto others, & to the world. Let the Giver of all have all the glory from you & vs, & all partakers of the benefit. What you desire as to a more exact account concerning the young men at Hempsteed, I shall endeavo^{r} your satisfaction therein the best I can, & as speedily as I can, but opportunityes of sending to the Island, & having returnes from thence are not allwayes, but to be waited for. The Lord is still proceeding with us in these parts by awfull & awakning providences passing over us, & Oh, that we might be awakned to purpose so as to repent & turne unto the Lord! We have had of late, great stormes of rain & wind, & somtimes of thunder & lightning, whereby some execuc̃on hath been done by the Lord's holy Hand, though with sparing mercy to mankind. M^{r} Jones his house at N. H. broken into, & strange work made in one room thereof especially, wherein one of his daughters had been a little before; & no hurt to any of the family, but the house only. This was about the middle of the 4th month last. A little after which, at Norwalk, there were nine working oxen smitten dead in the woods, in a few rods space of ground, & after that, at Greenwich (a smal town neer vs, on the west side) on the 5 mo. 13, (when we had great thunder & lightning), there were seven swine & a dog smitten all dead, & so found the next morning, very near the dwelling house, where a family of children were alone (their parents not then at home) & no hurt to any of them, more then amazing fear. A great favo^{r}. But what are these but warning pieces, showing that men's lives may goe next, who now have so narrowly escaped, &c.? I shall not add but our due & dear respects to yourself & Mrs. Mather. My cordial love to your hopefull sons. Resting,

Yours in Christ, JOHN BISHOPP.

STAMFORD, 6 m. 3. 82.

JOHN BISHOP TO INCREASE MATHER.

ffor the Reverend & his much respected freind Mr. Increase Mather, Teacher to a Church of Ch^t in Boston, These.

Rev^D S^R & Dear Bro., — Cordial respects to your selfe & good wife, from myself & mine, &c. In health (through mercy, though a sickly time). Not many sick with us. Other places more visited, & some dead. I doubt not but you have heard of M^r ffoster's death, of Hartford. Many Indians (as we hear) dy thereabouts, with some English. I lately received your good things sent, (but no letter) two bookes of Practical Truths, &c. with a Catalogue of Harvard's sons, to myself & my good neighbo^r M^r Hanford,* to whom I am sure (as to myself) they wilbe exceeding grateful, when they come to his hand, which will shortly be (as I hope). For myself I tender you my hearty thankes as for all former kindnes of that kind. In your last you desire a more exact account of some things menc̃oned in M^r Jones his letter as to the racers on the Lord's day. I returned you my answere, of endeavoring to my vtmost to gratify your desires therein, & accordingly writ to M^r Jones about it. His answere was, that, being sickly (as he oft is) he was not able to do in it as otherwise, & which makes it more difficult, besides his own incapacity. He saith, that since the matter hath been much talked of, he perceives some have endeavored to evade what may be the truth, & pretend that the young man was sick before, &c. & that there are few in that place that make any conscience at all of the Sabbath, & therefore no wonder if they be vnwilling to take notice of such a judgem^t. It seemes one of the yong men did not dy, but continued very long in a sad condic̃on; & the father of him that died, a great malignant, & scoffer (as he heares) who with others (he beleeves) will strive hard to deny any such thing, &c.

Therefore he desires you would by no meanes print it before further informac̃on, nor menc̃on his name in the busines til he gett fuller intelligence. So few are on God's side, & so hard a matter it is to come at truths of this nr̃e, whereby God in His

* Probably Rev. Thomas Hanford, of Norwalk.

Jndgem^ts might be glorified. I purpose to do what is further doable on my part in this behalf. No more at present, but rest

Yours in the Lord, JOHN BISHOPP.

STAMFORD, 7 m. 16, 82.

JOHN BISHOP TO INCREASE MATHER.

ffor the Reverend & his respected good freind, Mr. Increase Mather, Teacher to a Church of Christ in Boston, These.

REVEREND SIR AND DEAR BROTHER, — Cordial respects to yourself, with Mrs. Mather, your dear wife, to Mr. Cotton Mather, with the rest of yours, whom the Lord blesse, & make instrumental in his own hand, for the good of his people in their gr̃aons. Yours I have received, with that further expression of your love to me, the book of Remarkable Providences, for which I thank you, & hope God will have much praise by it, & many much good, by your so managing & improving those workes of God therein menc̃oned. What you write of a former sent, I suppose was a mistake, for I had no more of that kind. The booke you sent me last before this was Mr. Torrey his sermon,* with your epistle before it. I received three of them; one for Mr. Hanford, one for Mr. Chauncey, to whom I sent what was directed to them, & the other to myself, for which also I thanke you. As to your Colony & charter-concern, which cost some trouble, I perceive, I am glad in conclusion it was caried as it was; judging (with yourself) in my heart, that to be the safest & best way; & so do the most solid & serious Christians among vs, with whom I have had any speech about it, for indeed, (as you say) with what face can we pray God to continue our priviledges, when we ourselves give them away. Doubtles the Psalmist was not mistaken when he tells vs, (yea, the Spirit of God by him,) that its better to trust in God then in Princes, & safest to walk in God's way whatever the consequence & next turn, when we know in conclusion God will turn it to good.

* "A Plea for the Life of Dying Religion," a sermon preached to the General Assembly of the Colony of Massachusetts, May 16, 1683, by Rev. Samuel Torrey, of Weymouth.

I am glad to hear of good Mr. Moodey's * enlargm^{t}, after an unworthy imprisonm^{t}. The good Lord continue his & yours, & all his faithfull servants of Christ their libertyes, to preach & hear the gospell, & help vs to yeeld obedience to the same. No more but desire of mutual prayers to be continued. I rest:

Yours in Christ, JOHN BISHOP.

From N. HAVEN. 4 m. 10. 84.

JOHN BISHOP TO INCREASE MATHER.

ffor the Reverend M^{r} Increase Mather, Teacher to a ch^{h} of Christ in Boston these, p M^{r} John Bishop.

REVEREND SIR, & DEAR BROTHER, — *Salutem in Christo.* I know not whether opportunity hath served to write you our thanks for the two bookes (Mistery of Christ) sent to M^{r} Hanford & myself. If not, it is now high time, if done double, it is but due, because a benefit to two. I thank you for my share in this & all former, your holy labo^{rs}. The good Lord still goe on with you, that through him, you may do not only worthily but valiantly, in defending & vpholding as well as holding forth the truth as it is in Jes^{s}. These turning times are Gods touchstone to shew who are on the Lords side, to stand with him & stick to him, to be stil following Ch^{t} thô with the crosse on their back, faithfull vnto death. Tis not mere profession will goe thus far, no, nor a sound principle without a spirit of courage & magnanimity, to keep a steady course & make straight steps to their feet allwayes. But there will be much halting, & heart fainting, found in them, & a scarce-salvation only that Ch^{t} afforded to them. To be in the Lord is one thing, & to be strong in the Lord is another, according as their faith in Christ (who is their strength) is weak or strong. O for that other spirit! to say we are well able, (thô allwayes in his strength) & not be afraid of Anakims, nor high-walled cities, — to have faith in power, the spirit of faith as well as a principle of

* Rev. Joshua Moodey was released from prison, after thirteen weeks' confinement, in 1684. See note to his letters in this volume.

faith, that we may say & do for God, & in Gods way, & never vnsay what we have said, nor vndoe what we have done. Christ & his cause this day requires such champions, & he can raise them vp. I hope your happy lot will be found among them, viz., those thus faithfull, valiant for the truth. O, such christians know not what high service they do to their Lord Christ. Your zeal hath provoked very many, saith Paul of the Corinthians, & to God's Praise only be spoken of you. The Lord continue long your life, liberty, & labo^{rs}, & adde the blessing of Increase to all the gifts & graces of his spirit vouchsafed to you. Amen.

No more but coñending yourself & yours to God, with desire of mutual prayers to be continued, I rest

Yours in Christ, JOHN BISHOP.

STAMFORD, 1 m. 9. 8^{ber}.

My kind respects to M^{r} Cotton, Nath.— & M^{r} John Cotton, your nephew, who married my neice, Anne Lake.

The Lords blessing be vpon their match. Amen.

JOHN BISHOP TO INCREASE MATHER.

ffor the Reverend Mr. Increase Mather, Teacher to a church of Christ in Boston, these.

REV^{D} SIR & DEAR BROTH^{R}, — Yours of the 4th I received yesterday, 17 instant, by Captain Selleck. Sorry to here of such coñoc̃ons with you, upon the change come upon vs, which may prove to be of sad consequence, unles our good God graciously p^{r}vent the same. We are stil in His hands, & what He will do with vs, & with this land, we know not, but we have cause to fear the worst, for our vnworthy walkg̃, & that contempt of the Gospel and Gospel-libertyes so long continued to us. A prize in our hands, but ah! without hearts to priz & improve it aright. The crown is fallen, & falling from our head. Woe unto us that we have siñed, & that our sins have been so multiply'd & aggravated in the sight of our God; Many are gospel-glutted, & growing

weary, & so may be shortly eased of that their burden. The Lord rebuke that worldly, earthly, profane & loose spirit up & down in the country, & give us to be instructed before laid desolate. Sir, my desire & hope is God will yet continue you with us, to help bear up & keep off. When such are taken away, evil is coming on. The Colledge state (should you desert it, or be, as you say, dismissed from it, & your carefull inspection at a period) is much to be lamented & feared. If a well-principled, steady & standing guid be not continued in or over it, Tares will grow apace, corruption in all respects increase, & our glory depart from us. S^r^, you speak of a little book (as not knowing whether you had sent it to me) I never yet received any such nor heard of it, but should be glad to se it. If you please to send it, I hope it may come safely to hand, as all your good things formerly sent have done, & none that I know have fallen short. I blesse God for your holy labo^rs^ & gracious abilities; & kindly thank you for making me so far partaker of the benefit. Sir, with cordial respects to yourself, Mrs. Mather, & all yours, I comend you to God, & rest

Yours in Christ & the fellowship of His Gospel,

JOHN BISHOP.

STAMFORD, Oct. 18. 87.

JOHN BISHOP TO INCREASE MATHER.

ffor the Reverend & his much respected freind M^r^ Increase Mather, Teacher to a Ch^h^ of Ch^t^ in Boston these.

REV^D^ SIR & DEAR BRO: — Cordial respects to yourself, Mrs. Mather, & all yours. I long much to hear of your state & affairs, & whether your purpose held for O. E. If so, my poor prayers shall follow you; & I hope the Lord's presence will be with you, to p^r^serve & carry you safe thither, protect & direct you there in all that he calls vnto; & in due time to return you again unto vs, enriched with ample experience of all His promised goodnes. If Providence dispose for your abode with vs, that also I trust shall be in mercy unto vs. Your letters to M^r^ Selyns I speedily sent away, the next day after they came to my hand, & I am cer-

tifyed of his receipt of them, under his own hand, in his return to me; for I writ a few lines to him, to desire he would signify the same vnto me, though (it seemes) they came too late, & so are reserv'd for the next opportunity, as his words shew. *Hæ quas accepi, serò nimis advenêre, abiêrunt scil. ultimæ naves ante trimestrem nec quædam dabitur ansa, literas Matherianas mittendi, nisi subsequente æstate aut autumno, hasce reservabo in hoc tempus*, &c. But I suppose you have heard from himselfe how the matter stands, before now. Your neighbo & brother Robinson (*q quem*) hath well behaved among vs, to the good satisfaction of his imployers, as to his work, & all others, as to his walk. Blessed be the Lord! O that there were more christians, & more of Christ might be seen in them that are, for religion runs low in the land where there is any face of it, & profanes gets up amain, is bold & bare-faced. The glorious Gospel of Christ vnder great contempt, which gives just ground to fear that all is going. If you will not, you shall not. Christ *yet* stands, & *but* stands knocking, & standing, we say, is next to going. O what will become of N. E. shortly? The rising grãon, the vngodly posterity of godly parents, pious & precious ones, many such I mean, whose ofspring are greatly degenerate. Jer. 2. 21. 31. 1 Sam. 2. 12. Jndg. 2. 10. are scriptures of sad import, as applicable to our backsliden state. Tho, (through mercy) some take well & walk in the steps of their faithful progenitors. I know sundry such, p^rcious families, thro. grace. Among whom I cannot but remember God's eminent mercy & blessing upon your father's family, & stock from whence you are descended, & those of yours whom the Lord hath blessed. O blesse God humbly on this account. I willingly joyn with you; & pray for others, & for me & mine, & the people of this place, that the Lord would blesse His gospel vnto vs, & make it saving to many souls. I coñend you & all yours to the Lord, & rest

Yours ever, JOHN BISHOP.

STAMFORD, 1 m. 20. 88.

i. e. 1687–8, For the beg. of April, 1688, Mr. I. Mather sails for O. E. — [PRINCE.]

LETTERS OF THOMAS JOLLIE.*

THOMAS JOLLIE TO INCREASE MATHER.

ffor The Reverend and worthy minister of the gospell, Mr Increas Mather at the North-Church in Boston in New-England.

Much Honoured in the Lord, — Soe I must salute you, though I never saw your face in the flesh, and though you never soe much as heard of mee. You have respect (noe doubt) to the countrey of your pretious ffather, which will incline you the rather to hold correspondence with some one here, and having the opportunity (with the encouragment) of the bearer, I make bold to begin it now. The extraordinary account of the New-England worthyes, which I ever had, and the entire accord I have with them in that pure yet peaceable way, wherein the Lord hath led them, have been the foundation of a more abundant affection to the N: E: churches than any people in the world. The late troubles you were in, gave us an occasion to know our own hearts the better as to that thing: The Lord is witness how deeply wee resented your distresses and what dayes were sett apart for you; as also how heartily wee rejoyced in your deliverance, and what a day of thanks-giving wee had on that account. I have also seen somthing you writt to Mr Petto,† which must needs make us sollicitous to know your condition and to hear of a better consequence of your begun-salvation and begun-reformation. Wee are attempting somthing to the same purpose. Oh, that it may bee attended with the same success; yea, wee all need to strive together in prayer that hee who hath begun a good work, would pform it untill the day of Christ. Hee who made all things and

* Rev. Thomas Jollie, a distinguished nonconformist divine, abundant in labors and in sufferings for the cause of what he called "Primitive Christianity." He was often imprisoned, fined, and ill-treated. See Calamy.

† Samuel Petto. See note to his letters in this volume.

saith hee makes all things new, let him make Old England new, and renew New-England's dayes as of old, not only reforming Churches need to gett reformed, but those who profess to bee reformed have need of reforming. For the Churches who are gott out of their suffering state into their soveraign state to fall into a slumbring state is not soe strange: but that those, who remain in a suffering state, should yet remain in a slumbring state, this is much more strange. Indeed I hope its but a slumbring, not a slaying time, which is upon us. Indeed I think its not only slumbring but fainting; O, that wee may hear the cry at midnight, in all the Churches, to awaken us, and have the spirit of power to revive his work in the midst of us. Wee need the stirring up of fear as the strengthning of faith; if the Son of man come now hee shall find but litle of a right faith, or fear upon the earth. Yet I hope every one is not soe fast asleep in security, soe fainting in this day of adversity: The Lord hath sett watchmen upon Jernsalem's walls, who will not give him nor his people rest untill her righteousness goe forth as brightness and her salvation as a lamp that burneth; untill hee establish and make Jerusalem a prais in the earth. The Lord, I ꝑceiv, hath given you a spirit to give warning; cry aloud, and spare not: the hous of Jacob needs crying to, as well as the God of Jacob. Let mee bee bold with you in one thing more. I would not only bee aequainted with you, and the condition of the people of God with you, but with the true state of that quæstion among you about the posterity of the church, and what the result of that matter is. Whether you doe not admitt them as compleat members to the Lord's supper, if they bee free from scandalous sins of omission and cõmission; if they doe also solemnly own the Covenant with the Lord and his people: though they give not a satisfactory account of the work of God upon their soules and yet would partake of such further priviledge? Whether you exercise disciplin upon them in a church-way, if they neglect the duty and priviledg aforesayd? Whether you admitt the children of such to baptism, the iñediate parents falling into scandall or neglecting to own the Covenant as aforesayd? Pardon I pray, my boldness in putting these cases to you; I ꝑceiv you have been m[or]e conversant in them. I pray you also to excuse my rudeness in stating the quæstion; I am forced to doe it in hast. I pray let us have a share in the Cõmunion

of your prayers as you have in ours. The bearer hereof will acquaint you what need wee have thereof. I cannot now enlarg as I would. If you pleas to favour mee with a letter, you may direct it to mee, but order it to bee left with M^r^ Jonathan Heyes at the sign of the Brewers in Turnball street, Londen.

The Lord grant unto you further supplyes of his spirit and caus that spirit of power to rest upon you; yea, upon all the residue of his witnesses, that there may not only bee a cry at midnight to awaken the virgin-church to prepare for the Bridegroom's coming again; but a voice crying in the wilderness to prepare his way to those, whom hee never yet came unto.

The Lord bee with you as he was with your ffathers: let him not fail you nor forsake you, it is

Less [than] the least of Saints and of mercyes,

THO: JOLLIE.

PENDLTON NIGH CLITHEROW, LANC: 2^d^ of 2^d^ month, 1677.

THOMAS JOLLIE TO INCREASE MATHER.

ffor the Reverend and my worthy ffreind M^r^ Increas Mather, Teacher of a church in Boston in New England. Per Capt. Mich. Park in the ship Black Cock, whom God p^r^serve.

REVEREND AND DEAR S^R^, — Graee, mercy and peaee from God our Ffather through our Lord Jesus Christ, by the comunion of the Spirit, bee multiplyed, according as His Covenant obligeth Him and your occasion calls for. I received yours, which came very seasonably, for wee were to have a meeting with our neighbouring Sister-Church concerning those quæstions the week after, and your letter was of speciall use to us. Wee are bound first to render thanks to God, and also to return thanks to you on this behalf.

Our quæstion was, What is the Church-state of the Church's seed, and what is the Church's duty to them? Wee could only look on them as members of the universall Church; and soe not properly under the discipliu of a particular Church. Yet in regard of that generall obligation they are vnder by the Covenant, and wee also by our calling; yea, in regard of that speciall

relation they and wee stand in to their parents, wee could not but jndg ourselves bound to more duty towards them, and they more bound to us than to others. But I waive this discours at present, hastning to the consideration of your condition, which you were pleased to give some account of, and Brother Adams,* Pastor at Dedham, was pleased to write of more largely. Indeed your case is much vpon my heart, and wee sett a day apart on purpose to spread it before the Lord. I hope I may say to you as the Prophet sayd to the people at Gilgall, 1 Sam: 12, towards the later end, both for your encouragment and by way of exhortation. Excuse my boldness, that I take upon mee to give counsell to such and in such a case. It is my zeal for your good, (the Lord is my witness) that doth transport mee on this wise. Wee must not only send up our prayers to heaven one for another, but seacond them with our counsells one to another, and to follow all with suitable endeavours. The advice I humbly offer for your awakning to duty in the reforming of your manifest evills and for preventing of threatning ruin is, that a Synod bee gathered to that purpose. For this seems to bee the cours which Hezekiah with other godly princes took, and [in] our circumstances (seem to mee) to bee the only meanes to prevent your feares and promote your desi[res. I] suppose your Magistrates are Church-members, if . . . church-officers generally; and soe may bee present at such a Synod as Magistrates or as Messengers of the churches. There will the Teaching Elders be present to stir up one another, and to stir up the Magistrates to their duty; consulting alltogether for the effectuall carrying on of the work. The Prophetts Haggai and Zechariah were but two, and yet how did the Lord by them stir up and help . . . Magistrates and people. How may you strengthen one anothers hands, [as Aaron] and Hur did by Moses? Yea, how may the Lord there rais up his Phinehas to exeeute judgment and soe the hand of God bee stayed? If this [be the hand] of God let Him awake you to your duty this way and your discouragements [will] abate presently. Lean not to the broken reed of Egypt, but trust in the Lord with all your heart and bee doing good. Soe shall you dwell in the land. Our fainting and slumbring doe bring on each other. Wee faint, and

* Rev. William Adams, [H. C. 1671.]

soe fail; wee loyter, and soe languish more. I would hope the slaying time is over; and that its but a slumbring time. Let these cryes at midnight awaken to gett ready for Christ's coñing as a Bridegroom. ffear not these tayles of the smoaking firebrands. Pagans and prælats and papists have done their worst, if not done all their wont. I may not let my thoughts now expatiate herein as they would: only a hint to help you herewith will not hinder this repentance and reformation wee are aiming at. If this hope had not somthing helped me, I had hardly born up under my burdens; nor should I encourage attempts in this kind as to Synod.

When I had writt thus far, I received the bookes you sent; the very titles whereof and your respects in sending them must needs bee very gratefull to mee, and doth deserv my gratitude even before the pusall of them. I am desirous to take the first opportunity of signifying my receipt of yours, and returning you most hearty thanks. But I must a litle dwell upon the thoughts of the weighty matters contained in one of your bookes, and therfore delay a while such a full account of my apprehensions about them as you may expect; only this in the generall and in short at present concerning the Coñunion of Churches. I humbly conceiv that the interest of Christ is very much concerned in the Association of Churches and accoñodation of dissenters. I have therfore this 28 years, according to my capacity, and as I have had opportunity laboured to promote that affair, especially since the change I have looked on it as more needfull every way; yea more adviseable and feasible in some respects. I have therfore both in the Countrey and Citty endeavoured much, though effected litle. Indeed I think there is a more peaceable spirit & more peaceable principles and practices among professors generally: but alass! our want is of a publique spirit and a spirit of life to doe for God and the Church's good, what wee ought to doe and might doe also. Wee kept up our Association-meetings for some time at two severall seasons, viz: before the change and since, but it's now a long while since I could gett a meeting of the churches in these northern parts. Our ancient eminent worthyes (Eaton, Roots, Marshall, —— ——) are dead, and Oh, that I could say the Lord is with us as Hee was with our ffathers, that the spirit of our Elijahs did rest upon our Elishas.

As for our poor church, wee are by death reduced to a small and weak number: Yea, little liklihood of our long continuance, much less of renewing our dayes as of old; unless the Lord help our infirmityes, enlarge our libertyes and own his ordinances some way signally. Indeed wee have an encouraging instance in our next neighbouring Church, which Mr Briscoe was pastor to, and another Church at a further distance, unto which Mr Eaton was Teacher. These were brought very low, and the Lord hath not only restored but multiplyed them of late years. Mr Briscoe is settled at Toxt-heath-Park where he enjoyes his publique liberty. There are some hopefull beginnings in the adjacent parts of Yorkshire. About Leeds and Wakefeild they have great liberty, and 2 or 3 churches more are gathered lately. I hint these things becaus I know you will desire to have some account of our condition, and that you may remember us accordingly. I hope by that time y[ou ha]ve received this you will bee satisfyed better upon what terms you stand with England; and yet if the war goe on with France you fear from . . . y seem to have more ground. But it is time to br . . . that your bookes had most kind acceptance with mee and . . . not only with God but men shall through His grace bee . . . for you.

Wee doe solemnly and daily comẽnd you to the Lord, in whom I am Your very undeserving and dearly loving brother,

THO: JOLLIE.

[PE]NDLTON, NIGH CLITHEROW, 18th of 11th m: 167$\frac{7}{8}$.

THOMAS JOLLIE TO INCREASE MATHER.

ffor the Reverend and my very worthy ffreind, Mr Increas Mather, minister at the seacond church in Boston, in New-England. — Leav this and a book with Mr Jonathan Heys, at the Brewers in Turnball Street, London, To bee sent as aboveseyd.

PENDLTON, NIGH CLITHEROW, IN LANCASHIRE, 15th of 1 m: 167$\frac{8}{9}$.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER IN THE LORD, — I received your letter with your sermon, and dearly thank you for both. It

is noe litle refreshing to mee that there is such a spirit working on behalf of the rising generation, and that there is such an earnest as to the success. There is, noe doubt, ground to believ, and need to beg earnestly on that account. Wee have already here been joyning solemnly with you in that work, and shall bee engaging other churches what wee can. Noe doubt, also, there is Church-care to bee exercised upon them otherwayes as to instruction and disciplin, soe far as they are capable, were it but for the sake of their relation to their parents who are in Church-relation, and whom the Church sure should bee ready to help in the Lord, especially when it is a matter of soe great concernment on all hands. The ministeriall authority and abilityes supadded to what is only parentall must needs extend to the children of Church-members, though those children bee but yet in the Church universall, and must needs engage a more speciall presence of God where such ministeriall endeavours are faithfully made use of. If wee bee ministers of Christ to a particular Church of Christ in teaching office, wee are by office to serv the whole Catholick Church as wee have occasion; how much more those children whom wee are the more concerned for, upon the account of our relation to their parents. Such parents and posterity on their part also must needs look on themselves in their severall capacityes under solemn obligations to doe their utmost in the use of all meanes, as they expect the benefitts of the Covenant, though wee may not at present look upon the said children as being under that speciall consideration of the Covenant in respect to such particular Church-relation. Surely the parents will not bee wanting in doing their part as to the meanes themselves are to use, and bringing them under all Church-meanes, whilst their Children are under their power, if such parents be fitt for Coñunion and faithfull in the Lord's Covenant. Yet doth it concern us in the ministry to see to it that they doe their duty to their children and putt us also into a capacity to doe ours to them, also that the advantage of ministeriall help may bee accumulated to that which is parentall. Surely the children on their part must look on themselves as greatly obliged in and by their parents to doe their duty and use the meanes to this purpose; though as yet they have not solemnly owned the Covenant in actuall giving up themselves to the Lord, and such a particular people. If with Ishmaell they

prove mockers, and with Esau contemn their priviledg after all meanes used and due time waited, they not only fall short of further grace, but fall off from what they had.

But you will expect I should give my apprehension concerning the matter in controversy amongst you. Alass! I am litle fitt to give a judgment in matters which require far greater measures of grace and gifts than I have received. Besides I have not seen the Synod-book, where the case (I suppose) is fully stated: Nor am upon the place to understand all the circumstances you are in. Indeed I have pused your elaborate, excellent peice upon that subject, and it hath been stirring abroad since it came to mine hands. I must needs say, you were very much helped in that undertaking, and it hath been also helpfull to mee in the Lord, to whom bee all the glory. I doe confess I have looked upon children when baptized as admitted into the Universall Church, and yet as thereby layd under an obligation to joyn themselves to a particular church when they solemnly own the Covenant and they expect the full confirmation thereof in its seaeond seal. I confess I could not understand how the children of Church-members, if they bee accounted members of a particular Church, can bee denyed any of the Church's priviledges or power, and how wee can rid our hands of them but in a Church-way, of solemn admonition and excoñunication. Concerning the baptism of their children, who live in neglect of Coñunion of saints in particular churches, I confess I have not been satisfyed, and soe have suspended. Indeed if it appear not to bee a neglect, the case is otherwise; but wee seldom have such cases offerd here, and soe I have not come to that result, which then (I hope) the Lord would bring mee to. If they bee faithfull in the main they will hardly fall short of that which the church will condescend unto, if they soe judg them also. I doe think that pro-parents or others may give right to children's baptism, if the propriety bee theirs, and such children bee in their power; by the same reason that Abraham's bought or bond-servants were circumcised. Wee have need to mark (or sett our heart) and behold with our eyes, and hear with our eares all that the Lord saith unto us, concerning all the ordinances of this his hous, and all the lawes thereof, and mark well the entring in of the hous with every going forth of the sanctuary, that wee may keep the charge of his holy things, and not suffer the stranger

uncircumcised in heart or in flesh to enter therein, Ezek. 44. Concerning the Cõmunion of Churches, it seems there is litle quæstion among you. I would there were as litle among us. When it comes to particulars and practice thereon, wee are greatly a wanting, the Lord knowes. You have indeed greater advantages, yet wee have greater necessity thereof. Wee are much enfeebled through the negleet of that Cõmunion and exposed also to much danger, as Laish, for want of correspondence, did want a deliverer. Judg: 18.

Some more hopefull members are chosen into our new Parlaiment, and (it seems) as there might bee some lifting up of the yoke. The danger is lest the Parlaiment be too good to sitt long; but of those things (I suppose) you may have a more ready and full account from better hands at London.

I have sent you herewith 2 treatises, which severall yeares agoe I drew up when I was a prisoner. I think the peice not worthy your pusall, much less can I think any recompens of your kindness to mee: yet must I somwayes signify my acceptance and acknowledgment of your singular respects in those severall peices you have sent to mee. Let us especially bee in each other's hearts and prayers. May I but bee in yours, as you are in mine. I cõmend you to the Lord in whom I am

Yours to love and honor you, THO: JOLLIE.

Indorsed, — "Recd Aug^{t} 23, 1679."

THOMAS JOLLIE TO INCREASE MATHER.

ffor the Reverend M^{r}. Increas Mather, Minister of the gospell in Boston in New England. To bee left with M^{r}. Jonathan Heyes, at the sign of the Sun and Key, in Red-cross Street, London, and sent as abovsayd.

REVEREND S^{R}, AND MY DEAR BROTHER IN THE LORD, — I must write to own my further debt to you; though acknowledgment is but a litle towards payment. I not only received your letter but the books, and must not only return thanks to you, but to the Lord also. Blessed bee the Lord for what you see in your

son, and that the church shares with you in the blessing. I rejoyce in your restoring (noe doubt) for a publique good, and that the Lord hath not removed you: but that hee should withall rais up your seed for publique service, what shall wee render to him for both mercyes, that Elisha should bee raised up and Elijah not yet taken up. I must not say what I think. I need your help to prais the Lord for my mercy in both my sons, especially in him who is in the ministry: you are sensible of the mercy, and soe suitable for the duty. I think its since my last to you, that my son (I call him Timothy *) was solemnly sett apart to the ministry, and imediately after, called to undertake a pastorall charge. That church had buryed two pastors since they were gathered, and upon their sending to the Churches at London, my son was by Mr Griffith recomended to them, being dismissed from Mr Griffith's people, with whom hee was in fellowship, the church at Sheffeild to whom hee was recomended and dismissed did call in the teaching officers of other churches (having none of their own) by virtue of *comunion of Churches*, who did first solemnly sepate him to the work of the ministry and comitt to him the word of the Gospell. Then did the church unanimously choos him into pastorall relation to them and call him to the work thereof. I mention this that I may have your sens of this order, which wee humbly conceiv to bee according to the rule of the gospell, and very much for the healing of differences among dissenting brethren. It gives to the ministry all that they can demand, as to their work of setting apart to the ministry; and it gives all to the people that they can desire as to their free choice of those who are to bee over them in the Lord; it also seclndes the classicall power, and seenres the congregationall power in mannaging all in the particular Church concerned, and by virtue of *Comunion of Churches*. The Lord direct us and ours soe in the way so that there may bee noe unnecessary obstruction to the blessing on and with them; but that they may bee soe called into the ministry and carry in it that they may bee in the fairest capacity of furthest usefullness unto all.

Concerning the business of your last Synod, I heartily beg for a good success thereof. Wee have here in our circumstances been

* Rev. Timothy Jollie, pastor of a church in Sheffield, in Yorkshire; was fined and imprisoned under the *Five Mile Act*. The father rejoiced that he had a son who was willing to suffer for conscience' sake. See Calamy.

endeavouring somthing to the same purpose. Had it succeeded better, our publique affaires (I beleiv) had sueceeded better. Indeed I told my brethren at our last meeting, who did hang our proceeding too much upon the proceedings of the Parlaiment, that (I humbly conceived) the success of their affaires would much depend upon the success of the business wee had in hand. Alass! wee need otherwise spiriting to the endeavouring ourselves and the assisting of each other in the reforming of confessed evills, and ꝑforming of professed dutyes. There are some principles, too rigid on one hand and others too laxe on the other, which keep the breach open: but our great evill is in our spiritts, and that wee practice not coñunion soe far as wee might. I am thinking wee must bee forced at present to wave some as to our meetings; taking those only, who walk more uprightly according to the truth of the gospell, and are of more gospell-spiritts, yet walking with others soe far as wee are agreed, and waiting for the Lord's further revealing of himself. The dispensation wee have been under these 20 yeares hath been much for the advantage of that wee judg to bee the way of the gospell, and if things work to more extremity, I hope it shall work us to more unity. You have an account of our posture as to publique affaires from better hands; I mean from London, which is the stage upon which our tragady is acted. But why doe I say our tragady? It is not all sad, and all shall end well as to us. Nothing more fully designed, nor more probable to bee effected, than the destruction of the L^d^ Shaftsbury; yet hee is quit and sett at liberty. But these things others can better inform you of; which is also a wonder in this Popish county, when publique affaires are in such a posture. There is violent prosecution of the popish recusants, and noe ꝑsecution against protestant dissenters. But I must break off. Hold up your hearts and hands for us: Wee are likly first to feel the fury of the adversary: not but that I hope the angell is removed betwixt the host of Israell and the host of the Egyptians; yea that the Lord takes off the wheels of the Egyptians' chariotts and doth fight against them. I coñend you to this Angell of the Covenant and of the Lords presence, in whom I am

Your very loving, though very unworthy brother,

THO: JOLLIE.

PENDLTON, Dec: 5th, 1681.

LETTERS OF RICHARD BLINMAN.*

RICHARD BLINMAN TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for his reverend friend Mr Increase Mather Teacher to the second Church at Boston in New England.

Rᵉ & DEARE BRO:,—Since my former by this bearer, I have heard somth. that I cannot omit. The Convocation summoned by the prelats procurem^t^, who went up with high expectations of straitning the Non-Conformis, & providing for thems: had no commission given them to convene wⁿ they came up. I cannot but looke on it as an Answr of prayers, which calls for prayses. We perceive few or no Acts of publ: concern yet agreed-on by the 2 houses; & whether they wilbe prorogued or Adjourned, or when, we cannot yet learn; Though a vacation seems to be neere, to-morrow being (as they call it) Good Friday. It may be you wil heare in the next, of the Establishm^t^ of the Act of 600,000ᵗᴵ, for building ships, & of the Additional Bil for continuance of the Excise of Beere, Brandy, &c., for 4 years more. The onely wise & gracious God, we hope, wil appeare in his time in defeating all the plots of the Roman AntiX^t^ O! pray the Lord to hasten it! I have no more at prsent, but love & prayers. Your friend & brothr &c. [*No signature.*]

April 12. 1677.

POSTSCR: This post seem's to lessen the great victory of the French over the P. of Orange his Army. About 8000 killd on both sides, & the Ps army that remained, safely retired; onely lost a few great Gunns, with bag & baggage, which they could not draw along with them.

Indorsed,—"Mr. Rich. Blinman. Apr. 12. 1677."

* Rev. Richard Blinman came over from England, with several of his former parishioners, and soon after reaching Plymouth, in 1640, crossed over to Cape Ann, and changed the name of the town to Gloucester, the city where some of his companions were born. He afterwards removed to New London, and subsequently to New Haven. He went back to England in 1659, and died at Bristol.

RICHARD BLINMAN TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for his Reverend friend Mr Increase Mather Teacher to a church at Boston in New England.

Reverend & deare brother, — Yours with your 2 books I reĉd by this bearer Mr Sanders, for which I thank you. I, with many others are grieved to heare, that so litle Reformation hath been wrought by the awful dispensations of God to New E: & doe feare what wilbe the yssue of them. But the Lord hath a people among you, whom, I trust he wil never leave nor forsake. I heare, that your Agents in London, have not so good a Reception as is desired, & that you wilbe like to lose your patent. The Lord forbid it, if it wil suit with his glorious wil, & that the unthankfulness, & malignity of a multitude amongst you, may never prvaile to deprive you of so great a mercy. God hath formerly often blasted such endeavors, & I hope, will doe so stil; it being, a thing wherin his glory is so much concerned. The Lord give a mighty spirit of supplication, humiliation, & Repentance, to his own people amongst you. The Earle of Shaftsberry, we heare, is stil in the tower: the other 3 lords are at present out, by an act of grace, for their healths sake. The parliamt. is to sit againe in Decembr next. God ruleth in the midst of all, & is on his way to accomplish his threats & promises. O! that we were better fitted for what trialls he is bringing upon us! The Lord even to this day, sadly frowns upon us, in sending frequent raines in the time of harvest; so that much corn is like to rot; & it's said, much is blasted, & wil yield no bread. And our misery & sin is, that it's laid to heart by very few. The Lord seems to say, The floore & wine-press shal not feed us; & that he wil take away our corn in the season thereof. We are making mirth, even now wn God hath fourbished his sword against us. Cursed plays, by which the nation is debauched, abound, which our city experienced now at James's fayer.* The scarlet whore mak's the nations drunk with the cup of her fornications. The Lord hasten her ruine. As for forreign-news, I can heare of no considerable action of

* St. James's Fair, which began on the eve of St. James's Day, July 25.

late; the armies waite one on another, & labo[r] one to prevent another, of what they designe; but no battel. Some of our great ones are lately gone into Holland, Germany, &c.: its thought at their return, we shal see some alteration. Your deare bro: & my deare correspondent in Dublin, gives the L[d] Capel a most honourable character, into whose place D. Ormond is gone, or going. Mine with my [wifes] deare love to you & yours; with our good friend M[r] Elliot, & . . . have occasion. I shal desire you to give my loves to . . . [St]amford & his; I heare his sister is living, but have rec̃d no letter from her: I have not time to write to him; let him have what you judge worthy his kn[owledge] in these lines. I had almost forgot to tell you to beware of one Rigby, who (as he s[th]) married a daughter of M[rs] Longs of Charlestown; a meere cheat; who I doubt wil shew his Tricks to your bro: & D[r] Harrison, if I prevent him not. Many such we meet with. M[r] Elnathan Chancey * is like to return to N. E., who hath had advantages from his 2 broth[rs] here for the practice of physick. I believe he is truly Godly, & hath gained a good estimation here, with the better sort, that know him. — The Lord be with you, In hast I rest,

Your Lov: friend, R. B.

Aug: 14[th] 1677.

Indorsed, — . . . "linman, Aug. 14, 1677."

RICHARD BLINMAN TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for M[r] Increase Mather.

Reverend & Deare Brother, — Its now long since I had an opportunity of sending to you. I cannot begin where I left. I doubt not but you have heard of our affaiers from other hands. 3 of the 4 Lords formerly committed to the Tower for pleading this Parliam't to be Nul, have had their liberty long since. Onely Shaftsbury deteind till this last session, which began Jan: 15, 77[8]. And upon his acknowledgem[t] of his misadvised action in so doing; & his appealing to the Judges, the House of Lords still in Being,

* A physician of Boston, son of President Chauncy.

who had committed him, he, upon his petition, not without the opposition of some of the house, was received, but hath said litle since. We have nothing but Rumo^{rs} of warrs against the French. A Pol-bil already signed to defray the charge, which wil rise to an unknown sum̃; besides a considerable sum̃ to be raisd on all the new buildings in the suburbs of London since 56. But its said, its given to make an actual war with France, which his ma^{tie} hath been often desired to proclaym. Besides, another Act to prohibit French goods for 3 years, very strict, yet some Criticks are apt to surmize, we shal have no war with France. Ghent & Ypres in Flanders are lately yielded up to the French. Volunteers have been & are stil raising with us to send over to help the Confederats. Some few are landed at Ostend already. Some are apt to guess they wilbe imployed nearer home. The Kirk party in Scotland are in a very afflicted condition; some of the Scottish Lords gone over to the North of Ireland. Divers of the Uplanders in Scotland (its said) invited down to the West of Scotland, where they act their Barbarism in plundering, ravishing, &c. Many godly hearts here are much affected with their condition. It may be you may see more in an inclosed paper, if I can get it time enough. My dear brõ: Bartlet * (and your friend) I heare was to be indicted at this Assizes, I wait to heare what hath been done. Our comon fears of Popery doe not yet restrain some from persecuting the godly. There is much peace in this City to the Lord's people, blessed be His name; thô some few have lately been cited to the B^{p}'s Court, it's come to nought. Blessed be God for your peace. The Lord sanctifie the stroke & deliverance. Satan knows his time is short & g^{o} rageth greatly. O! that there were a greater spirit of prayer, humiliation & Reformation on foote! Too much conformity to the world is found every where, which some more serious ministers & christians bewayle. I believe the Lord is about to knock off the fingers of many professing people, from the world, that he may take off their hearts more from creatures to himself. Our late news is, that the French have deserted their present designe at Mycena in Sicily; & hath laid an Embargo on all his vessels in France, & made an order against our English commodities, in imitation of what we have done against

* Probably Rev. Robert Bartlet, of Cadbury, Somersetshire.

Freneh eommodities here, & on our ships here. On Thursday next our Parliament, after a fortnight's Adjournm^{t}, is to sit againe; the day before which there is to be a day of Humiliation in all London; & that day fortnight over all Engl: to be seriously kept by all subjeets, acording to *the printed form of prayer that shalbe prescribed*. This Post we heare that the Freneh mounsier hath deserted Ghent & Ypres; whieh maks some think that we shal indeed have a war with Franee, the Freneh having also a fleet gathering in St. Malows. The sum̃ of the Seotch news intimated above, is this. On the 13th of January last the 2 Areh Prelats there with the rest of the Counеil, put to death one M^{r} James Michel, an eminent servant of Jes: X^{t}, as is said, upon supposition that he shot at a B^{p} 7 or 8 years agoe.* And after they had imbrued their hands in his blood, the said Prelats marehed with 5000 horse & foot into the land, to put them upon the Abjuration of the Cov^{t}: & to make them give bonds not to goe to any Conventiele in house, field, or wood. They designed not onely Imprisonment & Confiseation, but death also to the refusers. And all the Gentry from 60 years old to 16, to assist when required, on pain of Rebellion. And no man to goe out of Scotland, upon the same penalty. The first of Febr: they were marehed from Edinburrough to Glasgow, whieh is said to be 40 miles. No man may take or keep a Tenant or servant that goes to Conventieles, as they eall them. We have not heard this moneth past what is further done. On Tuesday next there is to be a general muster of the new souldiers in James's Park. You see what need there is of praying & humbling. *sat verbū sap:* I have no more at present but love to you & yours, with other R^{d} & deare friends as you have opportunity. The Lord in merey be with you & us. I rest,

Your loving friend & brother, [*No signature.*]

March [April ?] 8, 1678.

Postscript, April 18th '78.

There is a book set forth (a m^{ti} being offred to diseover the autho^{r} or printer) whieh gives an aeeount of about 200 Parliam^{t} men by name, that have been, as is said, bribed, with the sum̃s & offiees they have, or are to have. One of them, (as we

* Mitchell confessed the act, under a promise that his life should be spared.

heare, & I doubt not the truth of it) was inclosed to Deputy Coldston, a merchant in our city, by some unknown hand. Another book that discovers (as is s^d^) much underhand dealing of some great ones; but they are forbidden, & so we must be ignorant. His Ma^tie^ hath adjourn'd the Parliam^t^ againe for a fortnight, till April 29th. What the reason of it is not known. There is lately more out of Scotland, as you wil see by the inclosed, & divers of the Scotch nobility now at our Court to complain against Laudordale. What is the yssue I cannot yet tell you. I shal desire you to send the inclosed, or a copy of it, to M^r^ Fitch with my letter to him, & the rest of what I have written; both you & he need be wary to whom you communicate it. O! pray & cry mightily to God for us! We have no help but in the name of the Lord that made H. & Earth. The Lord be with you, & grant peace & truth among you.

RICHARD BLINMAN TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for M^r^ Increase Mather, Teacher to a Church of Christ at Boston in New England.

SINCE my former by this vessel, we heare that Ghent is not yielded up by the French, as was reported. It is reported that the Dutch wil fal in with the French, who offer them larger tearms than formerly. Great complaints against Lauderdale. Above 60 of Scotch nobility are said to be now at our court, to petition against his cruelties in Scotland. In particular, the Earle of Cassels [Cassilis], who hath very much acted in obedience to him and the Council there, found such unjust dealing from them, that he is now in London, & hath presented the particulars of their rigorous dealing with him, which I have not time to transcribe. What answer he & others have, I cannot tell you, but its said the Barbarous High-landers are disbanded. Some of our Parliam^t^ men who were pensioners, begin now to speak at an high-rate, against the Ministers of State. I am apt to think, they see it is their onely way to secure themselves from the odium of the people of this nation. Its supposed, that the Parliam^t^ wilbe sent away

shortly; & if the Standing Army abide, we may expect the French mode of administration of Justice. Some Justices, for imprisoning Mass-Priests taken in their robes administring, have forthwith been put out of Commission, & the priests sent for up to London & discharged; which the house of Comons seem to be discontented with, & have given 4 or 5 reasons to the Lords, why (as they judge) the Papists are now so bold, & evade the execution of justice. I could not omit to give you the estate of our present affaiers, since my former. You see what need we have of prayers. Its thought some great shaking is neere. I believe that Earthquake, Revelation 11th is not far off, when the 7000 names of men (who are indeed rather bruits than men) shalbe slain, & the remnant (or rest of men) shal have their eyes opened, be affrighted & give glory to God. And then woe be to Rome. I cannot think of any more at present. Accept of his love who is

Yours cordially, &c.

May 20th, 78.

Indorsed, — "Mr Richard Blinman. May, 1678."

RICHARD BLINMAN TO INCREASE MATHER.

Reverend & Deare Brother, — I hope you have reĕd my last long since. I cannot tell you all that have intervened to this time. I suppose you may have had divers things from other hands. Our Parliamt hath since sate, & was adjourned till August 5th but not like to sit till winter, unless the warre goe on against France, which is rendred so dubious as none knows what to make of it. Many of our souldiers lately raised are sent over into the Spanish Netherlands. The Duke of Monmouth, its said, is gone over; & the D. of York to follow. The Dutch have set the K. of France a day (which I suppose is now over, thŏ we yet heare not the Answeare) whether he wil deliver up Mastricht, & the places he hath taken in Flanders; which he refused to doe unless the D. of Brandenburg would deliver up to the Swede what he had taken in Pomeren. Some skirmishes have been of late, wherein divers lost on both sides. It here passes for

currant (which it may be, you know better than we) that by a Hurricane in the West Indies, 8 French men of war, and 6 French merchant men, were driven ashore & lost, wherein were 1500 seamen & 8000 souldiers. An eminent blast of God, if true. But our ears are so filled with contradictions & false reports, that we know not how to credit the Reports which come every post. There is a great depth of Satan in Jesuitical caballs; but the All-knowing God knows them all, & wil in the end, take the wise in their own craftiness. The Scots stil goe on with their meetings, notwithstanding all the cruelties they have met with, & its said, they increase, & many come in to them, who before stood off. A standing-Army is there concluded upon by the late Convention, & 70,000^{li} p *Annū* agreed upon to mainteine them. Divers Herito^{rs} refuse to seale the Bonds they would impose upon them, concerning their Tenants. What wilbe the yssue we know not. God wil doe His own work in His own time, & it wilbe a glorious one. But Alas! What is like to come before upon an evil generation? Prophane-ness abounds; & profesſo^{rs}, for the most part, doe not adorn the Gospel. Many of the Lord's Ambassado^{rs} are called home of late, & we feare we shal heare of more shortly. And yet how litle taken to heart? We heare not scarce of any (that are like to succeed them) of the young generation. Our B^{p} Guy (?) is againe pecking at the congregations in this city; but our magistrats are not very prone to serve him therin. I lately heard by one from Dublin that your bro: * was wel, & hath a great meeting, & quiet, but I have not received a line from him a great while.

Since the above written, I heare that the Treaty at Nimiguen is to yssue in peace or war, this weeke; whether of the 2 we know not. Its said the French-King is willing to deliver up all in Flanders, save Charle-Roy & Mastricht; both which he wil also deliver up, when the Swede shal have what hath been taken in Pomeren. Our Parliam^{t} is againe put off till the 29th instant. You see our state, & I suppose you know your own better than I can tell you. Yet I shal adventure to give you this hint, under the Rose, that I feare an Inhabitant of your countrey would faine be L^{d} paramount over all the colonies. *Sat: verb: sap:* God

* Rev. Nathaniel Mather.

hath blasted all designs formerly, & I hope he wil goe on to blast them; & to establish the good he hath begun in the wilderness. I have no more to adde at present. If any thing arise before this vessel sayle, I shal endeavo^{r} to give it you. I cannot now write to M^{r} Fitch nor M^{r} Russel, to whom rememb^{r} & excuse me. My deare love to yourself & yours, with my wives also; & to our R^{d} friend M^{r} Elliot & other friends, desiring the Lord dayly for you, & desiring the like for us. In hast, I rest

Yours in X^{t} &c. [*No signature.*]

August 9, 78.

I have heard since, that God hath eminently executed judgem^{t} on many of the Barbarous High-landers, & many others of them since converted, & the rest of them gone.

LETTERS OF SAMUEL HOOKER.*

SAMUEL HOOKER TO INCREASE MATHER.

These ffor the Reverend Mr Increase Mather in Boston, ddd.

Reverend Sr, — I thought longe till your last came wherewith I received your good gift. Thankes for both. Through grace, Indian motions are greatly hushe amonge us. The last report which cometh to mee, (which is Indian newes) but said to be true, is, that a divine Hand hath followed those of our enemies who went Albany-ward: multitudes of them swept away by sicknes; — som others resigned up to the hands of Inglish or Mohawkes, or both. Fuller intelligence will shortly be had. If opportunity serve, an exact account of your easterne motions and particularly of that concerning Capt. Lake † would bee acceptable. I have heard occasionally that Mr Oakes is in som good measure revived; which in the midst of many sorrowes is som matter of refreshing and Joye. I heare there is much sicknesse and som more death than ordinary at Hadly. The bloudy flux hath been amongst us; but, thankes bee to God, not much mortallity. At this time a very malignant and dangerous feaver is wanderinge here abouts. God seemeth not to have finished His controversy with the land. We have a long time been chastened. Oh that wee might bee taught out of His law. I adde no more, but thankful love, with desyres of prayer, and remaine

Yours affectionately S: H:

Octob. 12, 76.

* Rev. Samuel Hooker, son of Rev. Thomas Hooker, of Hartford, was ordained at Farmington in 1661, as successor to his brother-in-law, Rev. Roger Newton.

† See notes on pp. 298 and 301.

SAMUEL HOOKER TO INCREASE MATHER.

[*To*] *The Reverend Mr. Increase Mather, these, Boston.*

Reverend Sr, — Yours of May 28 I received yesterday, together with your instructions concerning Renewal of Covenant: Thankes for both: As for things in our colony, I wish I could give you a better accounnt: We are greatly beholding to God for our magistracye, the countenance of which bodeth good: Our Ministry also sure: (at least diverse of them) & I hope God will never forsake. For reformation. I wish I could on good grounds saye more, and yet there may be more than I am advantged to observe: However there is cause to waite with Hope, in as much as *Afterward* chastisement yeildeth the peaceable fruit of righteousnes. My son cometh in company with these: Indisposed for the Colledge. I heare Mr Wigglesworth being at greater Leisure yn som others (becaus of his rare preaching.) is thought a man very Idoneous for such instruction as he needeth. To him I thinke to mone for his Helping Hand. If you see nothing incongruous, please to promote it: and at all times by all meanes further his good: concerning the settlement of, &c: If Tekel bee not upon It: all may bee well: Whereas yon tell me in the beginning of yours that it is a longe time since you received any Letter from mee: I doubt not (but that your Time is short,) you might haue said some thinge else: but If I be chid, and both of us mend, It is best of all: With best respects I remaine

Yours assuredly, S. Hooker:

June. 5. 77.

SAMUEL HOOKER TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Reverend Mr. Increase Mather, in Boston, These.

Reverend Sr, — I perceive by Mr Ffoster * that Tutor Oakes with yourself are like to have a considerable influence into his

* Rev. Isaac Foster. See letter of Increase Mather on p. 93, and note ‡ to the same.

motion, now under Hand. The gentleman is a stranger any further than by heare say, and what glimmerings of acquaintance now vouchsafed in this running visit, but giving respect to the testimony that passeth upon him, and considering how the providence of God hath pointed the people with much unanimity to desyre him, I can not but request you seriously to consider what may be most acceptable to God in the case. The people have a longe time, beene in an unquiet, unedifying posture, and it will be an excellent and very acceptable service unto God, to bring them to Peace according to Truth: & according to what appeareth, I see no man more like to doe it than this gentleman. Therefore, if it may bee, let him come to us. No doubt but he will in the beginning meet with some difficulty; but I hope God will helpe through it, and friends will not faile to take part of his burthen. I suppose you will heare by better hands of the great breach made upon Hartford, by the death of Mr. Haines,* who departed the 24 of this instant. The Holy One of Israell teach to profit.

I know not when any line of yours hath come to mee. The reason I presume is best known to yourself. Praye for us, and I remaine Yours truly, S. H.

May 28. 79.

[Suppose Samuel Hooker. — Prince.]

[The following indorsement upon this letter is in the handwriting of Increase Mather: —]

Having discoursed with Mr. Foster, upon his Invitation from the congregation at Windsor, & finding that his spirit (not without raising, in his owne & o[r] apprehension very momentous . . .) is altogether averse fro a closure with that motion, wee dare not advise him to accept thereof, as conceiving that his call is not clear.

Vrian Oakes.
Sam. Nowell.
I[ncrease] M[ather.]
Sam[l] Torrey.
Thomas Graves.†

* Rev. Joseph Haynes, of Hartford, [H. C. 1658] son of Governor John Haynes, succeeded Rev. Thomas Hooker, at Hartford, in 1664, and died May 24, 1679, aged thirty-eight years. Savage's "Geneal. Dict."

† H. C. 1656, *et Socius.*

SAMUEL HOOKER TO JAMES FITCH.

To the Reverend Mr James ffitch, sen: Pastor to the Church of Xt in Norwich.

Reverend Sr, — The Inclosed of Mr Higgensons to mee, and in that yours to him, came to my hande (as I remember) upon our Election daye last. I have not beene altogether unmindfull of the matter, although not as yet made any returne to him. For the designe it self, I can contribute but little to it, being (as you know) little more then *Infantulus* when it pleased God to take him from my heade. Besides, what may be said of my wantinge a heart to improve the little time I had to observe what otherwise I might. Happy it is, that there are others who may supplye my defect; — Mr Higginson's motion to mee cometh with som strength, and the rather becaus (as you may perceive) he ploweth with your heifer. Yet I am not wholy unmindfull of what Mr Tailor told mee in his (which together with these cometh to you). The narative itself, therefore, I now returne to your hande, to bee kept longer or sent sooner, as in your wisdome you shall judge meete, who have the greatest interest in it; with thankes for your kindnesse both to the deade and the livinge. [Mr. Cl]arke, of whom Mr Taylor speaketh, I thinke, was my fathers pu[pil ? and] doe beleeve would not, if living, unwillingly take his part upon [de]sire, or if *Considerandis Considerandis* it bee thought best Mr Hubbard should doe it, yet perhaps it would not bee counted unbecoming the intimacy that is or may bee betwixt Mr Higginson and your self, if before you send him the enclosed, he should bee desired to give you a sight of what himself, good Mr Eliot, or any other as far as with him have done. This would not be unacceptable to mee, tho too great for mee to aske.

But in these things I doe but chatter. I freely leave the whole in your hande. The Lord guide to that which shall most conduce to His glory; in whom I remaine,

Your unworthy servant: S. Hooker:

June: 14: 82:

LETTERS OF SAMUEL PETTO.

SAMUEL PETTO* TO INCREASE MATHER.

These ffor the Reverd Mr Increase Mather, Pastor of the Church at Boston in New England. With a book.

Deare Se, — Yours I received with the book concerning the warr, but it was long before the book came to hand. I heartily thank you for it. Also this week I received another letter from you bearing date mon. 2. d. 23. 77. & am much troubled to hear of your sustaining such a loss by that fiery dispensation; it is our duty to say it is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good. You haue tryals one way & I another way, lately one of my daughters is become a prodigal, & about 10 dayes ago resolved to go beyond sea, hath obscured her selfe in order to that end, so as I haue been searching for her all this week in London & cannot find her; she was a sempster in the city & might haue lived well, but on a suddain is bent to ramble & hath sinned highly against the Lord by falsehoods . . . which is my great affliction, & indeed the greatest tryal that ever I mett withal in the world, O pray for us. I haue 11 children more, some of them (blessed be the Lord) are gracious, I long to see Christ formed in all of them.

I shall be glad to hear that the warr with the Indians is at an end. The Comet was seen here a few nights, there is no book written upon it, only about a sheet of paper, which is said to be no true account of it, yet if I can find it I shall herewith send it, although not worth the sending; I have enclosed an exact account of it which I had from a good hand. I also intend to send with it, Dr Owen of the reason of faith, with hearty thanks for all your love.

* Rev. Samuel Petto was a student of Katherine Hall, Cambridge. After his ejectment from Sandcroft, in Suffolk, he was pastor of a congregation in Sudbury, in the same county, where he continued till his death. He was highly esteemed, and gave some attention to natural philosophy. See Calamy's "Nonconformists Memorial."

As to newes here is little, the Parliam^t in the spring did pass some Acts, & urging the King to a warr with France, he was displeased & required them to adjourne till July. 16, then they adjourned till towards the winter. Three of the Lords who were in the Tower for affirming the Parliam^t to be dissolved are released.

There hath been no through battel between the Confederates & the Ffrench this . . . of Orange attempted the taking of . . . drew off againe.

I cannot inlarge only w . . . p^rsented to you I rest,

[*Signature destroyed.*]

Mon. 6. d. 31. 1677.

SAMUEL PETTO TO INCREASE MATHER.

These ffor the Rever^d M^r. Increase Mather, Pastor of the Church at Boston in New England. With a parcell.

Deare S^r, — Since my last to you (with which I sent Dr. Owen of the Reason of Faith) I received from you, your Relation of the Troubles in New England from 1614 to 1675, & a sermon therewith which were very acceptable to me, & I heartily thank you for them, also I sent the two to M^r Wesgate which were directed to him, & he intendeth by a letter to acknowledge your kindness. If you sent a letter to me with these last, it miscarryed, for I received none. When I did last write I was in a great distress about a prodigal child, who is since returned to us. O beg that she & all my children may returne to God through Jesus Christ. I haue 12. Some of them the Lord hath owned, & I long to see Christ formed in all of them.

I shall be glad to hear that the Indians are wholly supp^rsed in N. E. & peace restored there.

The publick affaires in this part of the world haue a very sad countenance. The K. of France this Spring hath gained a great part of ffLanders, as Gant, &c.

The Parliam^t here hath been very urgent with the K. to join with the Confederates in a warr with ffrance, & hath granted a Poll Bill, in order to a warr. A Marquis, 40^li; Earl, 30^li; Viscount,

25^{li}; Baron, 20^{li}; Knight of the Bath, 15^{li}; Knight, 10^{li}; Gentleman, 1^{li}. Every person 1^{li} except^{s} they receive almes or be not worth 50^{li}. Many thousand of souldiers are raised, but no warr proclaimed, & many think there will be none. The Parliam^{t} have run so high as yesterday they were Prorogued for about 10 dayes. They are greatly afraid of Popery, complain of the growth of it; because Papists are not proseeuted (as other dissenters are) upon those Acts against Recusants, & if any be prosecuted, Justiees are turned out of eom̃ission for doing it. They lately made an Address to the King for the removal of some evil Councellors; upon whieh the King spake to the House of Lords as followeth.

My Lords,—I have reeeived an Address from the house of Com̃ons of so extraordinary a nature, that I eannot choose but be highly offended at it, & therefore haue resolved to Prorogue them for a few dayes, that they may eonsider of it, & behaue themselves hereafter more respeetfully. I have lived long enough to be sensible of the consequences of sueh Addresses. I assure your Lordships I am very well satisfied with the dutifull & respeetfull carriage of this house towards me, & hope by our next meeting you will haue considered what adviee to give me in the present eonjuncture.

By these things you may easily guess what condition we are in here in old England.

I haye herewith sent you three books *Christianismus Christianandus*,* and M^{r} Ny's paper,† of a question which is much debated here, and many eminent persons are against him or of another mind; also M^{r} Troughton of Divine Providenee, & especially of *p^{r}determination & Concourse;* whieh hath been a late controversy between some worthy ꝑsons here, viz. M^{r} How & M^{r} Gale.‡ M^{r} Troughton striketh in on M^{r} Gales' side.

If I knew what other such bookes would be acceptable to you, I would send them.

I ean only add cordial salutations to you, & rest

Yours, S. P.

May 14, 1678.

* This book relates to the state of the kingdom of France. *Christianissimus* (not *Christianismus* as in the text) is the *most Christian* King.

† Philip Nye published "A case of great and present use," in 1677.

‡ Rev. Theophilus Gale.

SAMUEL PETTO TO INCREASE MATHER.

These ffor the Reverd Mr. Increase Mather, Pastor of the Church at Boston, in New England.

Reverd & Deare Sir, — Yours I received which beareth date Octob. 9, 1678, with the sermons relating to the rising generation, which I assure you are very acceptable to me; & I returne my hearty thanks for them. I am not now at London, & so cannot send any other in requital, but possibly about 3 or 4 moneths hence, (if the Lord continueth life and liberty) I may; if you would be so free as to let me know what would be acceptable to you, I should take it as a favour. I did not think that you were of the same opinion with some of those which I last sent (no more am I) but I thought good to let you know what is controverted here.

Mr Humfreys * is an ingenious man; the same who formerly did write for large admissions to the Lord's table, & who since the late Conformity here did write a book for re-ordination, (& is still, I suppose, of the same mind) yet himselfe being re-ordained or submitting to Episcopal ordination hoping thereby to continue his liberty of publick preaching. This his owne re-ordination (in some matters referring to it) so disquieted his spirit, as it was like a heavy rugg upon him, that he could not (without sweating) lye under it, nor cast it off, till he had made a recantation even in print, so tender a thing is conscience, if God setteth home any thing upon it, how small soever it may seeme to be in itselfe. So that he is not a Conformist. The same man hath written other small pamphlets as a midde way, — 1. Of Election; 2. Of Justification, introducing workes into it, 3. Between the Law & the Gospel.

As to the other I am mostly of the same mind with yourselfe, That such precepts proceed from the holy nature of God, & some things are good & therefore comanded, as others (in institutions) are comanded & so are good. But as to the punishment threatned, if it floweth *ex justitiâ naturali* it is difficult to understand how

* See in Calamy's "Ejected Ministers," (*sub nomine*) an account of this matter.

any redeemer, any substitute, any Saviour could be admitted, if that be asserted, or how the Law could be relaxed, or the obligation unto punishment dissolved, for those Agents who act naturally, seem to act necessarily, & if the nature of God puteth upon such proceeding against sin, must not the punishment fall upon the sinner himselfe, that he must punish the very sinner, & this would put a barr in the way of our redemption by Jesus Christ. Yet I only propose this for solution; am not peremptory.

As for Reverd Dr Owen,* he (I am confident) is not dead. About 7ber he had a sickness, but the Lord restored him, & I hope hath further work for him to do in this world. I have heard nothing of his death & so do conclude he is alive. It is hard to see how such a loss should be repayred. We have need of such men to stand in the gap in this day of Jacob's trouble.

I suppose you have heard that a peace is concluded between the ffrench & the Dutch & Spanyard, & (as its said) with the Emperour.

Our greatest newes is at home. About October there was a discovery of such a hellish plot & designe of the Popish Jesuiticall party, as I think is not to be paralelled in any history. It was to take away the life of the King, to subvert the government, destroy the Protestants & Protestant Religion, to restore Popery. Many Papists in all parts of the land concerned in it under an Oath of secresy upon taking the Sacrament. Some might not know of their designe to kill the King, but others did, & held correspondence with Le Chase [Chaise] (the King of ffrance's Confessor,) &, as it is said obtained great sumes of money to carry on this wicked designe. Amongst these was one Mr Colman, who was tried, condemned, & executed (probably he expected a pardon, having formerly been a servant to D. Y., but missed of it). Three others stand condemned, but not yet executed, others are imprissoned. 4 or 5 Lords in the Tower are to be tryed. Dayly, priests & Jesuites are taken & fresh discoveries made. The first who revealed this was Mr Oates, who, (being an active man) was imployed both beyond sea & here in the designe, by the Popish party. But at last God extorted it from him. He confessed it to some who would not believe it; but a Justice of Peace, (viz, Sir Ed-

* Dr. John Owen; died Aug. 24, 1683.

mund Berry Godfrey,) took his depositions at large & was very active in the matter. Some priests & Jesuites trepanned him into Sumerset House (as is since confessed) & there he was cruelly murdered, & after some dayes was carried out & found dead in a ditch, upon Primrose hill. A Proclamation issued out promising pardon to those that should in such a time give a true account of this murther, at last one Mr Bedlow (touched in conscience) confessed, & gave a further discovery of the plot. These two and many others have been . . . before not only King & Councell, but the House of Comons. Upon searching . . . were letters of Mr Colman that discovered transactions for severall, . . . but those which concerne the two last yeares could not be found. Lately one Prance, a silver smith, confessed the death of Sir Edm. Bury Godfrey, with the manner of it, & many other things, afterward unsayed it, since hath discovered that what he first confessed was truth, & that some Jesuites, by promises & threatnings moved him to unsay it.

And thus the murther of that Justice which they designed to promote their work, God hath turned upon themselves as a great meanes to bring many of their workes of darkness to light. The Parliam^t made an Act to exclude such as were Popishly affected out of the houses, unless they took a Test. Some were excluded by this, others took it. Other Bills they p^rpared against Popery, & about disbanding the Army, which was raised upon the occasion of warres lately in Flanders, & concerning the Militia, but these were not passed. Instead thereof the Parliament* was prorogued untill the 4th day of next moneth, called ffebruary, to the great trouble of very many; & now we hear of a further Prorogation untill the 25th day of next moneth, called ffebruary, to the astonishment of not a few.

Before either of these (its said) one in the house of Comons made a speech, & desired them to read Jerem. 40. the three last verses, & Ierem. 41, the three first verses, & left the application to them. It is a time of great fear & danger in England. Its said that some of the Popish party give out that their designe goeth on; but God hath marvellously appeared in causing their own tongues to fall upon themselves, as Psal. 64, which seemeth

* The House of Comons having impeached the Lord Treasurer. [*Note by Petto.*]

to be a token for good. It is God, his own work, to bring forth these discoveries, it must be acknowledged to him, & it hath been in a wonderfull way. But the erying sins of the Nation & want of reformation here (whieh you complaine of in N. E.) doth mueh threaten vs with a storme of judgment. The Lord seemeth unwilling to give us up. Lately some persons of considerable estates (yet Papists as is said) are come in to make further diseoveries, & last week a trunck or truneks of papers are found upon a search in a merchant's house, whieh, probably, will give a fuller aceount; but I must write a volume if I should write what is already come forth; & there is much more yet behind.

By these things you may easily diseern that it is a day of Old England's trouble, so as we stand in more then ordinary need of N. E. prayers.

I hope you will improve your interest both in heaven & earth, on this account. I am sorry to hear of a want of reformation in N. E.; & should be glad to know how those Lawes run there (which we haue heard of) for the restraining pride in Apparel & otherwise. If they be printed by themselves, a friend here would be glad to see them.

I am too tedious in this letter. I rejoyce to hear of mercy to you in so hopefull a Son; & that the graee of God hath appeared to any other of your children. (Blessed be God) I also see His image on some of mine. Help by your prayers, for the rest. So with cordial salutations p^{r}scnted to you I rest

Y^{rs}, S. P.

Mon. 11. d. 21, 167$\frac{8}{9}$.

I shall be glad to hear that this com̄eth safe to your hand. M^{r} Oates is very aetive, & doth great serviee in this matter, knowing very many of the Popish erue. Here are great feares of an invasion of the ffreneh; that King hauing a great armada at Brest for some designe.

Direet your letters as you did the last; to be left with M^{r} Kett, Merehant in Gravel lane in Hounsditeh, London.

SAMUEL PETTO TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Reverd Mr. Increase Mather, Pastor of the church at Boston, in New England.

Hon^RED S^R, — I received yours with the sermon, Heaven's Alarm to the World, for which I heartily thank you. I did also direct a few lines to you, with M^r Stockton's* book entituled Consolation in Life & Death. I hope you received it.

It pleaseth the Lord yet wonderfully to preserve England from the Popish-Sham-Plots. Many attempts they haue made to cast the odium upon the Presbyterians as they call them, but under that name the designe hath been also apparently against the soberest Conformists. Yet wonderfully they haue been hitherto defeated & disappointed. How long it will be thus we know not. Our sins are so great that they threaten that the Lord may give us up into the hands of enemies; yet he spareth us, & seemeth unwilling to give us up. It is a great mercy that He doth deferre his anger.

I suppose you have heard that the Earl of Shaftsbury & others were charged with Treason, & Jurys passed upon them in order to a Tryall; but the Jurys found such selfe-contradictions among the witnesses, that they found *Ignoramus*, & so the persons were set at liberty upon bail.

We need your earnest prayers in New England for Old England. The dangers still seem to be very great. I can only add my cordiall respects to you, & rest

Yours, Sa: Petto.

Januar. so called, 16, 168½.

I intend to send you another of M^r Stockton, entituled The best Interest† when it is finished.

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* Rev. Owen Stockton, M.A., of Christ's College, Cambridge, was a Nonconformist divine of eminent piety and learning, and a tutor in the University of Cambridge. The book referred to in the text was published after his death.

† He left a manuscript bearing this title.

SAMUEL PETTO TO INCREASE MATHER.

ffor the Reverd Mr. Increase Mather Pastor of the Church at Boston in New England. Boston.

EVER HONEED SR, — I received yours with a book of Coñets & of remarkable Providences, for which I heartily thank you & haue been exceedingly satisfyed in the reading of them, & much refreshed, as also with Mr. Torrey's * Plea for dying Religion, which now, if ever, is a seasonable subject; if you were here, you would think so. I return my hearty thanks to yourselfe & also to him for your labrs therein.

It was but lately that they came to my hand. That *de Signo filij hominis* I never received. It is much to my griefe that I haue been so long silent, but last year I did not judge it convenient for your selfe or me to write. I doubt not but you had information by persons which came over, *viva voce*, what condition we are in that live in old England, both as to civill & religious liberties, & I must still referr you to such information for your satisfaction. I think it not expedient to write any thing concerning it, but I suppose you hear enough to put you in New England upon crying mightily to God for those in Old England which are of the same principles with your fathers who first were planted in N. E. Indeed the open prophanenes of multitudes here, & the height of their opposition against the power of godlines, yea, against the very form of it, call for general bitter lamentation; & God hath many wayes eminently witnessed against the sins by manifest Judgments.

Indeed the last winter was so terrible, that for extremity of cold, & the long continuance thereof, & this last sumer for extremity of heat, & the long continuance thereof, the oldest man alive hath not experienced the like. The Lord seemeth to go out of the ordinary road of his providence in such things, even as the sins of men seem to be so unparelelled. Also I am credibly informed that there are new signes in the heavens, that about 9 dayes since, three

* Rev. Samuel Torrey, of Weymouth.

suns appeared, one red as blood. And what is still worse, there is no appearance of a deep humiliation in any sort of men, for the crying sins which provoke the Lord to wrâth against us, even against his sons & daughters. This is & shall be for a lamentation.

I herewith send you two bookes, one of Mr. Astȳ, & another I know not the author of, nor his name, concerning the future state, which I thought might be acceptable to you. I intended now to haue sent more, but cannot obtaine them. They may follow afterward, the Lord permitting, if I can get them. One is sutable to the designe concerning Providences, a remarkable instance of Witcheraft, but I cannot yet gett it, though I haue diligently caused it to be sought for.

I cannot enlarge, but presenting cordiall salutations to you, & to Mr. Torrey, desiring you would send me any writings, as of your own, so of his, whose sermon I read with great satisfaction. I would indeavour to requite them with some or other of like value, if the Lord p^{r}serveth life & liberty. So I rest,

Yours, Sa: Petto.

Octob. 8. 1684.

Mr. Wesgate is dead. He died very suddenly.

LETTERS OF JONATHAN TUCKNEY.*

JONATHAN TUCKNEY TO INCREASE MATHER.

MUCH RESPECTED S^R^,—I take the boldnesse, being encouraged by my good cousen your Brother in law, Mr John Cotton,† to give you the trouble of a few lines, hoping & desireing that they may be an inlet into acquaintance with your self, which indeed I shall count myself happy in. In the first place I give you thanks for your Relation concerning the warrs, which I have perused with satisfaction, & am only sorry to hear by my Cous. Cotton that (since your history) warrs were renewed, latter end of last yeer. My prayers are that God would yet be gracious to His People with you, & not let man prevail, but rather that the Heathen may be judged in His sight. What controversy the Lord hath with His

* Jonathan Tuckney was son of Rev. Dr. Anthony Tuckney, Assistant to Rev. John Cotton, in Boston, England, and after Cotton's removal to New England, vicar of Boston. "He was accounted a prodigy for his natural talents and his proficiency in school-learning." See Calamy. He appears to have been cousin to John Cotton, of Plymouth, and, of course, to Mary or Maria Cotton, the wife of Increase Mather; for which reason he sometimes addresses the latter as "cousin."

[Since the above was written, we have obtained the following genealogical items from our friend William G. Brooks, S. H. S.:—]

The connection between John Cotton and Anthony Tuckney has been made evident by the researches made by H. G. Somerby, Esq., for Hon. Caleb Cushing.

John Cotton in his will mentions his wife, her house in Boston, Eng., and his brother Coney, and sister Mary Coney. Now, John Cotton married for his second wife a widow, Sarah Story, 25th April, 1632, who was undoubtedly the widow of William Story, whom she married 1 May, 1619, and who had died in March, 1627–8, buried March 19. If so, her maiden name was Hawkridge or Hawcrit, and she was the sister of Mary Hawkridge, who married Thomas Coney, and of Elizabeth Hawkridge, who married John Coney, 16 Dec. 1624. From the will of Anthony Hawkredd, of Boston, dated 12 Aug. 1626, it is evident that Elizabeth Coney and Mary Coney were his daughters; and though Sarah Wheelwright is not named, there can be no doubt that she was another child. But this Anthony Hawkridge is called brother-in-law by William Tuckney, of Kyrton, Co. Linc., in his will, dated 29 Jan. 1610–11, and this was the father of Anthony Tuckney. We therefore conclude, that Anthony Hawkridge married a Tuckney, aunt of Anthony T., and that Sarah (Hawkridge) Cotton was first cousin to the said Anthony Tuckney.

This pedigree, though necessarily conjectural, is fully borne out by the facts remaining; and extensive search in the Lincolnshire records gives no names or dates which can render the scheme in the slightest degree questionable.

† Rev. John Cotton, of Plymouth.

professing people there, we cañot at this distance so well discern, but I desire that God Himself would discover it to His there, that so it may be taken up. For our own Nation, truly we are ripe for ruine, we are so full of sin; & so impenitent in it. And what the Lord may doe with us, we have cause to think with trembling. But onely there are grounds of hope, that seeing the Lord hath pleasd to make us his people, he will not quite forsake us. There are those (Blessed be His Name) that have not forgotten Him nor dealt falsely in His Covenant; though they have suffered (& do) hard things. He enable their faith & patience to hold out to the end. I do much congratulate to your selfe, my good Cousen your wife, Gods great blessing in the extraordinary pregnancy & hopefulnesse of your eldest son, whom I pray God continue to both your comforts, & aboue all to the Glory of His own Holy Name & the good of His Church. I shall be heartily glad to heare from you. & have a share in your prayers. And I shall not be unmindfull of you, according to my poor ability. And if in any thing I may be usefull to you here, I shall be very ready to my utmost to serve you. Thus Deare Cousen, coñending you & your endeavo^{rs} to Gods rich Grace in Christ, with hearty salutations to you both & all yours, desiring the conveyance of the inclosed to my Cous. Cotton, I take leave & rest

Yours in all affection, JONATHAN TUCKNEY.

HACKNEY, April 3, 1678.

Please to superscribe your letter for me to be left with Mr Saltonstal at Mr Horsey's, Merch^{t}, at the Blackmores head in Pater Noster Row, London, & it will come to me.

Indorsed, — "Tuckney. Apr. 30. 1678."

JONATHAN TUCKNEY TO INCREASE MATHER.

For his much esteemed Cousin M^{r} Increase Mather Teacher of the Church of Boston, in New England.

DEARE COUSIN, — I wrote to you about two months since & therewith sent you two bookes of my father's labo^{rs}, one Eng-

lish sermons, the other Latin Prelections & Determinations * (as also two for my Cous. Whiting † and two for my Cous. your Br. John Cotton), which I hope may be come to hand. I having a fresh opportunity by the Bearer hereof, could not but salute you; & signify desire of this converse with you. What state our publick affairs are in, our friend the Bearer can better & more largely inform you than I in this hast & straits. But we had need be earnest in our prayers to God for His Church & the interest of His gospel, when enemies are so busily plotting & endeavouring, & confidently expecting & *tantum non* boastingly foretelling the ruine thereof. The good Lord grant His people faith & patience to persevere & not deny Him, whatever may come. We are in our family in reasonable health through mercy. I shall be right glad to hear of you & yours & other friends in N. England & God's goodnesse continued to you, especially in spirituals. I am in some hast of sending away this. Therefore excuse brevity & remembr us in your prayers. With hearty respects to you & yours I comend you to God & rest

Your affectionate cousin, JONATHAN TUCKNEY.

HACKNEY, Sept 9, 1679.

JONATHAN TUCKNEY TO INCREASE MATHER.

To his respected Cousin, Mr Increase Mather, Teacher of a Church in Boston in N. England, these I pray p'sent.

DEARE COUSIN, — Yours of Dec. 14-81 I received, & your Heaven's Alarm to Earth, which I return you thanks for. Some letters have miscarried betwixt us; for I had sent you word of receipt of your (not Result of the late Synod, 1679, 1680, but) Call to the Rising Generation, Relation of the Troubles from Indians from An. 1614 to A. 1675, & Renewall of Covenant.

* After the death of Dr. Anthony Tuckney, forty sermons, on several occasions, were published, and a book of "Prælectiones Theologicæ," containing all his theological exercises while he was at the University of Cambridge, in which he was a Fellow of Emanuel College, and where he was for some years employed as a tutor.

† Rev. Samuel Whiting, of Lynn.

These I received in January, $16\frac{7}{79}$; & sumer following sent you word of it, and 2 quartoes that I putt out of my Father's (40 sermons in English, & Prælections & Determinations in Latin) which I never heard from you since that you received; though I hope you did, my Cousen John Cotton receiving those I sent him at the same time. Your *Diatriba de signo Filii hominis* I never did see nor hear of; when I may hereafter, I shall impart. Though your peece of Prodigies may possibly have been prevented from efficacy by some we call here Latitudinarians, by a treatise of a Cambridgeman's (Spencer by name) that came out at first some three years after the King's coming in, that would argue them of van . . . that inferr from thence. We are here but in pendulous condition as to publick affairs. The Lord issue all well, & continue your peace & liberty. Popish spirits are at work, & some disturbances of meetings, but at p^r^sent quiet. God work out His own glory. I shall be right glad to hear from you, or to gratify you in any thing in my power here. If you please to send (as now you did) to my cousin Whiting at the Bell in Laurence Lane, it will come to me. I comend you to God & with salutations from my self & wife to you & yours, rest

Your affectionate cousin, JONATHAN TUCKNEY.

HACKNEY, Febr. 25, $16\frac{8}{82}$.

JONATHAN TUCKNEY TO INCREASE MATHER.

For his Reverend & Dear Cousin Mr Increase Mather at his house in Boston, These I pray, with a Book.

DEARE COUSEN, — A few dayes after my last sending to you, in July, being (upon occasion) at my cousen John Whiting's shop at the Bell in Laurence Lane, I mett with your kind letter of May 8, together with your new peece of Illustrious Providences, sent by the Author to my unworthinesse.

Both which I heartily thank you for, & whereas you desire to see Dr. Spencer of Prodigies, I have procured it you, & herewith send it. I was in hast when I took it at the London Bookseller's shop, I think it was in Paul's Ch. y^d^, but I at p^r^sent forget where, & the price. And I am in hast now, therefore of that hereafter.

I would have procured you a later peece, of an Anonymous Author, that accords rather with your Notions & Sentiments in this matter, & against Dr. Spencer's, going somthing a middle way, (as I by my friend understand) but I did but just see it in a place, & have forgot the place where it was to be sold. But of that also against another opportunity of writing.

What you are pleased (kindly) to intimate, (though breefly,) of the danger your churches are in, in case God should permit the hedge of Civil Government to be broken up, gives me in mind of that complaint & prayer of the church we find in Psal. 80, 13, 14, &c., *ad finem*, & so indeed of the whole Psalm, very sutable to the times.* God in mercy inspire the people with the same faith & spirit of prayer that the Jewish church of old then exerted, and powre out also a spirit of Reformation more fully & generally upon Professors, & then, no doubt, but when we are prepared for Mercy, we shall not be long without it.

Hearty salutations from my whole-self to your whole-self, & to all our cousens your hopefull offspring. And the God of our Fathers be all our portion. The hearty vote of Dear Cousen,

Your faithfull (though unworthy) kinsman,

JONATHAN TUCKNEY.

HACKNEY, Aug: 29. 1684.

POSTSCRIPT, Septemb. 3. 1684.

D. COUS., — I am bold with you (who should (or rather may) I so be, but with my friends, among whom (I assure you) yourself are not the least). I have thought (since my writing that letter of August 29, (wherein I inclose this) myself, to read over Spencer of Prodigies before I part with it from me. If God lend us life, health, & peace till next spring, I then intend to send it you.

And I desire you to accept from me in Exchange (which (you know the old saying is) that it is no robbery) another Latin piece of the same author's concerning *Urim & Thummim:* what they were. I bought the booke 11 year[s] since (& above:) (of the bookseller that printed it, by name Walter Kethley, at the Bishop's Head in Paul's Church yard) & have read it two or three

* As late outrages in France doe of Psal. 44 & 74. — [*Note by Tuckney.*] 1684 was the year of the Dragonnades.

times over. I desire you would please to accept it from me, as a small testimony of the great respects I owe you, & gratitude for your several books, that at times you have pleased to se[nd me] entreating this further kindness that (when you have once read it,) you will be pleased, *inter nos*, onely to send me your thoughts of the peece, whether solid & rational, or no; and then, God willing, you shal hear further from me concerning the author, concerning whom I have not now indeed time, nor, as you see, paper for to write. *Iterum vale. A Tuo.* J. T.

Please to pardon all *mala scriptura*. I am in som hast.

LETTERS OF JOSHUA MOODEY.

JOSHUA MOODEY* TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Rev.d Mr Increase Mather Pastor to the 2.d ch. in Boston pr.

PORTSMO 6 (3mo) 78.

REVD SR.— Our church is not yet got over the difficulty about Mr ffryer,† he desires to joyn with us, severall of our Brethren are not free, the reason bee: that scandall lyes upon him by the Accusation of the Wench, with sundry other circumstances which make the vulgar believe it, the best are very jealous. Wee have offered him eithr to confesse it & manefest repentance (if Guilty) or to deny it solemnly before the church (if Innocent) & either shall satisfye us. He answers he is not free to doe either, & counts it hard measure to bee put upon it, saying that hee is Innocent *in Foro* till proved guilty, which a bare Accusation cannot doe, & therefore why should wee trouble ourselves any farther. We are in some strait about it. I thought if I had come down to the Election to have consulted the Elders thereabout, & it was the Agreement of our Church the last time wee discoursed it that I should so doe, that wee might gain further light how to act. If you please to send mee your thoughts or consult with others also, & send mee theyr thoughts also wee shall bee ready to attend the mind of Xt so farr as it shalbee revealed to us. I have requested the bearer, Mr Ric: Martyn, one of our brethren, to conferr with you, who is able more at large to aequaint you with

* Rev. Joshua Moodey [H. C. 1653] was ordained at Portsmouth, in July, 1671, first minister of the First Church. He was imprisoned by Cranfield in February, 1683 (see note on p. 57), and, after three months incarceration, was driven to Boston, where he was invited to remain as assistant to the Rev. James Allen, at the First Church, in May, 1684. The same year he was invited to the presidency of Harvard College. In 1692, he returned to his former ministry at Portsmouth, and died July 4, 1697.

† Nathaniel Fryer, mariner, was Representative in 1666, and captain and Councillor in 1683.

the matter than I could at p^r^sent write it. I had an hint from you in a letter about renewing the Church Covenant, which your church had done: please to favour mee in a few lines with the ptic^r^ Grounds that you acted upon, & the manner of doing it. I shalbe very ready to promote aught that may lead to the Edification of the ch. & our farther stablishm^t^ in the way of Gods Covenant, especially in these shakeing & baekslideing times. The Lord sanctify his solemn visitations upon our land for our good, pardon & purge away our sins, & then heal our sicknesses. I should be thankfull to hear what newes from England, wee are in great ffeares of a change of Gov^r^t: among ourselves, & then, *actum est de nostrâ Ecclesiâ*, in all appearance at least. But the Great Shepheard will look after his ffloek. I beg your pray^rs^ that wee may obtain mercy to bee found faithfull, & bee fitted for what ever may oceurr. My service to M^rs.^ Mather. I am

Yours affectionately, to serve you, JO. MOODEY.

JOSHUA MOODEY TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Rev^d^ Mr. Increase Mather Teach^r^ to the 2^d^ Church in Boston.

7 (2 mo.) 1679.

REV^D^ SIR,— There is a lad, Joseph Walker by name, that is an Apprentice to one John Endicott, a Cooper, who lives at your end of the Town. The ffather of this lad, whose name is also Joseph Walker is lately joyned to our Church, & the rest of his children baptized with us. The ffather discoursing with me about the baptizing of that, I told him my thoughts, & it is his desire & mine that you will please to doe it, it being that which (I suppose) is ordinarily done among churches where psons are at a distance. Wee not long agone baptized a child that was an Apprentice here, the mother being joyned to the 3^d^ church in Boston. If there should bee any obstruction in the way, pray send mee word by the Bearer. Sam: Keies, who is also a Brother of ours, & whom I have desired to dd the letter himselfe. I rejoyce to hear of the abatem^t^ of the distemp among you, & it is much abated with us also.

The Lord graunt sin may abate also, lest some worse thing befall us. Wee have had about 97 sick of it in our Town, & have buried 20. The Lord awaken, humble, & reform us by all His Judgements. The Death of the Gov^r * is much affecting to us, & wee are at a very great losse in these pts for the fixing of our thoughts for another choice. Should bee thankfull to have an hint from you thereabout. I have desired the Bearer to call on you as hee comes out of Town. I crave the Benefit of your prayers, & remain, Yours in all love & service,

JOSHUA MOODEY.

Service to Mrs. Mather.

JOSHUA MOODEY TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Rev^rd Mr. Increase Mather pastor to a church of Christ in Boston.

14. (5) 1683.

REV^RD S^R, — I rec^d yours per your couz. Cotton, & return you my hearty thanks for the Intelligence therein. I have received a letter from London lately, wherein I have a confirmation of it. It seemes to mee great newes, & undoubtedly there are great things a doeing in the world. The Lord help us to be doing our work also.

I have had mueh converse with your Couz: Cotton. He hath been severall times at my house. The people there like his preaching very well, & are willing to keep him. His ffather wrote mee by him, & desired mee very earnestly that he might board at my house, & goe up on the Satturday to preach to them; but the people much disliked it, & there were other Inconveniencies also that obstructed. Mr. Eñerson was at my lecture last Tuesday sevennight, & I dealt as thorôly with him as I could, about what you desired, & am in daily expectation of it. If it comes not quickly, I shall rather make a journey up to him on purpose, then not pleasure you therein.

About that at G. Walton's; because my Interest runs low with

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* Governor John Leverett died March 16, 1679, aged sixty-two years.

the Secretary. I have desired Mr. Woodbridge to endeavo^{r} the obtaining it, & if I can get it, shall send it $\mathfrak{p}$ the first; Thõ if there should bee any difficulty thereabout, you may doe pretty well with what you have already.

One thing more I make bold to suggest to you. The bearer of this is a poor widow; her name is Whidden. She belongs to our Church, & hath a son in Algiers, a Captive. Shee hath obtained from the Gov^{r} an order for a Brief to be read in our 4 Townes to make a gathering toward his Redemption, & fearing it will not be made up here, is come to Boston, to see what shee may get there. I was not her Counsell^{r} in it, but when shee came & begged of mee a few lines, could not deny her. If you see meet to take notice of her, & among yours to promote her design, I believe it wilbe a good work, & acceptable to X^{t}. I dare not urge you, any more then I durst deny her, but leave it to your Considerã to doe as God shall direct.

There is nothing new among us; only I hear that our Gouern^{r} is going your way next weeke & has left your Mr. Ffryer his Deputy. Pray for us. I am

Yours obliged to my power, Jo: Moodey.

JOSHUA MOODEY TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Revrd Mr. Increase Mather, Teacher to the Second Church in Boston, pr^{nt}.

23. (6 ^{mo}) 1683.

Revrd S^{r}, — I am ashamed to have been so long ere I could gratify you in your desire as to a coppy of what you wrote for. I was very earnest with Mr. Emerson, & at length obtained the enclosed, which I transcribed from Mr. Tho. Broughton,* who read to mee what he took from the mouth of the woman & her husband, & judge it credible, thô it bee not the half of what is to be gotten. I expect from him a fuller & farther acc^{o}. before I come down to the Coñencem^{t}. My Indeav^{rs} also have not been

* Thomas Broughton was a rich and active merchant, in Boston.

a-wanting to obtain the other, but find it difficult. If more may bee gotten, you may expect when I come, or else must take up with what you had from mee at first, which was the sume of what was then worthy of notice, only many other ꝑticular actings of like nature had been then & since. It began of a Lord's day, June 11th 1682, & so continued for a long time, only there was some respite now & then. The last sight I have heard of was the carrying away of seuerall Axes in the night, notwithstanding they were laied up, yea, lockt up very safe, as the o[wn]er thought, at least, which was done this spring.

As to your Query about Mr. Ffryer, our church was dissatisfied, (some of them) so that we could not admit him to the Lord's table with us; but after some time wee did doe that, & since hee hath not attempted to joyn with us; & if he should, I doubt it would scarce passe freely with all. I am sensible that things are not as they should bee, but see not a way fairly to mend them. I heartely thank you for your kindnes to the woman that came to you, & doubt not but that you will have a better reward frõ God, than I am threatened with frõ man for coñending her to you. The Lord be with you. Pray for

Yours affectionately, J. M.

Before sealing of my letter, came accidentally to my hand this enclosed, that I had frõ William Mosse of Newbury, concerning the troubles at his house in 1679. If it may bee of use to mee, you may please to ꝑuse & return it.

JOSHUA MOODEY TO INCREASE MATHER.

25. 8br 1683.

Revrd Sr, — I have enquired concerning that person's being a member of Excettr church, & find that you were mistaken in your Informã, hee never did joyn to the church, nor was even (I suppose) accounted a man of so mch Religion as that any watchfull, carefull church would have admitted him.

There are sundry reports among us of new things that seem to bee matters of witchcraft, but reports are little to bee heeded, &

I have not had time to goe thither to bee more satisfied, & therefore shall not trouble you with any of them at p^rsent. Only this I am fully certified of. On the 5^th^ Sept^r last was this monstrous birth brought forth at Newichuwenoc̃ by the wife of one W^m^ Plaisted.

From the waste downward it was like anoth^r^ child & a female.

Above the waste all defective or misplaced.

The Head extraordinary large & no skull or Bone in it.

The face as big as a womans face.

It had no right Arm, but somw^t^ like a Teat, some say like a finger where the Arm should have come out.

The left Arm extraordinary long, the hand reach^s^ down to the knee.

No Nose, but somwhat like nosethrills, & those in the forehead.

The two eies upòn the two cheeks.

No mouth, but a little Hole & (if I mistake not) misplaced also.

The eares, one und^r^ the chin, the other at the top or near the top of the head.

A very short neck.

Somwhat on the Breast like a Kidney.

The Belly seemed as if it had been ript open, & the Bowells w^r^ out, & eithr by one side, or on the Back.

It came before its Time. Had life w^n^ born, but soon died.

The p̃sone had been 4. or 5. yeares married, & this w^s^ the first child.

This is the best that I could gather up, but if you think it worthy of your notice I will goe up & discourse with the midwife, & send you what you may report about it. Thô I doe not at all question the substance of what I have written, yet one would be exact in ^such a thing to eu[ery] circumstance. A sober woman that told mee of it s^d^, w^n^ I have told you the thing, you will say you have seen it already in the Times, every thing out of order.

Doubtles you have heard how matt^rs^ are with us, I beg your pray^rs^ Yours in all love & service, J. M.

Postscript, 30. (8) 83

You may discourse the bearer about matt^rs^, & may credit him. I have desired him to dd this with his own hand, to give you an opportunity; by him also may please to send, if ought occurs from abroad or at home, & it will come safe. J. M.

JOSHUA MOODEY TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Rever^d^ Mr. Increase Mather, Teacher to the Second Church in Boston.

. . . . . .

. . . for poor N. E. (which are also cordialls). I blesse God & thank you for. Sometimes I think of getting out of Prison before my 6 mo. (one quarter of which is now over) bee out, thô possibly may be mistaken. Some hint to mee privately (*sed hoc inter nos*) that if I will engage to goe out of the Province, I shall have liberty. I am somthing jealous whether it bee safe to make such a promise, thô I see evidently that I must be necessitated to doe it; am ready to think sometimes that it is better to doe it than to ꝑmise I will doe it. Some say, a sume of mony will feteh mee out, but I am not in the least inclinable to that. And yet mee thinks to lye here & doe so little service, when help is so much wanting elsewhere, dissatisfies mee on the other hand. I lately rec^d^ two letters, one from the church of N. Haven, a 2^d^ from 3 Magistrates there, in order to my removeing thither: &, I may add, a 3^d^ & 4^th^ from Bro: Whyting & Collins to back theyr motion. But I am at present too fast fixed for moveing. I am much obliged for your plainnes about my coming to B.. & can say truly that I believe that the desire of your company wilbe as attractive to mee, as myne can bee gratefull to you. Pray for mee, that I may have Grace from the Ffountain to demean myself as I ought while I am in Prison, & direction from the Great Counsell^r^, that when the Lord lets mee out, I may goe whether he would have mee, & serve him as I ought, unto all well-pleasing. Cease not to remember

Your affectionate ffri^d^ to serve you, J. M.

Joshua Moodey, who was committed to prison at Portsmouth, Feb. 5, 83–4. So this was wrote about Mar. 20. 83–4.—Prince.

If one Mr. John Rawlings brings this himself, & you bee at leisure to admit any discourse with him, you will find him serious & pious. Hee hath been a Ruleing Elder of the ffrench church in South-Hampton. Hee is often with us, & you may hear from him more fully how matters are here. Hee is sober & credible.

It is not at all safe that this letter should be exposed.

JOSHUA MOODEY TO INCREASE MATHER.*

To the Rev^rd M^r Increase Mather, Preach^r of the Gospell, p^rs^t, London.

Boston, 10. (5) 88.

Rev^D & Dear S^R, — I, among the rest of your ffriends, doe not envy you the great peace & quiet which wee hope you doe enjoy with utmost freedom, countenance & successe, in your work of preaching, while wee are circumstanced as you will hear more fully frõ other hands. How far you have had opportunity to psue the main end of your voyage I know not, but sure you would see cause, if now with us, to bee vigorous, as we see more need every day to pray for a blessing upon all endeavo^rs that are used in the behalf of the cause & servants of Christ, & that no weapon formed (& Oh, how many new ones are daily forming!) against them may prosper.

I have a great many letters to write, & I know others will send you all pticulars, & therfore shall forbear to add ought on that head. Much doe I long to hear your sentiments of things now you are on the spott, & have by converse with others, (I would hope with M^r fflavell) increased your knowledge in those matters. When I see how fast sin growes among us, & how little Hnmiliation under the hand of God to this day & compare the face of things with the open designs of the Adversary, I fear sometimes whether God bee not about to say, Goe to my place in N. E. as He hath already said concerning Shilo, Jerusalem, & the 7 Ch^s in Asia. Sometimes I correct myself, but surely I have many sad thoughts thereabout. When you talk with S^r W^m Phips you will hear strange things, & be amazed to see how matters goe in some respects, thõ they are no worse pbably than you lookt for, & possibly not yet quite so bad as I have a good while feared. But —

I need exceedingly your advice about my going to Ports^o. which is vehemently urged by my church & people, & the next week we are to take counsell about it. The church is dear to mee, & I could bee glad to be with them, but the circumstances of my removeing hence & being there are tremendous to mee. Pray

* Increase Mather was in England at the date of this letter.

for mee daily. I am desired by Dr. Cook * to advize that if you get sight of a paper sent ꝑ Mr Blackwell, referring to this Country, in which there is an hint of getting propties & possessions confirmed till the day of Govrs arrivall, may bee noted as very dangerous, & it may bee rather such as were under the power of Govr & compy. Tho. others will be prejudiciall to sundry ꝑtics, to himself, because hee was dispossest of his ffarm the Satturday before the Govr came.

The Lord strengthen your hands while endeavrg to build up Sion, & labrg for this poor but dear people of the Lord in this wildrs. God will remb you for good at that day, for all you have done, suffered, ventured for His House. Yours are all well, & matters are well carried on. Your son growes in wisdom & favr with God & all good men. God helps him wondrfully in his work. The good Lord bee with you. Dr Sr, cease, not to pray ꝑticularly for Sir,

Your much obliged & indeared ffrd & bro: Jo. Moodey.

Dear Sir, hasten back as soon as you may. Give my service to Capt. Hutchinson.

JOSHUA MOODEY TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Revrd Mr Increase Mather, prst, London.

Boston, 4 (8) 88.

Revrd Dr Sr, — Your very welcome letter, recd & read often, has afforded matter of praise & prayer. Mr Lee † is in Town (thô going out tomorrow); wee spent the 2d Instant in your study, & had his compy part of the day with us, where wee had (blessed be God) a good day of Prayer for you, & hope in God's good time to have in the same place a day of Praise with you. Of the health & ꝑspity of yours you will hear frõ them, & *g°* I shall not enlarge there.

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* Elisha Cook, of Boston, was a physician and politician. He was Representative in 1681–3, an Assistant in 1684–6, of the Council of Safety in the Revolution of 1689, and agent for the Colony in England in 1690 and 1691. See Savage's "Geneal. Dict."

† Rev. Samuel Lee. See note to his letters in this volume.

Your acceptance with His Majᵗʸ, & the great ffriends to stand by you, with the large ꝓmises made to you, make us like men that dream. What then when all the things that are spoken of shalbe done? I will not say, How can these things bee? & I doe pray that my unbelief may be no lett to the Lord's doing such great & stupendous works. Only when I doe consider & chew upon what I have heard of the modes of Court, & the unaccountable intreagues that are on foot in the world, I am willing to believe with discretion, if at least there bee any room for discretion in all those things that are matters of ffaith. I am apt to think that that which wee call discretion must bee barred here. We have been much alarmed by the Report of Judge Palmer * that you put in a paper of complaint in sundry Articles against the Govʳ, wherein you had overshot yourselves, & were fain very humbly to supplicate for the liberty of recalling it, which was obtained with much difficulty, & not without a great slurr to yourselves. A copy of the Articles came over with some marginall notes of the names of sundry witnesses, some of which have been & are concerned to think whether it was so prudent & kind to expose them till the pinch came. I was very slow to believe that you could cõmit such an oversight as to put in what you could not or would not stand by, especially considering (besides your own Prudence) the good Counsell & conduct that you had in your affairs both from Heaven & earth. Also your utter silence in your letters about it gave us hope that it was but a sham. And an ugly sham it has proved, having dampt the spirits & closed the fiists of you can't imagine how many. Thô ourselves are satisfied both from the premises & from a letter from Mr N. that there is nothing in it. If the ship steal not away unexpectedly from us, wee are in hopes of saying somthing to that which you called the worst pt of your letter before shee goes.

You will hear of the removeall of one of the worst enemies that

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* John Palmer was a "troublesome enemy" of Massachusetts, a member of the Council of Andros, and appointed by Dongan, who succeeded Andros at New York, a Commissioner to manage the affairs of the County of Cornwall, or Province of Maine, in which office he forced the inhabitants to buy at exʳtionate prices new patents for their lands, and appropriated large tractˢ to himself. He is mentioned as having obtained in England a commission as Chief Judge of the Supreme Court. He is the author of "Impartial Account of the State of New England." See Hutchinson's Hist. i. 371; Palfrey's Hist. vol. iii. 533, etc.; "Revolution in New England Justified."

you & I & Mr. Morton had in these parts (the Grand-one lives yet to fill up his measure) the concernm[t] of which may be more to us than wee can at present see. I mean Mr. Mason,* who died in the N. York Journey with the Gov[r].

The Indian War broken out you will hear of more ꝑticularly by persons that come over, & it will one day bee openly known, as it is now suspected who made it too. They would not have begun (ꝑbably) without provocation & instigation. The cloud looks very dark & black upon us, & wee are under very awfull circumstances, which render an Indian Warr terrible to us.

Wee cannot tell what to make of M[r] Palmers coming over hither in the capacity of Supreme Iudge, (as it is cõmonly reported) & yet that your business should seem to look so fair, & that you should know nothing of his coming, or if you did know should not give us a hint of it. We know how to reconcile these things, that there should be so much favor at Court for us, & that yet such a man should be sent over in such a place of trust, who is so much disaffected to us, & that it should be carried so closely as to be concealed frõ yourself, thô so conversant at Court. But there are many things ordered for the best by Providence which we cannot reconcile.

Wee have a very strange th: among us, which we know not what to make of, except it bee Witchcraft, as we think it must needs bee. 3 or 4 children of one Goodwin, a Mason, that have been for some weeks grievously tormented, crying out of head, eies, tongue, teeth; break[g] theyr neck, back, thighs, knees, leggs, feet, toes, &c. & then they roar out, Oh my head, Oh my neck, & from one part to another the pain runs almost as fast as I write it. The pain is (doubtles) very exquisite, & the cries most dolorous & affecting, & this is noteable, that two or more of them cry out of the same pain in the same part, at the same time, & as the pain shifts to another place in one, so in the other, & thus it holds

* Robert Mason, grandson of John Mason, the patentee of New Hampshire and Vice-Admiral of New England, represented New Hampshire in the Council of Andros, the Governor referred to in the same sentence. He attended the latter in his visits to Connecticut to assume the government there in October, 1687. He is mentioned as having been present at a meeting of the Council of Andros at Hartford, November 1, when the Charter government of Connecticut was dissolved. The story of the hiding of the Charter the evening before, by Captain Wordsworth, in the hollow trunk of the famous Charter Oak, may be seen in Trumbull's "History of Connecticut," i. 371. He died in 1688.

them for an hour together & more; & when the pain is over they eat, drink, walk, play, laugh, as at other times. They are generally well a nights. A great many good Xtians spent a day of prayer there. Mr Morton came over, & wee each spent an hour in prayer, since which the parents suspecting an old woman & her daughter living hard by, complaint was made to the Justices, & compassion had so far, that the women were comitted to prison & are there now. Yesterday I called in at the House, & was informed by the parent that since the women were confined the children have been well while out of the House, but as soon as any of them come into the House, then taken as formerly; so that now all theyr children keep at their neighbrs houses. If any step home they are imediately afflicted, & while they keep out are well. I have been a little larger in this narrative, because I know you have studied these things. Wee cannot but think the devill has an hand in it by some instrumt. It is an example in all the parts of it, not to be paralleld. You may inquire further of Mr Oaks, whose Uncle administred Physick to them at first, & he may pbably inform you more fully. There are also sundry in the Country that remain distracted since the measills last spring. Some have lately made away with themselves, one Red-coat & another man. I remembr Dr. Owen on Luk. 13, 5th They are solemn warnings & prsages.

Sr, Wee are daily looking to heaven for you, unto Him that has the Hearts of Kings in His Hand, & are waiting for what he will further answer. I hear the ship goes not till to-morrow. Wee think to meet anon after lectr & hope you may hear of us.

I am yours, affectionately & sincerely J. Moody.

I heartily thank you for your kind Remembce of Sam: * which I retaliate with my hearty Remembce of your ingenuous Sam: The good Lord blesse them both.

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* Samuel Moodey [H. C. 1689].

JOSHUA MOODEY TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Rev^d M^r Increase Mather, London. p^r M^r Edw: Oakes. Jr. D. C. (?)

9, 8, 88.

Rev^d & D^r S^r, — I have dd my letters to the bearer, M^r Oakes, only add, that if you can in all your opportunities of wait^g on his Maj^ty, find a season to thrust in an happy word for poor N. Hampshire, who are under lamentable circumstances. Mason is dead, but his sons survive & possibly may bee worse than hee. You know how the poor people have been unreasonably harrassed, & to raise one family on the ruins of half a dozen considerable Townes looks hard. Tis my affection to my people that has drawn this hint frõ mee. I leave it to your Consider^n & pray for God's presence to bee with you, your parting prayer, & you need no more.

I am yours at heart, J. Moodey.

JOSHUA MOODEY TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Rev^d M^r Increase Mather, pr^s. London.

8, (11 mo,) 88,

Rev^d & D^r S^r, — Wee have this day remembered you, & carried your pson & concerns before the Lord in prayer, having spent the day in our course at M^r Willard's.* Sure wee are not fit for the mercy expected, & so much needed, or else after so many good words & large pmises, somthing would have been sent to give us a little p^rsent Relief against those things that are grievous, till matters may be more formally & fully done. I pray that my unbelief may bee no Hinderance. By this bearer my couz. Joss Appleton, I hope I may write safely, shall *g°* say that besides the great comp^a of men (it's s^d 400) that lye at the eastward to doe

* Rev. Samuel Willard, of the Old South Church, Boston. See note to his letter in this volume.

nothing this dismall season, there is a Presse for 200 more, what for, who can tell? There are no Indians to bee seen by them, nor any service to bee done (some to have strengthened the Garrisons might have done well). There are strange conjectures which I dare not write; but I very much fear a dreadfull, lengthy, wasting Indian war. Allthings look that way. If ought may bee done for the mainten^e^ of minist^rs^, & ꝑticularly for recouering the old Arrears for which they had formerly contracted, It would bee a very Beneficiall thing to many. And about this swearing on the Book; if there bee no check to the imposeing it, much mischief will follow, as you may easily see. They'l get Jurys to their minds, & what can they not doe? Sam: Bridge * & sundry were fined the other day on that acc^o^. Also another thing, let a ꝑson bee complained of, brought before them, & thô nothing bee found against him, the ffees are so unreasonably high the people groan under them. The Carters in the Town were lately ordered to app^r^, to answ^r^ for a charge of Extortion (possibly they ask something more for theyr work, since they are not ꝑmitted to goe with iron-bound wheels on the paved streets, being at great charge by wearing out a p^r^ of new wheels presently.) Deacon Eliot † pleaded it strongly with them, but to no purpose.

I hinted to C^n^ Sewall the story about Deacon Ffraery covented & bound over with sureties for forbidding Ratliff ‡ to read Coñon Prayer at the grave of old Lilly.§ The relations desired Cap. ffrary to speake, & had requested the parson to forbear before hand, when at the House. But he went on, & being hindered complained to Justice Lidget, Ffoxcraft & Bullivant, ‖ who so treated M^r^ Ffraery. Now when the deceased did not desire it, but left the buriall to the Execut^rs^ & they forbade it, meethinks it

* Samuel Bridge was a carpenter of Boston, and member of the Artillery Company in 1679.

† See note on p. 247.

‡ Rev. Robert Ratcliffe was the first Episcopal minister settled in New England, inducted June 15, 1686. "He had come in the frigate 'Rose,' May 15, 1686, and went home, no doubt, at the end of three years, when his patron Andros was overthrown." Savage's "Geneal. Dict."

§ Samuel Lilly, merchant, of Boston. See Hutchinson's Hist. of Mass. i. 356.

‖ Col. Charles Lidgett was in the interest of Andros. Col. Francis Foxcroft was imprisoned in April, 1689, as an adherent of Andros. Benjam'n Bullivant, a physician from London, was made Attorney-General, and acted under Andros; was one of the two first Wardens of King's Chapel.

should not bee imposed, & what a case are wee all in. King, the Attourny, saith it will cost him 100 mark, & that hee is bound to doe his duty (I mean Ratliff is) & the K. ꝑlamation will not relieve him. Cap. Ffrary is bound to the good Behavi^{r}, & wilbe so for a 12mo, (A fearfull reproach & snare). What does the ꝑlamā for liberty of Conse. doe, if such impositions are allowed! This is a very tremend^{s} thing to us. And the shutting up shops on X^{t}mas day, & driving the M^{r} out of the school on X^{t}mas Holydaies are very grievous. These *Raptim* in my leet^{e} on Thirsday. The Lord hide you under the hollow of His hand, direct, p^{r}serve, return you with a gracious Answer of all prayers that are made for you night & day.

I am yours, daily think^{g} of & pray^{g} for you, J. M.

If somthing could be done for the poor Province of N. Hampsh. & Mein, it would be a good work.

Be sure to take effectuall course to secure yourself agst Randolph, &c. ere you come off.

Also a Law publisht that men must needs set up theyr names so many daies ere they goe off. You may see the Inconvenience & design of it.

JOSHUA MOODEY TO SAMUEL NOWELL.

To M^{r} Samuel Nowell, pr^{at} London.

Boston, 19, 9, 88.

D^{R} S^{R}, — I hope you have rec^{d} mine since your last, though I own my self behind-hand, because you write couple-game, which swells the sume apace, while I am fain to send one at once, as I am able. Your last, about the downfall of the Turks, & theyr hastening towards a period is great neues. The Lord perfect that great work. If he that was to last for a year, a month, a day & an hour * bee the Turkish Empire, which begun in 1300, then he passes away about 1691, & then woe to Babylon. And the ruine of

* See Rev. ix. 15.

the Turkes by intestine Jarrs is a paralell to the Lord's dealings of old with such kind of Enemies to His people. Your large acc^{o} of the Earthquake in sundry places is also very tremend^{s}, & the rather because X^{t} hath given us those as presages of great Revolutions in the ⊕. There have been sundry Earthquakes in this land this sum̃er; ꝑticularly a very remarkable one yesterday was 3 weeks, at N. Bristoll, of which M^{r} Byfield * the other day gave mee a very solemn acc., he being an ear-witnes of the same. Wee have also by letters from our garrisoned ffriends from Pascataqua to Casco, as also by word of mouth Informā that both at York & Casco, at sundry times many gunns have been heard, & they have thought the next Town or Garrison has been engaged by the Enemy, but have sent round about & could hear no tideings of one gun shot, & g^{o} conclude they were the noise of Guns in the Air; which must needs bee reckoned awfully ꝑdigious. The Gov^{r} in ꝑson is lately gone forth, M^{r} Lawson gone Chaplain, & there is a considerably Army prest who are gone eastward, where the poor people are wofully harrassed. It will one day bee known whence this war rose. It hath also been a solemn time of sicknes with us. Many have died of a malignant ffeaver which yet rages sadly. Sundry choice ꝑsons, both old & young, of all ages & sexes. Some have lain longer time, sundry snatcht away suddenly, among many others 2 of Mr[s.] Shippen's daughters, & then herself. One Pierce, son to the widow Pierce that lives by Coll. Shrimptons.† M^{r} Is. Walker (the only child of the good widow) C^{n} Smith, Harry Benning, M^{r} Sedgwick, old M^{r} Rainsford, old Br. Clough, *cum multis alijs*. D^{r} M^{r} Bailey the younger‡ is languishing under a Consumption. The Lord awaken, humble & reform us.

I rejoyce in the hopefull ac^{o} you give of matters with you, but withall shake to hear you say (what I alwaies feared) *viz.*, the uncertainty of some men that make fair ꝑmises, but are very short

* Nathaniel Byfield was a proprietor and one of the first settlers of Bristol, in Plymouth County; a Representative, Speaker of the House in 1693, a judge, and one of his Majesty's Council. See Hutchinson, ii. 211.

† Samuel Shrimpton was captain of the Artillery Company in 1694; one of the Council of Andros, "but not a partaker of his tyranny," and one of the Council of Safety in 1689.

‡ Rev. Thomas, younger brother of Rev. John Bailey, of Watertown, died Jan. 21, 1689, aged thirty-five years.

in ꝑformances. I wish it may prove bettr, & hope that it will. Many seek the Ruler's favor, but every man's judgment is from the Lord.

As to publiq̃ news concerning the look of matters with us, it would be imprudent & needles both to run such an Adventr as medling with those things, you will ꝑ the bearer Cn Sewall have such a full acco *vivâ voce*.

I hear little of your ꝑsonall concerns, but pray that the Lord will direct, assist & succeed you, & the way by him directed in Truth may be expected to bee attended with successe.

Mr Allen's daughter is married to Mr S. Danforth of Taunton,* and Mr Saffin † has lately married Mr Lee's eldest daughter.

This week Cn Blackwell is going to take possession of the Govrt of Pensylvania, for which he has a Comission from Wm Pen. ‡

I beg the continuance of correspondence as you may; & with my hearty, daily prayer for you, I am

Yours in heart, J. M.

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* Rev. Samuel Danforth, of Taunton [H. C. 1683], ordained in 1687, married Hannah, daughter of Rev. James Allen, of Boston.

† John Saffin was a Representative from 1684 to 1686, and Speaker the last year. He was a judge of the Supreme Court in 1701. His third wife was Rebecca, daughter of Rev. Samuel Lee, of Bristol. The account of his separation from her is in Baylies' Hist. iv. 56. See Savage's "Geneal. Dict.;" Baylies' Hist.; Letter of Cotton Mather; Mass. Hist Coll. i. 137.

‡ See note on p. 60.

LETTERS OF JOSEPH ELIOT.

JOSEPH ELIOT* TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Reverend his good friend Mr. Increase Mather Teacher to the 2d Church in Boston, these.

Reverend Sr, — I received before or in winter your letter and your books, for which I heartily thank you. In perusing your book of Answer of Prayers I found some things very considerable; but one thing I much wondred at, that whereas you give an account of prayers and answers as in the Massathuset, Plimouth, England, there is not one word referring to Conecticut, nor is it so much as mentioned in the whole discourse that I can remember. I suppose you wil say it was for want of intelligence, and so I believe it was not any desighn at concealment, but yet had it not been highly expedient to have sent into these parts, and have understood what trade of prayer was here driven by the Saints, before you had printed; for want of which easy duty I know not but yours may be amiss of some things whereby Xt might have been honored; yet I am afraid to be too busy or forward in managing such pleas as not being altogeither unacquainted with the deceitfulnesse of heart, which under pretence of Xt's honor we seek our own. It cannot now be recalled; but I could heartily wish, that in things of publique and universal import there might be no precipitation used, but all things maturly waighed, and the best intelligence gained, least the world have crudities instead of narratives. But I need not inlarg upon that matter. I hear you are under a sad visitation of the poxe. The Lord's anger is not turned away, but His hand is stretched out stil. We may even with trembling stand and wait to see what God wil doe with poor New England. For my own part I durst not but hope in the name of the Holy One of Israel. I perceive in your book con-

* Rev. Joseph Eliot [H. C. 1656], son of the Apostle, was ordained at Guilford in 1664.

cerning Church Children you have taken up Dr. Owen's notion about baptisme. I think it would solve many difficulties if it could be set clear. I am perswaded the Doctor hath more to say about it than yet he hath spoken, being but as it were . . . and what he hath said, laying one thing with another, to the best of my apprehension, is not far from contradictory. I would be very glad if you or any body would stir him up to elucidate and elaborate his notions on that subject. I hope it would be of great use to the Church of God. I hear God hath made a great breach among you by taking away Mr. Sheapard.* I know not whither he had any thing provided for the presse. I hope his friends wil not be wanting to search, that so if there be, right may be done both to him and to the world. There was a man telling of me within this few days that it was strang to observe what a black run of things had folowed the Colledge businesse in referenee to the doctor. We have in these parts some fears of new trouble from the Indians, & how it is with you and at the eastward, I have not particularly heard. I would thank you if you would communicate to me not only your own but your European newes when it comes to hand, I shal not further inlarg at present but with dear remembrance to your self and yours, remain

Yours in our Savior JOSEPH ELIOT.

GUIL: 3 May. 78.

NOTE BY I. MATHER. "Received May 18, 78, brought to me by Mr Johnston who found it in the street."

JOSEPH ELIOT TO INCREASE MATHER.

For the Reverend Mr. Increase Mather, Teacher to the 2d Church in Boston, these dr.

GUIL: July 17, 78.

REVEREND SR, — I received your late letter safely delivered to me, and not dropped in the street as mine was.† As to that first

* Rev. Thomas Shepard [H. C. 1653] was son of Rev. Thomas, of Cambridge. Ordained at Charlestown, April 13, 1659. He died of the small-pox December 22, 1677.

† See note by Mather to the preceding letter.

businesse my scope was to intimate that before such kind of treatises are put forth as contain *aliquid commune*, the affairs I mean, or concerns of a people, it is requisite that there should be such a collection of materials as may in some measure reach in the extent of the whole, without which both persons and things are liable to suffer injury; and as that was my scope so it is stil my apprehension, acording to which level I think both your discourse of prayer and of the late warre were put forth with too much precipitation, and that your other book of the former troubles of the country is farre more elaborate and comprehensive; yet in all this I have not the least thought of disparaging the usefulnesse of the truths and . . . so farre as they goe, but could have wished that the readers might have been advantaged with the rest, that by no great expense of pains might have been superadded *hæc oportet facere et illa non omittere*. I perceive you have come in the way of sundry pieces of the *Virtuosi*. I say *per se* they doe elaborate more and greater things than those you mention; yet concerning the longitude memory fails me, if I have not read somthing of that kind on foot these sundry years (?). I would earnestly entreat you, out of a pitty to a famished man, to send me such treatises historical or philosophical as you have by you, especially that concerning the designes of a French government in England. I shall carefully return you. And as a pledge of my care, at last I now send you your Hudson. I have kept it long, not so much for the sake of the book as for the learned annotations in the margine, which I am perswaded wil prove an antispleenetick medicine, beyond most that you have tryed, especially in coniunction with the letter at the end pinned on by your brother and carefully preserved ever since by me. I suppose also after a view of it you wil not easily be perswaded to part with it. Now there is one thing in my mind that I would propound to you. I did some years agone see papers of weekly edition after the manner of the Gazets, under the name of Philosophical Observations by John [Henry] Oldenburgh, Felow of the Society. Those of them that I saw contained relations and passages exeeeding worthy the knowledge. Now if you could see it your way to send for the whole of these Collections, though I know not whither they are stil continued, not having seen any these 6 or 7 years, I am perswaded you would not repent of your cost, especially if so much goodnesse might accompany

your injoyment as to be helpful to your poorer sort of neighbors that will be glad to sit down at the reversion of your table. I do not remember that you returned any word whether you had met with the story of the late brave Turkish Vizier. If it be to be had I am stil very desirous of it. If you have Gorsius(?) works by you, doe so much as send out a discours which is as I remember about a quarter or 3 part of the book in containing Exhortations to young people, and think if it may not deserve translation, at least the substance of it. I know not but it might operate the more to consider that such livly passages are fetched as it were out of the dark bowels of Popish times. I have latly seen a smal treatise in verse, such as it is, not over Heliconian, yet honest, printed at Boston, against the Quakers, by one B. K.* whose name I cannot unridle. The continuance of the poxe, winter and summer upon you is a very sad and something unusual dispensation. As to fears of a new warre from the enemie, we see not much cause of it. By any thing apearing to our view that murther at New London we cannot discern to have any root of danger, but a mere private act of maliee; yet I desire we may not be secure especially while the blow upon the Natique Indians is aparent, and carries a hazardous look in it. The blast upon wheat is more prevalent this year in these parts than it hath been for sundry years past. It is or may be a sharp scourg. yet it is better to fal into the hand of the Lord than into the hand of man. I hope we shal not into both: thus when I begin I scarse know how to make an end. Were I with you, a litle time would not satisfie me to inquire about the posture of the ministry and people at Boston, which seems somwhat odde, but such things are not so fit for writing. When your engine † comes from London to advance speech so incredibly is come, if it wil promote any thing toward our confabulation at this distance,

* There is a book in the Library of the Mass. Hist. Society, by B. K., entitled "The Progress of Sin, or the Travels of Ungodliness," portions of which are in verse, published in London in 1684. It is probable that the treatise referred to is by the same author. Benjamin Keach published in 1675 (or 1676, Bod. Catalogue), a dialogue, in refutation of Quakerism. He sometimes wrote under the signature "B. K."

† In the letters of Edward Howes, in the "Winthrop Papers," Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. 6. Series iv. pp 500 *et seq.*, reference is made to "Magnetical engines" that will sympathize at a distance. In a note on page 500, the editors say, "This would almost seem like a foreshadowing of the magnetic telegraph."

or if it were much nearer than that you mention in your letter, I should think the better of Squire Morland * as long as I had occasion to think of such things. But I shal grow tedious. With, therefore, the remembrance of choicest respects to yourself and wife, and desire that our hearts may be stirred up in mutual prayer for each other, that we may be prepared for our changes and inabled for our duties through grace and strength from X^t^ Jesus I remain Yours ever in Him JOSEPH ELIOT.

JOSEPH ELIOT TO INCREASE MATHER.

For the reverend Mr Increase Mather teacher to the 2^d^ church in Boston, these.

REVEREND S^R^, — I received your letter in winter, with an almanack and some verses, for all which I thank you. My letter contained 2 objections, and in hopes you wil not refer me to the mercy of the schoolmaster, I wil tel you my further thoughts about them. To that that was the 2^d^, as I placed them, you give sundry answers, which I readily own have a fair look of satisfaction, viz: that it is no more strange that Gog and Magog should rise against the heavenly Jernsalem, than that the angels should rise against God himself, &c., yet I must say that such answers reach not so fully as I could wish, for there is none of them a ful proportion to the case in hand, though the instance of the angels comes nearest: but I am willing to make most of any thing that looks Scriptnrally rational [?]. Then for the other objection concerning the burning of the world, and the impossibility of an unmiraculous continuance of the wicked, in case of a general conflagration, I did not observe any thing in your letter . . . towards an answer. I would therefore be glad to have your thoughts vpon it. 2 things I can see sayable vpon it; 1 that the world may be

* Sir Samuel Morland, a diplomatist, and distinguished for his mechanical genius. He was honored by Cromwell with several offices, but having gone over to the King was made a Knight and Baronet, and, after the Restoration, Master of Mechanics to Charles II. He invented an arithmetical machine, etc.

supposed to suffer combustion but in part, as wel as the dead to receive a resurection but in part, were there any countenance for it in scripture: a 2d thing is that it may be taken for a metaphorical combustion which that Allin you mention insists upon, but truly if the Chiliasm are proved (?), and if no better answers I shal stil remain in my hesitation: furthermore I do not see into the reason of your so much insisting in your letter vpon the distinction of the personal apearance of Xt and the personal raigne, alowing the state of that Jerusalem to be perfect heaven, I reach not what is gained by the distinction, or lost for want of it: a new heaven & earth I can freely graunt, but a sinlesse heaven is not so cleare to me: as for Medes coniectures of Gog and Magog, I have not seen that peece; if it be by it self in a volume, I should be very glad to obtain a sight of it, if you would send any by the bearer of this letter, one of my neighbors, Stephen Bishop, I should return it safe in about a years time, though I have myself read . . . of Mede, as his comment upon the revelations, apostacy of the latter times, chappel exercises. I sent for all his works, but these were all I . . . I prefer him before any I have seen for the solid satis . . . understanding. I am glad your book gives so much content alread[y] . . . ring of the Church of God is the great thing we should aim at in our . . . is. Your sons verses are wel spirited, but in my thoughts he wil never win the laurel for his poesy. I am usualy afraid when I see young men . . . be drawn out by a few partial admirers to their own disadvantage: the state of the country stands very tielish. I should be glad to hear there were a spirit of . . . or courage amongst you and of a sound mind. The Lord help us all, that we may prepare for what looks out upon us and yet look up to the God of our salvation. This is all at present.

I am yours in the gospel JOSEPH ELIOT.

GUIL: 16 Marc[h]: 83

LETTERS OF SAMUEL MATHER.

SAMUEL MATHER* TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Reverend Mr Increase Mather Teacher to a Church of Christ at Boston.

Honoured S^r^, — Yours of May the 10, I received, for which I thank you. I could bee glad that I were nearer to you; that I might the better advise with you about my settlement, which I have long longed for. I have not time to enlarge now, bec: it is our lecture weeke, and the whole work for a long time hath lyen on me, by reason of Mr. Newton's † illness. As for the motion about Bastable, I doe not encline to it. I know not where nor when I shall settle. I am not fully enclined to accept Milford's motion as yet; nor can I now give my reasons. I desire earnestly your prayers, and if there be opportunity, advice. I long to be setled somewhere, I fancy much, retirement. I am now in a great place, & I am little & feeble. The people's great respect to me, much undeserved, makes mee slow to give them a denyall. Tis a godly Society we have, — but if I may do work for Jesus X^t^ it is enough; any where will serve; yet it is my duty to have respect to a comfortable subsistence; and many things I could name that make me hesitate about this place. But I cannot enlarge. Wee are in health. My duty & my wife's to yourself and aunt. Our love & respects to our cozens all, & Cotton, in particular. I am your unworthy kinsman. S. M.

Milf^d^. May 20, 78.

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* H. C. 1671. Eldest son of Timothy, of Dorchester. He preached for a time at Deerfield, till the destruction of the town by the Indians in 1675. He went with the surviving people to Hatfield, and preached there and elsewhere till he was ordained at Windsor, in 1682. He was one of the first Trustees of Yale College, and died March 18, 1728.

† Rev. Roger Newton was the first minister of Hartford, dismissed in 1657. He came to Boston, to sail for England, in October; but the ship being detained by head winds, the superstitious captain consented to his being left behind, on the supposition that his presence may have had some connection with the "cross wind." He was afterwards settled at Milford, Aug. 22, 1660.

SAMUEL MATHER TO INCREASE MATHER.

Reverend S^{r}, — I received your letter together with the books you sent mee, for which I thank you; as also for the eloathing, &e. that you have been a meanes to proeure for me. Very welleome will they bee, if they come to hand. I have need enough of them, but how to get them I eannot tell. I eould not come to the Bay this Summer, the state of my little family is sueh that I eould not leave it, tho' I eould mueh desire to see you, and to speake with you about my settlement, eoncerning which I am not yet fully resolved. I have offers enough, among others an invitation unto Braineford, whieh tho' a small plaee, yet eapable of enlargment, & it is no sueh despicable plaee as eom̃on fame makes it. How God will dispose of me I know not. My soul longs for settlement. Pray for mee, that God will order the matter in a way of mercy, and that I may bee fitted to doe work for Jesus Christ in my generation. As for Milford 2 things prineipally discourage mee from abiding there: (1) The smallness of their maintenance. (2) They being of that perswasion wee call antisynodalianer. I have no time now to write to my father. When you have opportunity remember my duty. I have not els, but subseribe myself

Your poor, unworthy and mueh obliged kinsman,

S. Mather.

Mr: Nov. 4, 1678.

SAMUEL MATHER TO INCREASE MATHER.

Honoured S^{r}, — I received a few lines from yourself sometime since, to whieh I wrote an answer but missed the opportunity of sending it, and now I write again. As for a Tombstone about whieh you wrote to mee, I know not that any of Dorehester ever spake to mee about it, or whether any can bee had from hence. The pit, out of which they are wont to be gotten, now faileth much, so that when, or whether ever it will afforde another is un-

certaine. I shall not bee unwilling to doe what is meet for my part. As for your going to England, I have nothing to say, save that I shall according to my poore manner beg the presence & protection of the God of heaven, &c: Remember my duty to my Aunt, my loving respects to my Cousens, and cease not to pray for him who is, and forgets not that he is many wayes obliged to yourself, and your unworthy nephew, S. M.

Winds: March 9, 168$\frac{7}{8}$.

LETTERS OF COTTON MATHER.

COTTON MATHER* TO JOHN COTTON.

[November, 1678.] †

I SHOULD fling a "*proh pudor*" upon my delayes of doing you that service that duty does as much oblige as you desire, but that I am made brazen-faced by excuses sufficient to bear mee out.

I wonder what you impute my non-transmission of those things of yours which are in my hands to. I know your candor will not charge me with Idleness. Your courtesy will not Implead me for forgetfulness, & most of all, you without reason will not accuse mee of unwillingness to serve you in what I may, even *usq^e ad aras*, & if possible, there. But if I am of age to speak for myself; sickness, which had the first part in hindrance, was succeeded by uncertainty of conveyance, and that again seconded by other avocations. How frequently & unweariedly I have been engaged in seeking Plymouth boat, if noth. else, yet my old shooes wil testify, who in this time, when Boston is become an other *Lutetia* (*q. Luto sata*‡) do proclaim that they wanted a pair of Goloshooes when traveling neer the Dock-head. I would bee more frequent in *Letters Testimonial* of my gratitude, if I could but either fling salt on the tail of Time, or gett the wind and tide to be favorable to my designs, which possibly may in a sense bee before the Greek Calends.

Never was it such a time in Boston. Boston burying-places never filled so fast. It is easy to tell the time wherein we did not

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* Rev. Cotton Mather [H.C. 1678] was the eldest son of Increase; born Feb. 12, 1663, and settled, as colleague, with his father in the Ministry of the Second Church, in Boston, May 13, 1685. He is too well known to require an extended notice.

† This letter is written on the back of the letter of John Cotton, to which it is an answer. It is without date, but we infer that it was written at about the time which we have assigned to it, for the reason that that time accords with the date of John Cotton's letter, and also because the small-pox was then raging in Boston.

It is certainly a very remarkable letter, from one so young as the writer was at that period, — about fifteen years.

‡ Referring to the muddy condition of the way to the dock.

nse to have the bells tolling for burials on a sabbath day morning by sunrise; to have 7 buried on a sabbath day night, after Meeting. To have coffins crossing each other as they have been carried in the street; — To have, I know not how many corpses following each other close at their heels, — To have 38 dye in one week, — 6, 7, 8 or 9 in a day. Yet thus hath it lately been; and thus it is at this day. Above 340 have died of the Small Pox in Boston since it first assaulted the place. To attempt a Bill of Mortality, and number the very spires of grass in a Burying Place seem to have a parity of difficulty and in accomplishment . . . At first the gradual mercy of God to my father's family was observable & remarkable. First, my Brother Nath gently smitten, and I more gently than hee, and my Sr Sarah yet more gently than I. But the order is broken on my sister Maria, w^o^ on the same month & day of the month that my father was visited with the same disease 21 years agoe, was taken very ill; the symptoms grievous and our fears gr^t^ Sometimes light-headed, but her father prayed down mercy for her and her pox having turned a day or 2 agoe, shee is now so *inter spemque metumque locata*, that *spes* bears down the scales. So that of my fathers Septenary of childr:, 4 have been visited. God fit & prepare for the 3 stroakes that are yet behind.

Sir. Let us not want the help of your prayers for all of us, especially for him who is

Not more your Nephew than desirous to be
Your . . . & servant C. M.

[The next letter of Cotton Mather, and all those from him which follow in this series, — with the exception of two that are designated in notes attached to them, respectively, — are from the "Winthrop Papers." It has been deemed proper to introduce them into this collection, in order to bring together, among the "Mather Papers," all those of this member of the Mather family which are available. Mr. Winthrop has kindly furnished them for this purpose.]

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN RICHARDS.*

To The Worshipfull John Richards, Esq Residing at The Sign of the Ship, in Fan-church-street London p Cpt. Edwrds

Worshipfull Syr! — Although to give you the Interruption of a rude Epistle, *Quum tot sustineas, et tanta Negotia*, may have an hand in producing almost as bad an Effect, as the Applause of the Spectators did upon that Gallant Actor, whom the people stifled to Death with the Multitude of Roses which they threw upon him, — Yet many considerations Encourage mee, & Embolden mee, — some e'ne Enforee mee, & compell mee to do what in this Literary Address I do — For, Not to mention the kindness which on a late occasion I receeived, by some some weeks Entertainment in the House, that Laments the Absence of you, as its Master, & Owner; & for which, I think, somewhat of Acknowledgement may well bee made unto yourself; — And, Not to insist on the Relation that God has given mee to bear unto the particular church which may Look upon itself as happy in having your worship a Member of it; I shall only call to mind, That when a person of great worth in a Græcian city was entertained with the various presents of innumerable persons, one among the Rest, having Nothing Else, took up a Palm-full of Water from the street, & signifyed as much respect as he could, with the offer of that; & this too, not without good acceptanee. And truly, Syr! May my Hand full of water, prove Like Solomons Cold Waters to a thirsty soul, as good Newes from a farr countrey are called by his Inspired Pen; I shall count it one of the best services to which my Ink can be putt. When any are engaged in Action for us, wee think wee have comission enough to cry, Courage! Cheer up! But, Exeellent Syr! you are Employed in a concern, wherein the Thoughts of this whole Land are call'd to be upon you! — And therein it is not Improbable that you meet with mountains of

* John Richards came over in 1644. He was a rich merchant in Boston, and a member of the Second Church, — that of the Mathers. He was Speaker of the Deputies, and also an Assistant in 1680. He married first, the widow of Adam Winthrop, son of Gov. John Winthrop, of Massachusetts, and next, a daughter of Gov. John Winthrop, of Connecticut. He was chosen an agent to England, in March, 1681–2.

Difficulty; that you are involved in wonderfull Intreeacyes & Labyrinths; that you have a field for the Exercise of the Wisdome of an Angel of God, & of more graee then one Man is wont to have — Yett now, Bee Strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the Lord; for I am with you, saith the Lord of Hosts. It was a Moses-like, & a Paul-like Act of self denial in you, to forego all the Inviting Enjoyments of a pleasant Home; to venture over the perillous Atlantic Ocean, & to appear at a Court, which I shall not attempt to put right Epithites upon, on the behalf of a sinfull, & unworthy Land. The Heathen indeed could give now, & then an Instanee (a Codrus, or a Curtius;) of that *Amor Patriæ*, which made the subjects of it justly admirable. But whereas yourself in your present undertaking were, I know, spring'd by a Motive which never entred into an Heathen (tho: never so mueh Heroic) Breast, give mee Leave to write your Atchievement, because more Christian, to bee more Noble! Honrable! Great! Tho: I may perhaps receive sueh a cheek from you, as Constantine gave to him, *Qui ausus est Imperatorem in Os, Beatum dicere.* And as Divine eonsiderations urg'd you to comply with your present service; so I doubt not but Divine Cordials will refresh you in it. I doubt not but you now & then with the sweetest satisfaction in retired Reflections think for whom, & with what Issue, you are Eneountring so many bleak Northern Winds. Why? For Whom? It is for the Brethren, whom the Apostle would have us, if need bee, to lay down our Lives for, — A people that are dear to God & Christ; His Inheritanee; His peculiar Treasure; The Apple of His Eye; A people that has been a Burthensome stone & a Breakneck formerly unto them that have sought the Ruine of it; & whom the Lord (who Loved this Jacob) has in Stupendous Instances (Syr! you remember the years of the Right Hand of the Most High!) appeared for in the Mount; Demonstrating that Hee brought 'em not into a Wilderness to destroy them therein; A people that (to add no more) are eontinually Lifting up their Hands in the Mount, praying to, & wrestling with Him that sitts upon the floods as King forever, for the welfare & sueeess of their Two Worthy Agents; of whom yourself is one. And so, It is for the Lord Jesus Christ Himself; whose Interest is lying at the stake; who is afflicted in all the afflictions of His people; Who sais What yee did unto them yee did unto Mee; & will not Lett the bestowal

of a cup of cold Water on a Disciple, go unrewarded. And with what Issue? Shall wee suppose the worst! The Counntrey you plead for, condemned! Yourself frustrated of your End & Expectations! Tho: *meliora speramus*. Nay! still your Iudgment is with the Lord: & Your Reward is with your God! You shall be dismissed with that Applause from the Master who is the King of Kings, HEE SERV'D HIS GENERATION ACCORDING TO THE WILL OF GOD: and that, WELL DONE! GOOD & FAITHFULL SERVANT! It shall by your obliged countrey be written over your Grave (out of which the good Lord in great mercy to this poor people, keep you Long!) PATER PATRIÆ; or HERE LYES ONE OF NEW ENGLANDS FRIENDS! SHIELDS! GAP-MEN! And oh! the Infinite Ioy that will fill you forever, when the *Sæculum Mercedis* takes place; & you come to another court; Even the general Assembly of the First-Born; & the Spirits of Just Men made perfect; where you shall Rest from your labours, & your Works shall follow you.

But what am I doing? Surely I now do but pour Water into the sea; & only disrest you with things that you wanted not my mention of. And as for the state of things with us, there are not, I suppose many Remarkeable things besides what you may hear from other, & better Hands then mine. Of more particular passages there have many hapned worthy of serious Notice; Among which, the Newes of Mr Taylors sad Death I suppose you have already been surprised with. And Ile only annex, That within Two or Three Dayes before the Day wherein I write this, Diverse strange, & sudden Deaths have fallen out. Mrs. Brattle dyed at an Hours Warning, & was this Day Buried. A man at Concord was found Dead in his field. Of a couple of Men overtaken in Drink, at Boston, One was on the Satureday, at Night, rolling a Barrel of Cyder down a Cellar, he falling, the Barrel ran over him, & bruis'd him to death imediately. Another, after hee had been spending a great part of the Sabbath (yesterday) in drinking at a private House, return'd in the Night towards his vessel which Lay near one of our Wharfs, but his Drink was so strong as to throw him over the wharf, & there the poor wretch was miserably drown'd. And then, as for more public occurrents, you will not want my Intelligence —That Cp^{n} Cranfield is come to his government in New Hampshire; where his deportments have been so

cunning (I mean Colloguing!) as to win the hearts of his people to strange Degrees of Closure with him. But the Insolent Tobias, R.* (there are Three or Four Names equally applicable to that Canine Initial Letter!) was born to do mischief; Tho: the poor man has been of later months very, very pittifully of it by straits, & discomposures in his family — [His wife in particular now Lyes near death, if she ben't already as before wee are aware, wee are prone to wish her husband.] And hee that makes disturbances in a greater Family, is but retaliated by such a punishment. — That the Colledge is still in the state that formerly; only Mr. Rogers† is lately come to make a Little Trial of what it is to be a president; & is at present without his family at Cambridge, where they this week proceed to the ordination of Mr N. Gookin‡ as their pastor. — That our dear church has been of Later time blest with the Admission of many to it, who have hopefull signs of their being such as shall bee saved; But in the Town there has been a very great Disturbance, by Mr. Bonds§ coming hither; from whence hee is now gone again, under the quality of a Snuffer. And in general, Affayrs with us are not otherwise then well.

But having suffered my pen to ramble thus farr, I remember myself y^t^ it is Time to beg your pardon for^ the Trouble I have given you in this Tedious scrol. I do so! And having humbly presented my service unto the worshipfull Mr. Dudley, your worthy collegue, *et in Onere, et in Honore;* I do, with Hearty sighs to the most High God for the preservation of your Health, for the success of your Design, & for the Return of your person, take Leave to subscribe myself,

Worshipfull Syr! Your Humble Servant,

COTTON MATHER.

BOSTON, N. E. 13^d^ 9^m^ 1682.

Indorsed, — "M^r^ Cotton Mather rec^d^ Janr. 4. 1682.

Answered p Mr Clarke. Febr. 82."

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* Evidently a covert allusion to Randolph.

† Rev. John Rogers was first chosen President of Harvard College, to succeed President Hoar, in 1676, but declined. After the death of President Oakes, he was again chosen, in 1682, and accepted. See note to letter of Thomas Danforth, dated Dec. 28, 1682.

‡ Rev. Nath^a^iel Gookin [H. C. 1675] was ordained at Cambridge, as successor of Rev. Urian Oakes, Nov. 15, 1682.

§ Rev. Sampson Bond. See note on p. 96.

PAPER IN THE HANDWRITING OF COTTON MATHER.*

These things are Evident

I. The countrey is Distress'd in many points, that call for an Agency.

Wee are in great Hazard of losing our Colledge; we have Advice Enough to awaken us, to Look a Little better after that great concern of Religion among us.

The Charters of our Colonies are in Extrẽme Danger also to be lost; we have Advice of their coming under a Parliamentary consideration in circumstances, which threaten to settle us on the same Foot with the rest of the Plantations.

It is likewise Necessary, that there be made a True Representation of our condition, to the King & the principal Ministers of State; Especially in those points, wherein His Majesty may have been misinformed concerning us; and wherein tis intimated, that if we don't give His Majesty satisfaction, we may hear further in that uncomfortable and Irresistible way, of *Acts of Parlaiment.*

Who can think, That the writing of a Letter or Two, will be a sufficient Application to the Court of *England* under these our great Necessities!

II. It is very probable, That no little good may be obtained, by a suitable Agency.

Tho it be many wayes a Disadvantage to us, that we have had no Agent in *England*, for a considerable while, yett it is not altogether too late. The mischiefs impending over the Colledge, may probably be Retrieved.

A few Leading men in the Parlaiment being informed and influenced, a World of Hard Things, may be staved off; which else our own best friends may bring upon us.

If a New Governour be not yett appointed, (as we have cause to think there is not) the King will probably favour us wth one, that shall be Nominated by our Agents.

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* It is impossible to assign an exact date to this paper. It is probable that it was written in 1686, not long before the arrival of Andros at Boston, as governor. The state of the colony and college, at that period, was similar to that which this memorandum describes. Cotton Mather was even then beginning to look towards the appointment of his father as an agent to England.

In case of a New War breaking forth (w^ch^ Every body Expects,) our Agents may probably do us considerable services; and such as may be of more value in the very kind, than all their Expences. Wee are Slaves, without the *Habeas Corpus*-Act. Agents may by their sollicitations perhaps gett it allowed for us.

III. Now is our Time. Yea, Now or Never. Wee have delay'd, already too long. If we delay, till a New Governour arrive, it will probably bee too late forever.

I don't see, but Faithfulness to the Interest of the Countrey, will oblige us all to concur for the forwarding of this matter.

All the Objection is, The charge of the Agency.

If Agents find they can do nothing, they will putt us to so little charge, it won't be worth our speaking of. If they can do something, t'wil be worth our charge. Besides, Wee have already Five hundred pound in the Treasury, particularly devoted unto the service of an Agency for the Colledge; w^ch^ is not yett laid out.

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN RICHARDS.

My Dear Major, — You are doubtless, as well as I, convinced, That it is a Time for churches to do some Remarkable Thing, in the matter of Returning unto God; and perhaps you have lately Read, what I have writt upon that Article.

I now send you, a Recognition of the Duties, to which our Covenant has obliged us; and of the Evils, wherein wee are most Danger to forgett our Covenant.

The voting of such Recognitions, in such Terms as are here laid before you, do's most effectually obtain the Ends of a Renew'd Covenant, and yett it is a thing so agreeable to the sense of even the Weakest Christian, that I cañot imagine where those persons that have needlessly scrupled Renewal of Covenant, can here find any objections.

The Vast Benefits of our Voting such an Instrument (when it has undergone any Alteracõns that shall bee found Necessary) in our church, are too considerable to bee in this place Reckoned up. I'l now only say, I beleeve God would make it an Occason of

much Blessing to us, and a Medecine for such cures among us, as would fitt us for every Blessing.

If the church pass this vote, I would use my cares, that Every Cõmunicant should have a copy of it; for his constant Monitor, in an holy conversacõn.

I putt it first into your Hands, because my value for your person and judgment (which I have in print everlastingly signalized unto the world) will cause mee either to proceed or Desist, in the Design w^ch^ Lies much upon my Heart. And I desire you to use the more Exact Thoughts upon it because, if I have your countenance I am sure I shall have the Iñediate Concurrence of *all this people*, to do a thing that would bee as great a Compliance with the Loud calls of God, as any that I am capable of Devising; and *I think also, that I am somewhat Awake.*

If I bee not hindred, I may perhaps wait upon you in the Evening for further Conference. I am

Dear and Hon^ed^ S^r^, Your Approved Serv^t^

C. MATHER.

13^d^ 12^m^ 1691[-2]: The first Day in my Thirtieth Year.

Indorsed, — 1691. D^r^ Cotton Mather's Let^r^ to Maj^r^ John Richard^s^.

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN RICHARDS.

BOSTON. 31^d^ 3^m^ 1692.

HONOURABLE S^r^, — I could not have asked you as I now do to Excuse me from waiting vpon you, with the vtmost of my litle skill & care to assist the noble service whereto you are called of God this week, the service of Encountring the Wicked Spiritts in the high places of our Air, & of detecting & confounding of their confederates,* were it not that I am Langishing vnder such an overthrow of my health as makes it very dubious that my company may prove more troublesome then serviceable: the least Excesse of travell, or diet, or any thing that may discompose me, would

* John Richards was one of the Judges in the witchcraft trials, at Salem.

at this time threaten perhaps my life it selfe, as my friends advise me; & yet I hope before you can get farr into that misterious affair which is now before you, I may with Gods blessing recover so farr as to attend your desires, which to me alwayes are comands. In the meane time, least I should be guilty of any sinfull omission in declining what no good man amongst vs can decline, Even to do the best I can for the strengthening of your honourable hands in that worke of God, whereto (I thank him) he hath so well fitted you, as well as called you, I thought it my duty breifly to offer you my poor thoughts on this astonishing occasion.

I. I am not w^th^out very lively hopes, that our good God will prosper you in that vndertakeing which he hath put you now vpon: His people haue been fasting & praying before him for your direction: & your selves are persons whose Exemplary devotion disposeth you to such a dependance on the wonderfull Counceller, for his counsell in an affair thus full of wonder, as he doth usually answer with the most favourable assistances. You will easily pardon me that I do not back my thoughts with confirming Historyes, it is not a sudden letter that will admitt them: & it would be too like ostentation to produce them; nevertheless, I cannot for once forbeare minding of the famous accidents at Mohra in Swedeland, where a fast was kept among the people of God, because of a stupendious Witchcraft, much like ours, making Havocke of the Kingdom, was iñediately [followed] with a remarkable Smile of God vpon the endeavours of the Judges to discover & Extirpate the Authors of that Execrable witchcraft. Wherefore be Encouraged.

II. And yet I must most humbly beg you that in the Managem^t^ of the affair in your most worthy hands, you do not lay more stresse vpon pure Spectre testimony then it will bear. When you are satisfyed or haue good plaine legall Evidence that the Dæmons which molest our poore neighbours, do indeed represent such & such people to the sufferers, thô this be a p^r^smuption, yet I suppose you will not reeken it a conviction that the people so rep^r^sented are witches to be iñediately exterminated. It is very certaine that the divells haue sometimes rep^r^sented the shapes of persons not onely innocent, but also very vertuous. Thô I believe that the just God then ordinarily provides a way for the Speedy vindication of the persons thus abused. Moreover I do suspect that persons who

haue too much indulged themselves in Malignant, Envious, malicious Ebullitions of their soules, may vnhappyly expose themselves to the Judgment of being rep^{r}sented by Divels, of whom they never had any vision, & with whom they haue much lesse written any Covenant. I would say this: If upon the bear supposeall of a poore creatures being rep^{r}sented by a Spectre, too great a progresse be made by the Authority in ruining a poor neighbour so rep^{r}sented, it may be that a doore may be thereby openned for the Divils to obteine from the Courts in the invisible world a license to proceed vnto most hideous desolations vpon the repute & repose of such as haue yet been Kept from the great transgression. If mankind haue thus far once consented vnto the Creditt of Diabolicall rep^{r}sentations the Door is opened! Perhaps there are wise & good men, that may be ready to stile him that shall advance this Caution, A Witch Advocate, but in the winding vp this caution will certanly be wished for.

III. Thô tis probable that the Divels may (thô not often, yet sometimes) make most bloody invasions vpon our Exterior Concernes, wthout any Witchcrafts of our fellow Creatures to empower them, & I do Expect, that as when our Lord was coñing in his humane Nature among us, there was a more sensible annoyance of the Destroyer vpon our Humane Nature, then at other times, thus it will be just before our Lords coñing againe in his Humane Nature. when he will also dispossesse the Divels of their Aëreal Region to make a new Heaven for his raised there: Neverthelesse there is cause Enough to think that it is a horrible Witchcraft which hath given rise to the troubles wherewth Salem Village is at this day harassed: & the indefatigable paines that are used for the tracing this Witchcraft are to be thankfully accepted, & applauded among all this people of God.

IV. Albeit the buisines of this Witchcraft be very much transacted vpon the Stage of Iñagination, yet we Know, that, as in treason there is an iñagining which is a Capitall Crime. & here also the buisines thus managed in Iñagination yet may not be called Imaginary. The Effects are dreadfully reall. Our deare neighbours are most really tormented. Really murdered, & really acquainted with hidden things, which are afterwards proved plainly to haue been Realityes. I say then, as that man is justly Executed for an Assassinate, who in the sight of man shall with a sword in his

hand stabb his neighbour into the heart, so suppose a long traine layd vnto a barrell of Gunpowder vnder the floor where a neighbour is, & suppose a man with a match perhaps in his mouth, out of sight, set fire vnto the further end of the traine, thô never so farr off, this man also is to be treated as equally a malefactor. Our neighbours at Salem Village, are blowne vp after a sort, with an infernall gunpowder, the traine is layd in the lawes of the Kingdome of Darknes limitted by God himselfe, now the question is, Who gives fire to this traine? & by what acts is the match applyed? finde out the persons that haue done this thing, & be their acts in doing it, either mentall, or orall, or manuall, or what the Divel will, I say *abeant quo digni sunt.*

V. To determine a matter so much in the Darke as to Know the guilty Employers of the Divels in this worke of darknes, this is a worke, this is a labour. Now first a credible Confession of the guilty wretches is one of the most hopefull wayes of coñing at them, & I say a credible confession, because even confession it selfe sometimes is not credible. But a person of a Sagacity many times thirty furlongs lesse then yours, will Easily perceive what Confession may be Credible, & what may be the result of onely a delirions brain, or a discontented heart. All the difieulty is, how to obtaine this Confession. For this I am farr from vrging the vn-English method of torture, but instead thereof I propound these three things, first, Who can tell but when the witches come vppon their tryalls, they may be so forsaken, as to confesse all. The Almighty God haveing heard the appeales of our Cryes to Heaven, may so thunder strike their soules, as to make them show their Deeds. Moreover the Divels themselves who aim at the entrapping of their own miserable Clients, may treacherously depart from them in their Examinations, which throwes them into such toyling vexations that they'l discover all. Besides, when you come solemnly in Gods name, to Exhibit your selves as his Vicegerents; & when you come to forme a most awfull tipe of the last Judgm^{t}, whereat the Divels of all things tremble most, even they also may be smitten with such terrors as may contribute a little to their departure from the miscreants whom they haue entangled. An vnexpected confession, is that whereunto Witches are very often driven. Secondly, I am ready to thinke, that there is usually some Exp^{r}ssion or behaviour, whereto the Divels do constantly oblige the

Witches, as a Kind of Sacrament, vpon their least failure wherein the Witches presently loose the thus forfeited assistances of the Divels, & all comes out. Please then to observe, if you can finde any one constant schœme of discourse or action, whereto the suspected seem religiously devoted, & (which may Easily be done by the coñon policyes of conversation) cause them to transgresse That, a confession will probably then com on apace. Thirdly, what Ever hath a tendancy to put the witches into confusion, is likely to bring them vnto Confession too. Here Crosse & Swift Questions haue their use, but besides them, for my part, I should not be vnwilling, that an Experiment be made whether accused partyes can repeate the Lords prayer, or those other Sistems of christanity, which it scemes, the Divels often make the witches vnable to repeate, wthout ridiculous Depravations or Amputations. The danger of this Experiment will be taken away, if you make no Evidence of it, but onely put it to the use I mention, which is that of confounding the lisping Witches to give a reason why they cannot, Even with prompting, repeat those heavenly Composures. the like I would say of some other experiments onely we may venture too far before we are aware.

VI. But what if no confession can be obtained, I say yet the case is far from desperate. For if there haue been those words uttered by the witches, Either by way of threatening, or of Asking, or of Braging, which rationally demonstrate such a Knowledge of the wofull circumstances attending the afflicted people, as could not be had, wthout some Diabolicall Coñunion, the proofe of such words is Enough to fix the guilt. Moreover I looke vpon wounds that haue been given vnto Spectres, & received by Witches, as intimations broad enough, in concurrence with other things, to bring out the guilty. Thô I am not fond of assaying to give such wounds, yet the proofe such when given carryes with it what is very palpable.

Once more, can there be no poppits found out? & here I would say thus much, I am thinking, that some Witches make their owne bodyes to be their Poppetts. If therefore you can finde that when the witches do any thing Easy, that is not needfull (& it is needfull that I put in that clause, "not needfull," because it is possible that a præstigious Demon may iñitate what we do, thô we are none of His) I say if you find the same thing, presently & hurt-

fully, & more violently done by any vnseen hand, vnto the bodyes of the sufferers, hold them, for you haue catched a Witch. I adde, why should not Witch-markes be searched for? The propertyes, the qualityes of those markes are described by divers weighty writers. I never saw any of those markes, but it is doubtlesse not impossible for a chirurgion, when he sees them, to say what are magicall, & if these become once apparent, it is apparent that these witches haue gone so farre in their wickedness as to admitt most cursed Suecages, whereby the Divels haue not onely fetched out of them, it may be the Spiritts of which they make vehicles, wherein they visitt the afflicted, but also they haue infused a venome into them which Exalts the malignity of their spiritts as well as of their bodyes: & it is likely, that by meanes of this ferment they would be found Buoyant (if the water-Ordeal were made vpon them.)

VII. I begin to fear that the Devils do more easily proselyte poore mortalls into witch craft, than is comonly conceived. When a sinfull child of man distempers himselfe with some Exorbitant motions in his minde (& it is to be feared the murmuring Phrensyes of late p^{r}vailing in the country, haue this way Exposed many to sore Temptations) a Devil then soon present himself vnto him, & he demands are you willing that I should goe doe this or that for you? if the man once comply, the Devil hath him now in a most horrid snare, & by a p̄mission from the just vengence of God he visitts the man with buffettings as well as alurements, till the forlorn man, att first onely for the sake of quietnesse, but at length out of improved wickednes, will cōmission the Divell to do mischeife as often as he requires it. And for this cause it is worth considering, whether there be a necessity alwayes by Extirpac̄ons by Halter or fagott, [ ] every wretched creature, that shall be hooked into some degrees of Witchcraft. What if some of the lesser Criminalls, be onely scourged with lesser punishments, & also put vpon some solemn, open, Publike & Explicitt renunciation of the Divil? I am apt to thinke that the Divels would then cease afflicting the neighbour-hood whom these wretches haue 'stoo'd (?) them vpon, & perhaps they themselves would now suffer some imp^{r}ssions from the Divels, which if they do, they must be willing to bear, til the God that heares prayer deliver them. Or what if the death of some of the offenders were either diverted or inflicted, according to the successe of such their renunciation.

But I find my free thoughts, thus freely layd before your Honour, begin to haue too much freedome in them. I shall now therefore adde no more, but my humble & most fervent Prayers to the God who gives wisedome liberally, that you & your Honourable Brethren may be furnished from on High, with all that wisdome, as well as Justice, which is requisit in the thorny affair before you. God will be with you. I am perswaded He will: & with that perswasion I Subscribe my selfe

S^r^ Your very devoted Servant,

C. MATHER.

Indorsed, — "M^r^ Cotton Mather, an Essay concerning Witchcraft. 1692."

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN RICHARDS.

For the Honourable John Richards, Esq.

BOSTON, Dec. 14. 1692.

HONOURABLE S^R^, — Many months are now past, since I laid before Your Honour; my judgment, my Desire, and with Gods Leave, my purpose, to Administer the Baptism of our Lord, unto such as were Instructed and Orthodox in the Christian Religion, & should bring Testimony signed by more than one among the people of God, that they are of a Vertuous Conversation, and should after their Names have been publickly propounded (and objection can not bee made against them,) openly and seriously give themselves up to God in Christ, according to the Terms of the Covenant of Grace, with a Declaration of their study to prepare themselves further for the Table of the Lord.

I have intimated unto you, that I look upon such persons, as Visible Subjects in the Kingdome of our Lord Jesus Christ, altho' they have not proceeded so far in Christianity, as to be constituent Members of the corporations, the particular Churches in that Kingdome; and I haue intimated that Baptism is an Ordinance that belongs to Visible Christians, or those that are visibly of the Catholic Church, before and in order to, their joining to a particular.

In this thing, the scripture-pattern seems plain; and among the people of God, I have the concurrence of the most Able, the most learned, and the Generality, an Army to a man.

Now that I might after many a prayer, & Fast, & after a thousand most sollicitous Thoughts, know the way that God would have mee to take, I was willing to Try the mind of the dear people, to whom I am related; and this with as little clamour, or Dispute as may bee. Accordingly, the Instrument, which I once putt into Your Worthy Hands, I gave to two or three Discrete men; who carried it unto almost Every one of the Brethren belonging to our Church, that were not then abroad at sea. I directed not their coming to you, because, I told them, I would myself do that part. But they, almost Every man of them, did sign with their Hands, their Desire that I would immediately putt in Execution, the perswasions & proposals, wherewith I had Entertained them. Indeed, there were three or four, that forebore signing the Address, which the church thus made unto mee; but even of these, one told mee hee agreed unto my perswasions, & another told mee hee thought I sinn'd by Delaying to proceed unto the practice of my proposals. Breefly, I have Seventy-five Hands (whereof Three are of their Majesties Conneil) and I suppose I could for asking, have when I will, Ten more, solliciting mee to go on.

Tis a good part of a year ago, That this Thing was done: I have Ever since, lett it Rest. But when I have seen that the Divels have been Baptising so many of our miserable Neighbours, in that horrible Witcheraft, for the Extinguishing whereof, God has made a more than ordinary use of your Honourable Hand, I must confess, it has Encreased my uneasiness, under that sin of Omission, wherein I reckon myself to live. I cannot bee well at Ease, until the Nursery of Initiated Beleevers, out of which this Garden of God is from time to time, to bee supply'd with the Trees of Righteousness, bee duely Watered, with the Baptism, as well as with the Teaching of the Lord. I would mark, as many as I should, that the Destroying Angels, may have less claim unto them.

I do most fully Agree with you, That no unregenerate person, is to bee Baptised. But then, I also think that a person so Qualify'd, as has been described, and one so sensibly submitting to the

Lawes of our Lord, should not bee pronounced, Unregenerate. Except I own that such persons may bee Baptised, I declare that they are, Visibly the subjects of the Divel; but I think, that is to do them a very visible Injury.

If it bee said, Why then don't they come to the Table of the Lord? I answer, First, Because they are themselves under Doubts & Fears which discourage them; & for us to punish those Doubts and Fears in them, with declaring of them to bee Infidels, or to have no other consideration in the Kingdome of God, than the Infidels have, is, in my poor opinion, very unreasonable. Secondly, Because the Supper of the Lord, requiring not only Grace but some growth in Grace, & being a Sacrament of Confirmation, for those who have heretofore in Baptism had their Initiation, wee may justly expect more positive Attainments, for the one, than for the other; and so the primitive Churches practised.

But where shall wee stop? I answer, The Instrument, which our Brethren have signed, setts a sacred & a glorious Bound: if wee go Hitherto & no further, wee shall bee safe; & none can fairly demand us to go any further. It was in part for this cause, that I was willing to have this Instrument, so circumstanced; namely, Because if hereafter you should have a pastor, who may not bee so concerned for purity of Administrac̃ons, as I hope you have alwayes found, & may yett find, mee to bee, you may have an Everlasting Clog upon all Endeav^{rs} of any man, to prostitute an Ordinance.

In short, This Dispensac̃on of Baptism, to such as have Received the Messages of the Gospel, which I bring unto them, unto whom I am to seal the Truth of the covenant so received by them, in the Baptism of that Covenant, it is properly My Work. And I have therefore so cautiously stated the whole matter, that I avoid entangling any of our Brethren who may bee scrupulous in any Act which they may not see Light for. And yett I Resolve also, in all my Admissions, to have the particular Assistances of two or three or more of our understanding Brethren; and particularly of some that have been most scrupulous of Enlargements; until wee have a consistory of Elders more fully settled.

I am Even now & then Visited, by well-disposed people, who, I beleeve, have the Fear of God in them; & these tell mee,

S^r. Your Ministry has broke our Hearts for us; wee would willingly become the professed Servants of Jesus Christ: it is a trouble to us that wee, or ours, are not by Baptism Dedicated unto Him: Will you Baptise us? S^r, if you can't, wee must bee forc'd to seek that Blessing elsewhere, & so leave your Ministry, which wee would not leave upon any other Terms whatsoever. It is true, wee should come to the Lords Table; but such is our Weakness, wee dare not; pray, don't punish us for that weakness; & when wee are a Little Better confirm'd in Christianity, wee shall come.

These persons, I do in my Conscience judge, that I ought to Baptise; and yett, scores of such, have I banished from my Ministry, meerly because I have been loth to go against the sense of *but Two* very Good men, whom I value at so high a rate; and of These, Dearest S^r You are the cheef. Quere, Whether my dear Major himself would not advise mee to do otherwise? Say, my Excellent Friend, say, whether this be not *Hard!*

God forbid, that ever I should pollute the Sanctuary! But, I think the way of the Lord, which I have offered, is the most ready way to prevent fear'd pollutions. For my part, I shall not bee able to hold up my Head, before the whole Christian World, nntill I do more than I have done in this regard; no, nor can I answer it unto the L. Jesus Christ Himself, before whose Judgment-seat I sett myself, when I am going to take any steps in this Affayr.

All that I now ask of my Ever-honoured *Richards*, to whom I have signalized my perpetual Respects, before the whole world, & whom I can't Endure to Dissent from, is but thus much. Tell mee, That if I proceed in what I propound, it will bee (tho' perhaps not Easy, yett) not Grievous to you. Tell mee, That if I go on, You will still hold a Joyful Communion with mee, in the points wherein wee are agreed, & not bee Royl'd in your Heart about those wherein wee are not. For my part, I observe it, That the more men grow in Grace, the more they abate of Rigidness in many matters where Extension of charity is to determine. And you being now grown to an High Degree in grace, and apace Ripening for Heaven, it gives mee no little Encouragement with reference to this very matter. Say then, Ought I not to do what the church has in the most Explicit manner call'd mee to?

And this, when tis my Burden, that I have so long Deferr'd the Doing of it? I am confident, That almost all men living would say, I ought. Lett my Major then say it. And so lett mee not want that countenance in the Work of God, which upon all other Accounts you have alwayes comforted mee withal. God has made you a Singular Blessing, & Honour, to mee; and I am very Confident of my having Heaven itself, a little while hence, the sweeter for your being there. Pray, Lett what is now before us, cause no Diminution of that Satisfaction. Upon some Temporal Accounts, I suppose, few Ministers of our Lord in this poor Land, have been more Incomoded than I have been; and yett, as I never did Complain, so, lett mee not bee Inconvenienced upon Spirituall Accounts, and I never shall. But lett what will happen, I will bee of Your Honour, and of Madam Your vertuous Consort,

S^r^ a very Sincere Servant, C. MATHER.

Indorsed, — "1692. D^r^ Cotton Mather to J Richards Esq."

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN RICHARDS.

To the Honourable John Richards Esq.

S^r^, — The Brethren of our church, have Agreed, that they will To morrow, with Gods Leave, Keep a Day of prayer, all together, at my House; and had not the Rain hindred this Afternoon, I had waited on you at Your Lodgings, to have advised you of it; as well as to have bid you welcome home, fro' your late Journey. I bless God, the Distemper has almost left our Island; * I suppose the smallest Number of the sick, is now in our Neighbehood; and all the sick, are, I hope, like to Recover. The Coast being so safe, I suppose, it will do well on such an opportunity as To morrow, to lett your old Northern Friends, to whom you have had so many

* The "Mill Creek" made the north end of Boston an island.

Endearments, bee sensible, that you have not altogether forgotten them.

With my Humble Service to Madam Richards I subscribe myself, S^r^ Your Servant, C. MATHER.

Sept. 5. 1693.

Indorsement by Richards. (?) — "Will^m^ Winthrop dyed. Monday Sept^r^ 25. 93. about 2 aclocke afternoon of the bloody flux. Was taken sick friday 11 dayes before. Joseph Winthrop Dyed thursday Sept^r^ 28. 93, about 4 a clock in the morning, was taken sick of the same disease 7 dayes before.

"Both buryed Sept^r^ 28. 1693. about 5. clock afternoone."

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN RICHARDS.

To the Honourable John Richards Esq.

HONOURABLE S^r^, — The Govern having sent unto the Justices & Select-men of the Town, (as the late Act requires) to come unto his house this Evening between 6^h.^ & 7^h.^ that he may there have their Approbation to lay before the Council, about our building with wood * on the Vacant Ground near our Meeting-house; hee directs mee to desire your company there, a little before the Time prefixed. There will bee some occasion for one of Your Wisdome and Caution in general, & knowledge of this matter in particular, to bee upon the spott. And, I pray, Rub up your Memory as far as may bee, that you may Talk stoutly, if there bee need for it. It was necessary there should bee no Delay, of this business: for some Reasons you understand. With my best services to your Vertuous & Honourable Consort, I subscribe myself, S^r^ Your sincere Serv^t^ C. MATHER.

[To Day]

Indorsed, — "No date. Dr Cotton Mather to J. Richards Esq."

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* An Act was passed in 1692, to prevent accidents by fire, that no wooden building should be erected without a license from the Governor and Council.

COTTON MATHER TO MRS. JOANNA COTTON.*

Boston 23d 8 mo. 1699.

My dear Aunt, — You have cried unto God in your Distresses: Behold how Hee extricates you!

Wee can expect no vessel from Carolina this winter; and I suppose there is none going from New England thither.

By way of N. York wee have Letters of Advice from thence. They inform us That by an infected vessel, arriving at Charlstown, the horrible plague of Barbados was brought into the Town. About the Latter end of September, it had been there, little above a fortnight. In this little time, it had made an Incredible Desolation. I think many above an Hundred were Dead, and so many more lying at the point of Death, that the Dead were carried unto their Graves in Carts.

Mr Fenwick, and others, write that all the ministers in Charlstown, were Dead, but they mention the Death of their precious Pastor, my uncle, as the most killing Disaster, they had yett mett withal. — In their confusion, they tell us not the precise Time of his Death; nor do they relate any Circumstances of it, only that hee lay sick Two Days, and hee Dy'd the Third, which is the period, whereat the sick of that pestilential Distemper use to dy. That circumstance will make you think of *Lazarus*, and you'l join with mee in hopes That my uncle was *one whom the Lord Loved*.

I need not say unto you, how near the Death of so beloved a Friend goes to the Hearts of his Relatives in this Town, and in a special manner to mine. I had not many Friends on Earth like him.

But in the midst of our sorrowes, on this deplorable occasion, wee have not only the general consideracons of Christianity to bee our Consolations, but wee have a peculiar satisfaction in the Lord's accepting my uncle to Dy with Honour in the service of the Gospel and kingdom — As it was no great mercy (I beleeve) unto Ply-

* Wife of Rev. John Cotton, of Plymouth (whose death at Charleston, S. C., is referred to in this letter), and daughter of Dr. Bray, or Brian, Rossiter. It appears that she remained at Plymouth after her husband's departure for Charleston, in 1698. See note on p. 226.

mouth, for their Laborions, and good-spirited, and well-tempered Pastor to be driven from them, so it was a great Merey unto my uncle to bee employed in gathering a church for the Lord Jesus Christ, in a Countrey that had never seen such a Thing, from the Beginning of the world. Wee understand from all hands, that hee was extraordinarily serviceable to the Interests of Religion, and that hee enjoy'd great esteem, and as great success.

And now at last, being so little short of sixty, and having seen his children, all so far, and so well, brought up, there are in all these things, very sensible mitigations of our Calamity in loosing him.

However none of these things make it cease to bee a calamity and an Affliction, which calls upon us to Humble ourselves, and prepare for our own approaching change, and abound in agreeable supplications.

Your Distress, about your voyage to Carolina, being thus at an end, I pray the everlasting Husband of the Widow to Direct you, and Comfort you in every other Distress, (for one seldome comes alone) and give a comfortable Issue to all. So I subscribe and approve myself

Your kinsman, & servant, COTTON MATHER.

COTTON MATHER TO WAIT WINTHROP.

21ª 9

HONOURABLE SYR, — You that have alwayes had all possible, both private and public Demonstrations of my sincere Esteem for you, may wonder that I have lett a week roll away, without waiting on you, to wish Joy unto you, and your Happy Consort.

I thought it my Duty to lett you know, That nothing but my want of Health, has hindred me and my wife from doing that part of our Duty.

Wherefore, instead of a personal Visit, I will pray you to accept for the present, my written Congratulations.

Otto de Guerick saies, That fifty cyphres headed with one Figure, will contain the Number of poppey-seeds, that would fill the vast space between us and the stars.

I may declare to you, That I wish you, and the Lady that makes you Happy,* more Blessings than could be Numbred in the Septendecillions aforesaid. My Letter all fill'd with Figures could not Number them.

Tho' Earth has not, yett Heaven has, so many for you! Heaven, from which you cannot be far.

I will confess one thing more; tho' you will smile at me. You will excuse me, if you don't see me presently. I durst hardly bee seen walking to your End of the Town, until a certain Indignation be overpast. A just punishment upon me, for the Fault of a Letter I wrote Six or Seven years ago.

I wish I knew the best wayes of approving myself, Syr,

Your most hearty servt Co. MATHER.

Indorsed, — "No date. Dr Cotton Mather's Lett: to Wait Winthrop Esq."

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

16d 10m 1707

Sr, — If there be a Family in the World, which I have endeavoured alwayes to treat with all possible service and Honour, tis the *Winthropian*.

If there be a person in that Family, for whose welfare, I have even travailed with Agony tis *You;* whereof the walls of a certain *Bibliothecula* in the World, are but some of the many witnesses.

As I continue to wish all Happiness to you, so I must now do it, unto the Vertuous Lady, whom you are making your Consort.†

And, as from the Beginning, you know, you had all possible Encouragements and commendations from me, to the Match, wherein I am now, wishing you Joy, so the Late calamity I have suffered, by a cruel Incivility offered me in *England*, cannot hinder me, from all the Dispositions of personal Good Will, unto the Family, unto which you are becoming Related.

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* Wait Still Winthrop married his second wife, Catharine, widow of John Eyre, and daughter of Thomas Brattle, Nov. 13, 1707.

† John Winthrop married, Dec. 16, 1707, the day of the date of this letter, Ann, daughter of Gov. Joseph Dudley.

But shall I not rather chuse to putt my Wishes, into the Terms the Excellent *Philip Henry*, would use to his New Married Friends: *Others wish you much Happiness; I wish you much Holiness; That will make you sure of Happiness!*

I am glad, the duty I have done, to the character and Memory of Your Honourable Uncle,* finds any Acceptance with you. I confess freely to you, That, contrary to my usual conduct on such Occasions, (which is, To stay till such a thing be Desired by others,) I have myself Desired, and I do again Request, the publication of it.

I do it for an hundred Reasons, needless to be mentioned; I will only mention one that comes after the Ninety-ninth. Our paltry Newes-Letter, when it Reports the Death of that meritorious Gentleman, takes care, that not so much as One Honourable Word shall be spoken of him, an omission, like to which, it was never guilty of, No, not when such a Blockhead as old *White* † of *Marshfield*, was to be spoken of.

The publication ought also to be seasonable, that is to say Immediate: Not putt off, till it may be censured, as the Ill-timed Address of Condolence, was by the Emperour *Tiberius*. We must not incur the Ill Grace of a Duty, *Quod mora tardat*.

The Famine of paper creates a Difficulty. But *One Rheam*, will print more than Two Hundred copies; which may doubtless be found in some store-house or other. And so many Copies, may present Every Magistrate, and Minister, and Deputy in *Connecticot* colony, with one; and Reserve some Number for other particular Friends, both here and in *England*.

I Remember, when *Johannes Brevis*, mightily desired to be turned into an *Angel*, he mett with a Rebuke, & returned with this Temper, *Homo sum, Alienum nil Hominis à me puto*. My desire to have you continued here and to do what Spirits do not, forbids me to wish your being turned as yett into an *Angel*, (any further than the *Angelical* Disposition of serviceableness to a glorious CHRIST will make you one;) But I heartily Desire,

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* "Winthropi Justa." A sermon at the Funeral of John Winthrop, Governor of Connecticut, who died in Boston Nov. 27, 1707.

† Peregrine White, born on board the "Mayflower," in the harbor of Cape Cod, in Nov. 1620; baptized in Brattle-street Church, at the age of sixty-four years. There is a brief notice of him in the "Boston News-Letter" of July 24, 1704. He died July 20, 1704.

(what I do indeed with pleasure see daily accomplishing) that you may be turned into Your *Uncle;* be a Lover of your countrey, and Inherit the *true Spirit of a Gentleman.*

The dreadful Elegies, or Epitaphs (or What-shall's-call-em!) whereof you gave me the sight this Day, moved my Indignation so far, that, tho' I am an old man, I could hardly forbear a Verse of my own.

I have some Thoughts of adding such a thing, at the end of your Sermon, when I shall understand, that it is in the printers hands.*

With my Hearty Service to the Major-General, and his Lady,† I take Leave to subscribe, Syr,

Your true Friend & Serv^t^, Co. Mather.

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To my honoured Friend M^r^ John Winthrop, in N. London.

Boston. 23^d^ 11.^m^ 17$\frac{11}{12}$.

My dear Friend, — Neither your Distance, nor your Silence, nor the Congelation which an unusual Winter has brought upon us, has caused me to forgett you; of which, I only waited for a proper opportunity of conveyance, to give you a Testimony.

Among the Old Virginians, one that had been well *huskanaw'd*, forgott every thing that was before it, & begun the World anew; & was thought fitt for public services. We have, in the severity of our Winter, undergone a sort of *Huskanawing*. Yett, I hope, we have not quite lost the Memory of one another.

What better Token of an Established Friendship, can I present you withal, than a Rainbow.‡ Tis true, a *Rainbow* is a Meteor seldome seen in the Winter. But if you now see one; yea, and see it come into your own chamber too; you won't be surprised. It will be an omen of nothing but Love.

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* A Latin epitaph is printed at the end of the sermon.

† Wait Still Winthrop married his second wife Nov. 13, 1707. See p. 405.

‡ "Thoughts for the Day of Rain. In Two Essays, — I. The Gospel of the Rainbow. II. The Saviour with His Rainbow." 16mo. pp. 64. Boston: 1712.

At the same time, I Enclose in the packet, my *Fisherman.** But I had not appear'd unto you, Like *Peter* with my *Fishers Coat* about me, (a New Form of Appearance for me,) if it had not been to ask you, that you would please to bestow the Book upon some *Fishing-vessel*, (if you have any such, as I suppose you have,) belonging to *N. London*.

Of public affaires, you will expect nothing from me; inasmuch as you have your Honourable Father, & other Relatives, to subsist upon, for your Intelligence.

Only, *A peace, A peace!* is now all the cry.

I ought to add, That we have a very deep sense of the Calamity, you suffer, from a more than ordinary mortality, in your Colony. We mourn for you, we pray for you; we are studying, how you and we may be the better for such grievous & speaking Dispensations. And, we rejoice in the particular preservation of you and your Family; To which I always wish all the Blessings of Goodness from our great & our dear Saviour, I am, Syr,

Your hearty Friend & Serv^t^ Co. MATHER.

Indorsed, — "1711–12 D^r^ C. Mather to J. W. Esq^t^."

COTTON MATHER TO WAIT WINTHROP.

BOSTON, 15^d^ 7^m^ 1712.

S^r^, — Tho' you have been a long while out of our sight, (we thing it *long!*) you have not been one Day out of our mind. Your sickness bespoke and produced our more particular prayers, public as well as private, on your behalf; And your happy Recovery engages our most affectionate prayers to the God of Your Life.

May you live still usefully, and see what is Emphatically, *A Good Old Age;* such an one as *Drusius's*, who saies of himself; *Cui Senectus melior quam̄ ipsa Juventus:* or such an one

* Samuel Mather, in the list of his father's publications, at the end of his "Life," &c., mentions "The Fisherman's Calling," published in 1711.

as *Leontinus's*,* who at 107, being asked, why he was willing to live so long, answered; *Quiâ nihil habeo propter quod meam senectutem accusem;* or I will rather say, such an one as *Abraham's;* whereof *Calvin* (like himself) Excellently; *Tenendum est, præcipuam partem bonæ senectutis, in bonâ conscientiâ, Animo Sereno et Tranquillo, consistere. Unde sequitur, nonnisi in veros Justitiæ cultores competere quod Deus Abrahæ promittit.* But then, lett us enjoy as much of you in it, as may be! Return to us, before the sun is gone too far from us.

You will probably find us in peace. The Reason why we have no Ships from *Europe* of a long while, we suppose, is, Because of the peace in view: The peace being so near a conclusion. The Queen's two speeches, & the Addresses of the Parliament thereupon, I suppose will satisfy you that the peace is no longer to be doubted of. It must be some very strange thing indeed, that should now defeat it. But it will not appear very strange to you, that there is little care taken of our Holy Religion [in] it. I can guess, what your Expectations are; because they are so near my own.

I am not willing to impose upon you our Newfound-land stories. That the Forces in the British pay would not obey the orders for disbanding (Except the 15.000 proper Britons,) & were taken into pay by the Emperour & the Dutch; &c. That the Govern^{r} of Dunkirk thereupon delay'd to surrender the city to the D. of Orm. That the Allies had a great Advantage over the French, & might have been masters of *Quesne* [Le Quesnoy?],† & then have gone to *Paris*, (which they say, some of Pr. *Eugene's* people did, within a few miles of it,) but unto their astonishment, the D. of O. produced orders not to fight. That, at home, the Ferment is far from abating; but the merchants all hale up their ships, & there is a total stagnation upon all Trade, until men see what it will come to. And, that nothing will content, but the Head of the D. of M.

The Doubtful channel thro' which these things arrive unto us, obliges me to suppress them. The first ships will give us better Illuminations.

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* *i. e.* Gorgias of Leontini.

† Le Quesnoy was taken and lost again. It is probably the place meant.

In the meantime, you see *Monserrat*, all in Ashes, & absolutly pillaged of all its Riches; and *all the rest* of the Caribbee Islands, Expecting an assault from a Formidable French Squadron, reinforced by *Du Cass* [Ducasse], which, tis questionable, whether any of them can stand before. [Rev. xvi. 7.]

With my hearty service to your Good Lady, & your honourable children, I take Leave now to subscribe,

Your Honours, Most sincere & Faithful Serv^t^

Co. Mather.

Indorsed, — "D^r^ Cotton Mather to Maj^r^ Gen^l^ Wait Winthrop."

COTTON MATHER TO WAIT WINTHROP.

Boston, 6 ^d^ 8 ^m^ 1712.

S^r^ — Your hopeful Recovery is to me a matter of my most hearty Thankfulness, to the Glorious Lord, who is the God of our Health: and so it will be Esteemed by many others. The Deaths of the Gentlewomen, your sisters, in which I condole with you, do putt a sensible Accent on the Mercy of your prolonged Life. And you need no Advice of mine, Syr, with what considerations to entertain the Repetitions of the Visits made by mortality to your Family. The Truth is, The Times now in our next View, seem to be as Good Times to dy in, as any that we have seen in the whole period of our Pilgrimage

The Wrath of God, against a sinful & Woful World! *Peace*, It was alwayes reckon'd a Good Thing; The Word, *Peace*, implies all good. But there is now a *peace* accomplished, at which the reluctant Nations make a Roar that reaches up to Heaven; they toss their Waves unto the very Welkin. The War produced a *Distress of Nations and great perplexity*. The peace distresses them with a ten times greater perplexity. They apprehend, that the world is delivered up, for the united power of *France*, and wealth of *Spain*, to impose what chains they please upon it. They Expect an Irresistible Torrent of Slavery, popery, & confusion!

Dr *Loyd*, the aged Bishop of *Worcester*, Eighty Eight years old, gott himself carried up in an Horse-litter; and waiting on the Queen, warned her against a peace with *France*, and told her that *France* was devoted of God unto Destruction in Four Years, & expounded certain prophetical Scriptures unto her, & would by no means have her involve herself & kingdomes, in the Fate of such an enemy of God. But her Majesty had not studied *the Revelation* so much as my old Doctor!

In the House of Lords, there were *Forty two*, who made a protest, That for certain Reasons they feared the D.: of *Ormond* had some orders, that restrained him from giving Battel; if so, there had been very Ill Advice given to Her Majesty; and such as betray'd the Common Cause; & had a Tendency to a *Separate Peace*, which had been in parliament declared, *Foolish*, *Knavish*, *and Villianous*.

The States of *Holland*, presented a Memorial to the Queen, on their having found it actually so. And they declare, that this being done, without the knowledge of the Allies, and at a Time, when they had the bravest Army which had been seen since the War begun, & in Force much superior to the Enemy, & with the Ordinary Blessing of God, they might have expected a very Decisive Action; the Force of all Humane Ties is hereby brought to an End; & no Treaties, Alliances, or Obligations, will after this be of any Significancy.

Dunkirk is possess'd by our famous General *Hill*,* to assure us, that the Terms in the Qs speech will be complied withal. The Allies are allow'd to come into the peace on those terms, by the fourth of *September;* When, if they do not, we shall finish it without them.

The Dutch have since the withdraw of our Forces from the Grand Army, been grievously beaten by the French; which tis thought, will præcipitate them into what they had no great mind unto.

It was putt to the Question in the House of Commons, whether it should be insisted on, in the peace at *Utrecht*, that the other powers of *Europe*, should be Guarantees for the *Hanover-Succession*. And it was carried in the Negative.

* Called so, probably, because he commanded the troops in the abortive Canadian expedition in 1711.

Dr Fleetwood, the Bishop of S^t^ *Asaph*, printed some old Sermons, with a preface, in which he payd some Honour to the memory of K. W. & Q. M. & justified the Revolution. The House of Commons, voted this preface to be Malicious and Factious, and ordered it to be burnt by the Common Hangman, and the Sheriffs of the City to attend with the Serjeant of their House, at the Execution.

This was done, on Jun. 10. the pretenders Birthday.

In *Scotland*, a violent party, kept that Birthday, in very riotous Excesses; and at *Edinburgh* and *Leith*, sett up his Arms, with Flags, and J. R. 8.* upon them.

This is the summ of our story, besides what our weekly peece of Blockheadism will please to favour you withal.

I leave you, Syr, to your own Remarks upon these things.

I was going to urge your speedy Return; but I know not, whether I should not rather sollicit you, to find out some Retreat in some Village of the Colony where you are now sojourning; in which I may ly sheltered with you, until, the *Nubecula citò transitura*, shall be blown over; and until the Old Bishop of Worcester's period.

For We must expect here, all the Efforts of an Arbitrary Government, in the Hands of Infuriated *Flanderkins*. Except, — the *Watchers*, & the *Holy Ones*, obtain what they are asking for.

You will give my services to the Governour in your present Neighbourhood, & lett him see, all that I have written.

Your valuable Son will also please to Look on me, as writing to him, in these Free cõunications to his Honourable Father.

May the Glorious One graciously preserve you to the world, & return you to your Friends in this place; Especially to

Your Honours, Most affectionate Friend & Serv^t^,

Co. Mather.

Indorsed, — "1712. Dr C. Mather's Lett to Wait Winthrop, Esq^r^"

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* That is, King James VIII. [of Scotland], the title by which, even after the Union, a *Scotch* Jacobite might choose to designate the Pretender.

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

Boston; 25d 10m 1712.

Sr,—You are of too distinguishing a Palate, for to need my sense of the Vile Romance, which you ask my opinion of. You only wanted an opportunity of extorting a Letter from me; which yett alwayes comes freely, when tis you, that are to be addressed with it. And your Friendship inclines you, to take pleasure in seeing my opinion harmonize with your own. Which in this case can be no other than this; That some wretched Booksellers, needing a penny to support their Necessities, or Sensualities, printed a vendible Fiction, *Grub street* all over. But such is the matter of the Ill-shaped Fiction, that their profanity therein is beyond all measure prodigious. The whole is a most Impious Blasphemy against the Great God, and His Glorious Christ; & a Villianous Banter upon the Heavenly World; And the Detriment that such things do to our Holy Religion is wonderful: and such as all good men cannot but Lament & Resent exceedingly. They are an Addition to the Evils of our Day.

A Day, in which, what is to be done? The Enclosed Printed Letter, will a Little inform you. And indeed, it contains the Sum of our Intelligence. We have of late, little Accession to the Accounts I formerly gave you. Lett what you have here, go into the Hands of your more pious and praying people.

Give my Service to your Honourable Father; and lett him know, that I long to see him. The Sun is returning to us.

May the Glorious One multiply the Blessings of Goodness to you, & yours.

I am, Sr, Your Sincere Servt, Co. Mather.

Indorsed,—"Decr 25th 1712. Dr C. Mather to J. W. Esqr"

COTTON MATHER TO WAIT WINTHROP.

BOSTON. 19d 11m, 1712.

HONOURABLE SR, — The French King being once at play with his kinsman, the Prince of *Conde*, the Game went much against the prince. Whereat he being, as Losers use to be, out of humour, struck a *Louis d'or* then in his hand against the Table. It prov'd a Glass counterfeit *Louis d'or*, & broke to peeces. Whereat the Prince, with a further concern cried out, *Heaven help us! How long shall we be undone by False Lew[i]s's!* The False *Lewis* could not wholly conceal some Resentment of this pungency in his countenance; but only turn'd unto M. *Colbert*, and say, *Pray, cousin, take care, that the Prince have no more bad Money putt upon him!*

Tis true; We are undone by False *Lewis's*. And his Influences have extended, alas, how far! What Courts has he not filled with Falsehood! — There are among the rest, some *False* Things, which I have heard 'em say, are *never* true.

But, by our Last Advice from *Europe*, it looks as if a blind, & mad Nation, were beginning a little to open their Eyes & come to themselves.

I am in continual expectation to hear of Dan. iv. 13, 14, — which will bring on a mighty Revolution.

The Ch. of E. by their Late Act of parliament, have cutt themselves off from the communion of the Catholic Church, & cease to be a part of it. This looks but ominously, upon that unreformable Society! A coalition with the Gallican Church must now be the Game. And yett, I have more than once heard of a Vessel bound for *Rome*, suffer Shipwreck; and so we shall again.

Our Reprinting of the *Letter of the Aged N. C. Ministers* putt our High-fliers, into a Strange Ferment. You know what followed; — namely, Dr *Williams's* virulent Vindication of the C[ommon] P[rayer] Worship; and Dr *Kings* heap of Sophistries & Calumnies. My Aged parents *Remarks** hereupon, did not

* Increase Mather published "Remarks upon an Answer to a Book against the Common Prayer" in 1713.

produce a hundredth part of the clamour, he Expected. Our people are generally gratified, edified, established.

The Ch. of E. party resolve to publish no more. *Harris* is under some Attrition, for his *unhappiness*, (that's the word) in writing his *Preface*, which was indeed almost universally decried. Our *Newbury*-Faction are coming off, and putting themselves under the conduct of one of our Ministers.* For the rest, I know nothing, but all peace & Quietness.

Our Winter proves Comfortable; and we want nothing but your Company, to render it more so.

May the Gracious Lord, prolong your Life, præserve your Health, and Return you to your Friends; Among whom you have none more heartily affected, than, Syr,

Your Sincere Servt, Co. Mather.

Indorsed, — "Dr C. Mather to W. W. Esqr."

COTTON MATHER TO WAIT WINTHROP.

To the Honourable Major-General Winthrop, (now) at New London.

Boston, 2d 1m 1713.

Honourable Sr, — You afflict us, by keeping from us. But we know, that in the mean time, it is a pleasure unto you, to hear from us; and what is a pleasure unto you, must so far be such unto us; we will therefore take the pleasure of now and then writing to you; And we will try to write something, even when we have nothing to write.

Our European Stories, run much upon such Things as these. The Imperial & the Dutch Embassadors are said to Return with great Expectations from the Czar of Muscovy, relating to the design of carrying on the War against France.

The E. of Strafford, having been two months in *England*, was impatiently Expected at Utrecht, with the New plan of the Peace, which had been so long projected.

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* See J. Coffin's "History of Newbury," *sub anno* 1712.

An address from a Borough in *Scotland* thanks the Queen for her favours to the Episcopal party there, & hopes that when she changes her Temporal Crown for an Eternal, the Scepter will fall as Ripe Fruit, by her care, into the hands of a *Legal and Rightful Heir*, (which every body knowes what that is Scotch for,) and was *Graciously Received*.

There seem to have been strange Experiments designedly made of late, in all parts of the Nation, to find the strength of the *Two Mobs*, the High Church Mob, & the Low Church Mob. At one Benefice this disperses that; At another, that is too hard for this. *Quorsum hæc?*

There has been much Talk, about a Duel fought between the Duke *Hamilton*, & the Lord *Mohun*, about a Law-Suit. The former finding himself mortally wounded, made it an opportunity to thrust his Sword up to the Hilt in the unguarded Body of the other. So both perished; and proclamations are out, to take up our General *Mackartny;* as a Second unto one of them.*

I am now on a New side of the leaf, and so may take the Liberty to divert you, with a short story; which therefore will not necessiarly belong to any thing in the t'other page.

You knew old Major *Thompson*. He had a story, that a young Nobleman, travelling with his Tutor, visited a Church in *Italy*, and viewing the Epitaphs, ask'd his Tutor to read one of them, which was not very Legible. He read *ποπυλοκολοθροπον*, [a word, whereof I am not learned enough to know the Etymology.] The Nobleman enquired what the English of it? And the Tutor answered, *The World is well rid of a Knave*. And so my old Major, was used, when he heard of the Death of certain persons, only to Lift up his hands, and say *Populokolothropon*. And others also, would quere Major *Thompson's* Greek, as they called it, on such occasions.

I would ask, that my most affectionate Respects be presented, to Govern^r *Saltonstal;* † and if it be worth the while, a sight of my letter given him.

And unto the Gentleman your son; To whom I suppose myself

* A letter from Mr. Maccartney, giving an account of the proceedings relating to this duel, which took place Nov. 15, 1712, was published in London in 1713.

† Gurdon Saltonstall [H. C. 1684], minister of New London, ordained Nov. 25, 1691, and Governor of Connecticut from 1707 until his death, in 1724.

Writing, when I direct myself to you; And to whom I also present the Little Books enclosed in the packet. One of them *steals in*, only by the advantage of its just coming out of the press: otherwise, I hope, none in your Neighbourhood can have occasion for it

May the God of your Health graciously Restore it, & confirm it, & again bring you to us, I am,

Syr, Yours in many Bonds

Co. Mather.

Indorsed, — "Doct^{r} Cotton Mather's Lett^{r} March 2^{d} 1713."

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To John Winthrop Esqr. N. London.

Boston, 30^{d} 1^{m} 1714.

My dear Friend, — It appears to me a very long while since I heard from you. But I assure myself, you will ere long, oblige me with one Letter, that shall be for Quantity enough to pass for three.

And since I am shortly writing for *London*, unto, you know who, I renew my Request unto you, that you would enrich me, with as ample a Description of the *Moose* in this Countrey, as you can give me; Their Stature, Colour, Temper; Way of Breeding & Feeding; Dimensions of their Horns; And as many curiosities about them, as you can possibly think of.

We have no late occurrences among us, worth mentioning, but what you have from a better Hand.

The churches of this Town Keep a Day of Thanksgiving this week, for the Recovery of so many sick in the sad Winter that has passed over us, & the seasonable supplies of our Necessities.

I Entreat yours, & your Ladies, Acceptance of the enclosed, from,

S^{r}, Your Sincere Serv^{t}, Co. Mather.

Mr. Winthrop.

Indorsed, — "D^{r} Mather's Lett· March 30th 1714."

COTTON MATHER TO WAIT WINTHROP.

To the Honourable Major-General Winthrop.

Munday

S^r^, — The poor Manuscript, for which my parent sollicited your Honour a week ago, (and I three Dayes ago,) possibly is not so Lost, but that it may be found.

Your Honour will think me Importunate, and (I fear) Impertinent in my Renewing my sollicitations for the Manuscript.

It is not any Fondness for the mean composure, that produces this Importunity, but a certain Cogent Reason, that at this Instant is needless to be mentioned.

One of Such Cogency that if the paper be not found this Day, I must look on myself as directed to undergo the Trouble of Transcribing it over again: which cannot be done without some Trouble & my doing as the prophet did by his Lost Roll. *Adding several other words*, — in the room of those, whereof I have no reserved Copy.

I earnestly wish your Health, and hope your present Indisposition will prove but a short and sleight one.

I wish also to you, & yours, & to myself too, a preservation from the Venom of *Roxbury*.*

and am Your Honour's Very Hearty Serv^t^,

Co. Mather.

Indorsed, — "D^r^ Cotton Mather's Lett^r^ no date." [Probably 1714.]

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To John Winthrop Esqr

Boston, 2^d^ 5^m^ 1714.

S^r^, — Tho' the Letter, which your kindness (for which I thank you) intended me by a Traveller, was never delivered; yett I

* This reference is to Governor Joseph Dudley

received what you favoured me withal, in answer to my Request, upon a Philosophical Enquiry.

And in answer to yours, I enclose a large Letter from one of the Secretaries of the Royal Society; which you will please to return unto me, by a safe Conveyance.

I tender my Respects to Madam, your consort; with a small Essay, upon a Lesson wherein I beleeve her to be a glorious proficient. And, am,

S^r^ Your hearty Friend & Serv^t^,

Co. Mather.

Indorsed, — "Dr. Mather, July 2^d^ 1714."

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

Boston, 15^d^ VIII^m^ 1716.

My dear Friend, — *Si Philosopharis, bene est; Ego quoque Philosophor*, — tho' very indifferently, and not likely to do so much more, without your friendly Assistences.

It appears to me, a very long Time, since I enjoy'd the pleasure, of one way or other conversing with you. But tho' no Infraction has been made on the *Constancy* of our Friendship, on my part, I am impatient that there should be any longer Intermission of its *Intercourse*.

I hope, anon, to find out something or other that may be an agreeable Entertainment, for one of your Polite Genius & Education. At present, all that I can command, is a Book of my honour'd D^r^ *Woodwards* * which you will allow to Return by a safe hand, after it has been a few months with you.

And *Cromwel* with him!

But how oblig'd would both he and I be, if Your Inquisitive Ingenuity employing the Liesure of a Gentleman of Erudition (which you are) for that purpose, would make as full a Collection as may be of the Fossils; (the Names written on each little Bundle:) to be in *Your Name*, transmitted unto him!

Favour us also, with as many communications as you can; and lett not the various Treasures of Natural Knowledge wherewith

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* Probably John Woodward, M.D., an eminent naturalist and physician, 1665–1728.

you are enriched, & are daily growing Richer & Richer, by you uncomunicated. A True *Winthrop*, cannot but be generous!

Give me the true story of your *Pelton's* feeling what was done to his Arm at a distance.

But such is the calamity of our Time, that *philosophy*, as well as Theology, is all swallow'd up in *Politicks*. Yea, I am afraid, my poor Letter too, will hardly be welcome, even to such a Friend as you are, without something *Political* in it.

I will not insert any thing, that you may Expect to find among the *Antiquities* of our *Boston-News-Letter*, But I will mention to you a curiosity; in an occurrence, which is in a Letter I received from a famous German Divine, Two Dayes ago. There has been of late a strange, & miraculous motion from God, upon the minds of the Jewish Children, in the city of *Berlin*. The little Jews, from Eight to Twelve years of Age, fly to the protestant Ministers, that they may be Initiated in Christianity. They Embrace it with such Rapture, that when they see the Name of JESUS, in a Book, they kiss it an hundred times; and shed floods of Tears upon it. No Methods used by their parents to reduce them, are effectual; but they say to their parents; *We shall not return to you, Tis Time for you to come over to us!* This German Divine, sees happy auspices in this rare occurrence.

Acquaint Mr *Adams* if you please, with this paragraph.

We are at last bless'd with the Arrival of a New Governour;* who appears to be of a very easy, candid, gentlemanly Temper. Of what principles, you shall guess, when you see shortly, a *Sermon* which was preached in his audience, by one chosen to entertain him in the pulpitt, at his first Arrival.

And now, Syr, Give me leave, to impose a further Trouble upon you.

There is a famous plant, in your vicinity at Lebanon, known by the Name of *Culver's Root;* — Famous for the cure of Consumptions My Eldest Daughter† has been for above Six months, Languishing, in what appears to us, a consumption; but with odd circumstances, which our Physicians, know not what to make of. I have a strong Disposition to become furnished, as soon as ever I can, I say, *as soon as ever I can*, with a Little Quantity of *Culver's*

* Governor Shute, the successor of Dudley, arrived at Boston, Oct. 4, 1716.

† Katharine Mather, born Sept. 1, 1689; died, Dec. 16, 1716. Her father's sermon on her decease, was published under the title of "Victorina."

Root. I Know no such likely and speedy way, to obtain my desires, as to make use of your Friendly Mediation. You that releeve all the world, & carry on the Glory of a Family sent into the world on purpose to heal & help its Maladies, will I know, apply yourself to forward the Relief of your *Mather*, with as much alacrity as any in the world. That I may facilitate the affair, I enclose a short Letter, to Mr. *Culver*, with a Book or Two, which I entreat you to convey unto him, with all possible Expedition; and act, as if you were doing for one of your own Family.

May the Glorious Lord, multiply unto you, and unto your Honourable Family, (for the New Hopes whereof, I congratulate you,) the Tokens of His Favour.

I am, With hearty Respect

S^r^ Your most affectionate Friend & Servant

Co. MATHER.

Mr Winthrop.

Indorsed, — 1716 Dr. Cotton Mather's Let^r^

DEPOSITION OF ANN GRIFFIN AND RUTH WEEDEN.

BOSTON, New England. 13^d^ IX. m 1716.

In perpetuam rei memoriam.

M^rs^ *Susanna Crawford* being married unto an husband involved in many Debts, was willing to reserve some Treasures of her own, for her Daughter M^rs^ *Mary Pain*, whom she had by a former Husband. There Lived with her, a young woman, called *Ann Griffin*, who was many wayes useful & Endear'd unto her; and knew her purpose to bestow these Treasures on her Daughter, for whom she also had a very hearty affection.

When M^rs^ *Crawford* Lay a dying, *Ann Griffin* thought this on some accounts the fittest opportunity to transfer unto M^rs^ *Pain* what was designed for her; and, accordingly she took out of the Box, in which they were, peeces of Gold, and Golden Instruments, and considerable Quantity of Silver money: but in such a manner, as to remain very Ignorant of what she took, (only that it was all that was there) and putting all into an Earthen Pitcher,

she covered them with water to prevent any enquiries from such as might happen to meet her in the street, and convey'd them to Mrs *Pain*, with an Account that these were the things her mother had intended for her.

After the Death of Mrs *Crawford*, there were some Neighbours, to whose Evil Insinuations and Instigations Mrs *Pain* so far hearkened as to countenance evil surmises of Mrs *Griffins* not having dealt faithfully with her; and in her passion to deny that she remembered her having received certain particulars, that were specified, & have been since acknowledged. Several times under these passionate Impressions, Mrs *Pain* uttered her wishes, *That her Mother would appear, and sett all to Rights.* And Mrs *Griffin* had no Remedy, but to committ her cause unto *God; who judgeth righteously.*

Some time about the latter End of the Last Year, one whose Name is *Ruth Weeden*, lodging in the House and Bed with *Mrs Griffin*, about break of Day, being awake, while Mrs *Griffin* was asleep in the bed by her side, plainly saw the Apparition of the Deceased Mrs *Crawford*, (who had been dead above five years before,) first at the foot of the Bed, from whence it came up to the left side thereof, where now she lay. She had on her a suit of striped Calamineo; a White Apron; a White Neckcloth; a Laced pinner on her head; and a fresh Countenance. But all over so luminous, that tho' the Room were darkened with window-shutters, as well as the Remainders of the Night, the whole Room was enlightened. She said unto Mrs *Weeden* to this Effect, *I gave* Ann *that money!* — and without any more Words disappeared.*

Mrs *Weeden* took the first opportunity to ask her awakened Friend, whether Mrs *Crawford* had ever given her any money. Whereupon Mrs *Griffin* told her *That she had;* That is, that a little before she dyed, Mrs *Crawford* had expressly bid her Keep for her own, a Little Summ of Money, that she had in her hands. And then also gave her a a Ring, that she wears ever since. Mrs

* The exactness with which the circumstances attending this apparition are described, reminds one of the fictitious account of the appearance of Mrs. Veal to Mrs. Bargrave, written by De Foe, and prefixed to Drelincourt's "Christian's Defence against the Fears of Death," as a recommendation of that work. The costume of the apparition is described with equal minuteness in both cases, and Mrs. Veal is represented by De Foe as saying that she "would have two Broad-pieces given to her Cousin Watson." The work of Drelincourt, with this account prefixed, was published in many successive editions, and was reprinted in Boston in 1744.

Griffin added unto Mrs. *Weeden*, That she supposed the summ was Four Pounds.

After this, the House underwent various Disturbances at several Times, whereof no Account could be given. And it was observed, That the Disturbances chiefly happened, just after passionate wishes had been uttered for Mrs *Crawfords* Appearence.

At Last, on the Twenty ninth day of this last October; Early in the morning, Mrs *Griffin* being Risen and gone, and Mrs *Weeden*, going to Rise, there was another plain Apparition of Mrs *Crawford* unto Mrs *Weeden*. The spectre now had a White Sheet on her, which covered her from Head to Foot; only her Face was uncovered; and paler than in the former Exhibition. Tho' the Room was now darkned, very near as much as formerly, yett the Spectre had such a Light attending of it, as rendered not only that, but other objects visible. The Spectre spoke to Mrs *Weeden* to this effect. Go *tell my Daughter, that* Ann *has faithfully delivered all that she was to deliver unto her, and that if she do not clear Ann, and right her, I shall appear unto her also:* Mrs *Weeden* replied, *Go to her Yourself!* The Spectre seem'd at this to look Displeased, and said, *No, you must go! Go you.* Mrs *Weeden* intimated, That she doubted, she should not be beleeved. To this the *Spectre* answered, That the mention of Two Tokens would make her to be beleeved; The one was, *That a young man should come to the House this day, with a Letter, & for a picture.* The other was, *That* Ann *had now in her poss*[*ess*]*ion a necklace of fair Amber, which once had been hers.* The spectre added, *That* Ann *had mistaken the sum of Money she had spoken of; It was not Four Pounds; It was but three. Go to* Ann, *& she shall satisfy you; that it may be known it is true.* One thing more she added; which was, That her Daughter had received the *Arabian* Pennies, (whereof, it seems, it was known that Mrs *Crawford* had a considerable Quantity; but part of the Discord had arisen, from their not being found among the money delivered unto Mrs *Pain*,) but not in the money. Whereupon she disappeared! And Left Mrs *Weeden* in a swoon upon her Fright, wherein she continued, as she supposes, near an hour.

Upon recovering from the swoon, she first asked Mrs *Griffin*, about a Young Man coming to the House. And Mrs *Griffin* made her sensible, That while she was in her swoon, a young man who

came from *New York*, had been at the House with a Letter, & for a picture. She then repeted the rest of the Spectral Discourse. M^rs^ *Griffin* informed her, that she had the *Necklace* mentioned, which M^rs^ *Pain* had presented unto her. But this was a matter, which Mrs *Weeden* had been, till now, a stranger to. And then Mrs *Griffin*, who had never till now, counted or Touched, the money which Mrs *Crawford* had given her, going on this occasion to examine it, found that she had been mistaken; and the spectre in the right; It being but Three pounds.

Upon discourse with Mrs *Pain* hereupon, the Difference between her and Mrs *Griffin* was healed; A Mutual Reconciliation Ensued; and Mrs *Pain* declared her Entire Satisfaction in Mrs *Griffins* Fidelity.

This Relation being distinctly Read unto M^rs^ *Griffin* and M^rs^ *Weeden*, from whom it was dictated; they both declared, that it is, unto the best of their knowledge and judgment, a True Relation.

Each of them Declared, That what parts of the foregoing Narrative they are distinctly concerned in, are truly Related.

More particularly *Ann Griffin* declares, That what is related of her Justice to Mrs *Pain*, and of the money given to her by Mrs *Crawford*, is the very Truth.

Ruth Weeden declares, That what is related of the Spectral Apparations, is the very truth; and that she had no Knowledge of the money given by Mrs *Crawford* unto Mrs *Griffin*, or of the young man coming for the picture, till Mrs *Griffin* informed her, at the Time specified in the account above given of it.

And both of them do with all solemnity declare, That they are not in the least measure guilty of the least contrivance or collusion, to impose on the Beleef of any person, in any one Article of the foregoing Narrative.

To the Truth of this Declaration, *Ann Griffin*, and *Ruth Weeden* made oath, on this thirtenth day of November, 1716.

Before me EDW: HUTCHINSON. Just^t^: P^s^

[The foregoing paper, with the exception of the word "thirtenth" in the line, and the signature, is in the handwriting of Cotton Mather.]

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN WINTHROP.*

Boston. 19 d 9 m 1716.

S^r^, — You have extremely obliged me, in every line of the copious Letter, with which you last favoured me; and with what accompained it.

The poor Damsel † is Languishing; But has begun the use of the Root: whereof the success is with God. May He præpare us for, & carry us thro: the Sacrifice to which we are called, on this occasion.

I comfort myself with hopes, of having the Honour, of that mediation, by which there will be convey'd from you, with due Ackowledgments of your Name & character & Family, many valuable coñunications, to our Masters in *London*.

Among these things, when your Liesure shall allow it, a full account of the frequent Earthquakes, about your Hadham (which of late years they say have ceased,) would be acceptable.

We are blessed with a Governour ‡ of incomparable candour & Goodness; And I now have the pleasure of entertaining you, with the first Lecture that entertained him, after his Arrival.

You will Join with me, in wishes, that our *Tokens for Good*, may be multiplied.

I have added a curiosity Entituled, *Pietas Hallensis;* which

* John Winthrop [H. C. 1700], the son of Wait Winthrop, was born in New London, August 6, 1681. He was a distinguished member of the Royal Society. He went to England in July, 1726, to sustain an appeal to the King in Council, which he had made from a decision of the Court in Connecticut adverse to his claim to the large landed estate of Fitz John Winthrop, bis uncle, and of his father, Wait Wintbrop, left to them by their father, the first Governor Winthrop, of Connecticut, and whicb he maintained was intended by them to descend undiminished to himself. A decree was obtained in 1728, setting aside the decision of the Colonial Court, and making him sole beir, according to the English law of primogeniture. The decree was never enforced; but "a subsequent decision was obtained by the friends and agents of the Colony, confirming Winthrop in bis possessions, but allowing the law of inheritance in the Colony to remain in force. He became disaffected with the Colonial government, and the course he had taken rendered him unpopular at home." He never returned, and died at Sydenham, in Kent, it is said August 1, 1747. See Miss Caulkins's "History of New London."

† His daughter Katharine. See his letter of 15. 8 mo. 1716.

‡ Gov. Samuel Shute. Colonel Burgess, who had been appointed Governor, was induced by Jeremiah Dummer, agent of the Province in England, and by Sir William Ashurst, to resign his commission for the sum of a thousand pounds to Shute. He arrived in October, 1716.

if you please to permitt it, I should ask that it may Return, by some safe hand, in a fortnight or two.

May the Blessing of God our Saviour be upon you, and your honourable Family. I am, S^r^,

Your most hearty Serv^t^ Co. MATHER.

M^R^ WINTHROP.

COTTON MATHER TO WAIT WINTHROP.

S^R^, — I am very sorry, that by a Return of my old Aguish pains in my Head & face, it is become Impossible for mee, to pay you the Duty of a Visit, in your present Illness; which I pray the L. Jesus Christ, to Releeve & Remove.

However, I send you, almost all the *Febrifuge*, that I have left; which will doubtless do you good service, if the Blessing of Heaven accompany it. Take Ten Grains at a Time; and I hope, in a few Times taking you will bee cured of the Bite which the Serpent has given you. Then you'l Thank our Great Serpent-killer. I am The most Hearty Servant of Your Health,

C. MATHER.

To MAJOR-GENERAL W. WINTHROP.

Indorsed, — "No date. M^r^ Cotton Mather's Lett^r^"

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

BOSTON. 8^d^ II^m^ 1717.

S^R^, — Tis with great concern, that I have heard of the Loss, which you, and your Honourable Family, have sustained in the Death of [an] only son.

A Loss to be Repaired by none, but Him who inflicted it. And may it be so, in the way that He shall chuse!

To entertain, and if it may be, to edify, your Excellent consort, in the sadness which this Death may give unto her, I make her an

humble Tender of my VICTORINA.* God will have have us Dead unto the world; and therefore He kills our dearest Enjoyments in it. A Death so exemplified in the case of my dear VICTORINA, that I hope, it may be not unserviceable.

But madam knows the way to pour out a soul unto the Lord, (as her Names-sake did,) and so be no more sad.

I continue my Instances with you, my most valued Friend; That you would Employ your philosophical Genius & Gentlemanly Liesure, in collecting for me such cõmunications, as I may transmitt unto my masters, with a due Honour to the Name of him who shall so supply me & Enrich me.

May our Glorious Lord multiply His Blessings on your person & Family; and honour you with Dispositions & opportunities to do a great Deal of good in the world; even, as others in your Family before you. I am, Syr,

Your most hearty servt Co: MATHER.

Ollam auro refertam, non adhuc invenimus, nec quidem quæsivimus.

Indorsed, — "April 1717. Mr Mather to John Winthrop."

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

15.d ix.m

Sr, — The Providence of our God most sensibly Interposing, has AGAIN, putt upon me the Honour, of doing Justice to a Family, to which I have alwayes had a strong Attachment.†

I could not have a more candid & constant Friend, than Your Honourable Father; And I shall be ever proud, of paying my due Acknowledgments unto his merit, in the most public manner that is possible.

I find, that Elogies go down best, & have the most kindly

* "Victorina. A Sermon preach'd on the Decease and at the Desire of Mrs. Katharine Mather, by her Father. 16mo. pp. 86. Boston: 1717."

† Cotton Mather had published a sermon, entitled "*Winthropi Justa*," on the death of Governor John Winthrop, of Connecticut, in 1707. The sermon to which this letter refers, as having been preached at the funeral of Wait Winthrop, in 1717, was afterwards printed under the title, "Hades look'd into."

operation, when they are concise, & comprehend much in a little. I Speak but what every one Felt the Truth of.

If you do this poor sermon the Honour of passing thro' the press, the sooner the Better. (Perhaps Mr *Philips* * might order the press which he is more particularly master of, to do it out of hand;) Because the season of such Things, adds unto the Beauty of them; and you know Tiberius's compliment unto the *Trojans*.

O! may your Blessings prevail even above those of your progenitors! And may the Glorious Lord, long preserve you, & Assist you, to tread in their Excellent Steps, & prove a Blessing in Your Generation. I am, Sr

Your most hearty Friend & Servt Co. Mather.

This Minute, *Crump*, (who is Mr *Philips's* printer) happens to come unto me, upon an Errand, — And he tells me, That if you think fitt to have the work done, in a large, fair, decent character, (which is all he has unemploy'd,) he will with all his, heartily, immediately go on the service proposed.

But I entirely leave all to your Discretion.

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

Boston, 21 d II.m 1718.

Sr, — The Enclosed came to hand Enclosed, scarce a minute ago, by a Ship to *Rhode-Island*.

I hope, your correspondence being thus begun with so great a Man as *Dr Woodward*, (and in him, with greater than he,) will be agreeably cultivated; Wherein I shall be proud of having the Honour of a Mediation.

That you may enjoy something of a Philosophical Repose, in the midst of a crooked & Froward & Barbarous Generation, I have Lately made as Effectual an Application in your service, as I can; — Whereof, I know not, Whether your Honourable Father-in-Law † has informed you.

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* John Phillips, a bookseller in Boston.

† John Winthrop married, Dec. 16, 1707, Ann, daughter of Governor Joseph Dudley.

We are newly entertained with the Tidings of as prodigious and as Tremendous a Destruction upon Mankind, as has been known for many Ages; and they that have been destroy'd have been mostly our Brethren. On Dec. 24. (their Christmas-Eve,) not only a great part of the Low Countreyes, but all along the German shore, & beyond Hamburgh, whole Towns, cities, Countreys, were laid under water, by the N. W. Winds bringing in the raging ocean & the stopped Rivers upon them; Hundreds of Thousands of people, & Numbers that can't be guess'd at, have perished: and the other Damages are beyond all computation. [Rev. xvi. 3.]

May the Glorious Lord multiply His Blessings on you and yours. I am, S^r^,

Your hearty Friend & Serv^t^ Co. Mather.

Mr Winthrop.

Indorsed, — "1718. Dr Cotton Mather to J. Winthrop, Esq^r^."

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

Boston. 4.^d^ VI.^m^ 1718.

My very dear Friend, — *Si Philosopharis, bene est: Ego quoque Philosophor.* — I have a great Exemple for thus beginning of a Letter. But, alas, I must change the last word, unto *Philosophari Vellem.* I meet with so many Employments & Obstructions, that this is all I can pretend unto. But I hope very much to subsist upon your curious and candid communications: From which, I beseech you, Lett not the Follies of a few Barbarians divert you. Be patient under them; or, I will rather say, *Above* them. *Dabit Deus his quoque finem;* — and this, by His Blessing on your patience, and meekness, and wisdome, & generous goodness, very quickly too.

Our News-Letter will bring you the substance of our foreign Intelligence; To which I will only add, My Fears of Trouble from the Pretender, are not over. However, at *New London* you may be less afraid of him, than if you were at *Old.*

I tender the Enclosed unto your Acceptance; and inform you, That the *proposals* meet with Subscriptions, from Quarters that I could never have imagined.

May our glorious Lord multiply His Blessings on your person, Consort, & Family. I am, S^r^,

Your affectionate Friend & Serv^t^ Co. MATHER.

MR WINTHROP.

My dear, Don't send packets for me to *Campbel*. The last cost me 2^s^ & 10^d^. I count a Letter of yours ever worth more than that. But since we have a cheaper way, lett us use it. That costly way may do now & then: But not to make a Trade on't.

Indorsed, —"1718. D^r^ Cotton Mather."

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

Mr. Winthrop.

BOSTON. 25.^d^ VI.^m^ 1718.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND, — It is with unspeakable Dissatisfaction, that I have heard something of the Uncivil and Barbarous usage which you suffer from your *Connecticotians*. I hoped, that my strong Applications and Large Remonstrances to your Governour some while ago, might have putt a period unto them; and he gave me cause to think, that there will be nothing wanting in him of a true zeal to do you all possible service. But since your uneasy circumstances do (as I am told) still continue, you must give me leave earnestly to Recommend unto you, *A Removal unto this Capital City of our province.*

Here, you will have the most valuable opportunity of a conversation with Friends, who love you most affectionately, and whom you love above all the men in the world, and such as will soon make way for your being Serviceable, as they have been from whom you are descended.

Here you will soon be apprised of Methods and people, whereby your plentiful Estate, may soon be brought unto Improvements, that will render it yett much more considerable.

Here you will be accomodated with all the Enjoyments, which a Christian, a Gentleman, & a Philosopher can wish for.

And as you have a singular Inclination to see and make *me* Happy, I will add, your coming to this Town, will be a vast Addition to my Happiness.

I conjure you, to shew this Letter to Madam your Consort, that so she, who is one of the best of women, & one to whom you can deny nothing, may lay hold on the occasion, to urge a matter so highly agreeable to, S^{r},

Your hearty Friend & Servant, Cõ. MATHER.

Your kinsman *Edwards* hopes that you will be one of his Subscribers, as Three or Four Governours are already.

If you please, to send the *proposals* about the *Psalterium Americanum*,* to Governour *Hunter;* — It may be, he will do, as four Governours have already done.

DEDICATION BY COTTON MATHER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

TO JOHN WINTHROP, ESQ^{R}

S^{R}, — Tis by *you* (who made a part of the Auditory,) that the *wishes* and *methods*, for a Good NEW YEAR, uttered in a Great Auditory, come to be now communicated unto many more, who were not present at the Hearing of them.†

This furnishes me, with an agreeable opportunity, more in the *monitory* strain, than in that *Adulatory* one which is become almost Essential unto *Dedications*, to Express my more particular Desires on *your* Behalf;

That not only *This* may prove a *Good Year* unto you, [That is to say, *A Year* wherein you may *do much Good!*] but also that you may see *many such years*, and, — *Serus in cœlum redeas.*

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* "Psalterium Americanum. The Book of Psalms, in a Translation Exactly conformed unto the Original; But All in Blank Verse, Fitted unto the Tunes Commonly used in our Churches," etc., was printed in Boston, in 1718. J. Edwards is named on the titlepage as one of the four booksellers for whom the work was printed.

† "A New Year Well begun. An Essay offered on New Years Day. 16mo. pp. 29. Boston: 1719." We print this dedication from the original, although it is prefixed to the tract, which has become rare.

That a country, whereto your Family has afforded so many *patriots* and *ornaments*, [And Especially Three JOHN WINTHROPS,] besides your Honourable and meritorious FATHER, may from *you* also receive many Services and Benefits.

That the *Talents* wherewith our Glorious Lord has furnished you, may be *All* so improved, as to have a Good Account given of them, when the *Story of our Lives*, is to be told over again.

Finally, That you may be Blessed in your *offspring*, as well as in the continuance of that Excellent *Consort* with you, by whom you are so Enriched; But above all, Blessed with *A Soul full of a* CHRIST, and such *Spiritual Blessings*, as He has for us in his *Heavenly Places*. Thus prays, for you, S^r^,

Your hearty Friend & Serv^t^ [THE AUTHOR:]

2^d^ xi.^m^ 1718, 19.

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

S^r^, — A Small Accident last Night, which yett had no Harm in it, any further than that it gives occasion for this little Schedule, will detain me this Day, from the satisfactions I proposed with you, in Dining with the Best of Governours,* and the most sincere and candid Friend in the world.

I will submitt (even with an Indian patience) unto any punishment, that may be ordered me, for this Desertion: Tho' it be a most Involuntary Action, or what rather my *passivity* in it, will not allow to be called an *Action;* it being the Effect of a very *Kidnapry*.

If you Judge, that Good Manners require it, I request that His Excellency may this morning be informed of my crime; who perhaps may then fill his Hospitable Table with Better-affected Company.

Tis a Thought, that sometimes visits me; If our dear Governour be a *Man*, so lovely in many Excellent Qualities, What is that MAN, who is GOD, & the Governour of all Worlds!

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* Governor Shute. See p. 425.

My dear child, Think as often & as Highly of HIM, as thou canst. I am, His Excellencies, Hearty Servant, and, S^r^,

Your most constant Friend, C. MATHER

Mid-Week. 11 d. xi m. $17\frac{18}{19}$. Circà hor. 7.

MR. WINTHROP.

Indorsed, — "1718. Cot^n Mather to J. Winthrop."

S^r^, I have begun with sending you, that peece of my dear S^r^ *Richard*,* which will prepare you for the rest. You and He, make a great figure in my *Album Amicorum*.

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

BOSTON. 30 d. 1 m. 1719.

S^r^, — Having scarce a moment of Time, yett I must improve this peece of a moment, to render my Thanks to you for the vast obligations which you multiply upon me.

And it is impossible to lay greater than those which I feel, in your contributing to make me serviceable unto the Kingdome of God in the world.

May the Blessings of Goodness be showred upon you & yours.

I am, S^r^, Your most obliged Friend & Serv^t^

Co. MATHER.

We are now sure of a War with *Spain;* And lett men say what they will, it will be a *Bloody* one. Rev. xvi. 3.

If you shew this passage to your Honourable Govern^r^ I pray give my most humble service to him.

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

BOSTON. 18 d. III m. 1719.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND, — After a Thousand Endearments, that which you have added in making my *New Year* † an useful one, is an Article of a Thousand.

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* Sir Richard Blackmore.

† See note to letter dated 1718–19, Jan. 2.

May We that are united thus, in doing of Good upon Earth, be so in the Recompences & consolations of the Heavenly World.

But shall wc not be thus associated in the doing of more Good? And in serving our admirable Saviour?

First. pardon me, that I beg of you, a few more copies of your last publication; having been too prodigal of those, with which your Bounty has already favoured me; but resolving to be a better Husband of thc rest that your Favour may allow me.

But then, I long for thc pleasure & Honour of being your Steward & Agent, for the dispensing of such Noble Medicines, as may render you a Blessing in our Neighbourhood, as well as your (ungrateful) own.

More than so; I must pray, that you would preserve with your ingenious pen, as many as you can, of your observations, and Enrich me by cõmunications of them; who shall esteem them of more value, even than the Two Tubs you have told me of. A great number precious Things will be lost, if your pen be not the preserver of them. I must be always dunning you in this Article.

I would with all my Heart, give the public, as Learned a Dissertation as I can, of the *Millennium;* only the Expence of such Things makes them not easy to be accomplished.

Our Whigs are a secure, careless, presumpteous Generation; and make light of the Invasion, which was hourly Expectcd at Every part of Gr. *Britain* & of *Ireland*, at our Last Intelligence. But I fear, the Invaders have a stronger correspondence at home, than we are aware of.

I have written to the Bottom, and have only room to add, what you are ever sure of; That I am, Sr,

Yours most affectionately Co. Mather.

Dear Mr *Thacher*,* is not without some view of a good Reception anon, at least with the New North, in Boston.

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* Rev. Peter Thacher [H. C. 1696] was called from Weymouth to settle as colleague with Rev. John Webb, in the New North Church, Boston, Jan. 20, 1720.

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

Boston, 30 d IX^m 1719.

My dear Friend, — Your Late Illness has very sensibly indisposed me; put me & kept me, in considerable & continual pain. I beseech you, to fetch me out of it, by giving it me under your hand, that you are Alive, and that you are Better, yea, and that you have gott Good by your Illness.

In the same Letter, give me as punctual a Description, as you can of your *Water-Dove*,* that so my Account of it may be Authentic as well as punctual, and pray have your Name (which I would snatch at all occasions to do Honour to) incorporated into it. Yea, if you can, lett it be written with a Quill, which the wing of the Bird shall afford you.

I hope, very quickly to transmitt unto you, what I remitt this winter unto the *Royal Society*. In the mean time, I have nothing to entertain you withal, but the First Complements which were ever paid in our countrey, to the *Fifth* of *November*; † which, doubtless, will be Whiggish enough to gratify you.

I condole with you, and with Madam, the Low state of Health, in which your Honourable Father is Languishing. ‡

The King is Expected Home, the latter End of *December*, with an universal *peace*. [i. Thess. v. 3.]

The most Glorious Peace of all, from the King of Kings, is wished for you & yours, by S^r,

Your most hearty Friend & Serv^t Cō. Mather.

Mr. Winthrop.

When shall S^r *Richard* § return! some of my Neighbours dun me for him.

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* See note to the next letter.

† The anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot, and of the landing of William III.

‡ Gov. Joseph Dudley died at Roxbury April 2, 1720.

§ The writer refers to a publication by Sir Richard Blackmore, Kt., M.D.

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

Boston. 11^{d} XI^{m} $17\frac{19}{20}$.

S^{R}, — Inasmuch as the Favour I received from you the Last Week (after my forwarding of my last packett,) calls for the Quickest as well as the Deepest Acknowledgments, I could not lett this Post Return, without my Acknowledging that I have Received it; and that I have nothing to keep me from starving under the bitter cold of the season, Except I sweat under the Load of your kindnesses, whereof I am extremely & forever sensible; and that I have assigned our dear *Soogelande*, a very fair Lodging in our *Biblia Americana*, with an honourable mention & character of the generous Hand, which like another *Noah*, sends him forth unto us.*

I beg, that your Goodness would continue your cõmunications: And hope that you will not find me a Debtor utterly Insolvent, but that I shall anon pay something in the pound, of what I owe to so generous a creditor.

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* This reference to the "Biblia Americana" led us to search in the original manuscript of that work, which has been elsewhere noticed as being in the library of the Mass. Hist. Society, for the description of the "water dove." It is among some curious observations upon the dove that Noah sent out of the ark, and is as follows: —

"A Discovery made of the Dove employed by our Father *Noah*."

"We are annually visited in our country of *New-England*, at the Beginning of Winter, with a *Water-Dove*, that stays for a little while on our shore near the Sea, and then goes off again to the Sea, without returning any more till the Return of the year. Tis one of the loveliest of Birds that fly, and a Dove in every thing, except what qualifies it for the element it is designed for. The Cock and Hen are paired, as our Doves use to be. They are of a deep Azure-Colour; spotted and streaked with white. The Cock has a fine Topple crown, & feathers of a deep Yellow under his wings. The Hen is blue, & full of white spotts all over her Body. Their noise is a little superiour to that of the Doves on the land. Their cooings differ a little from these; about as much as the voice of a Wild Goose from that of a Tame one. Their soft, yett sprightly murmurs, are more like the gentle cadence of waters than the melancholy Notes of our Common Turtle. They differ from the Doves of the Land in this; that their Bill is a little flatted; and they have the membranes between their Toes, wherewith waterfowl use to be accommodated. When they swim about our shores they often come upon the land, and they are very freqnently seen to have in their Bills a small Branch of our long-lived Cedar, which is green with us all the winter & grows on our Beaches as well as on our Mountains. They are as delicate a Dish as we can be Regaled withal; sweet and Fatt; esteemed a Royalty among our Natives. Our Indians call them *Coecoe-on-Sogelande;* which is as much as to say, *The Messenger of the Great Rain.* This is a little surprising. And my ingenious Friend, M^{r} John Winthrop," [the words "ingenious," and "M^{r} John Winthrop," have been scratched with a pen and almost obliterated in the original] from whom I haue this communication, together with the agreeable sight of the Bird, concludes with this Remark, That be sure, they are one sort of Dove that found a shelter in the Ark; and it is Rational to suppose that so wise a Pilot as Admiral Noah might send forth a Fowl that could swim as well as flie, on the Great occasion we have been apprised of. Upon the whole, I confess myself proselyted unto the opinion That *This was the Dove; This* that I haue now in my Study before me."

Tis dreadful cold. My Ink-glass in my Standish is froze & splitt, in my very stove. My Ink in my very pen suffers a congelation; but my witt much more. For it serves only to tell you, That by the next post, you may (if we live) hear further from me.

In the mean time, & at all times, my Affections to you & yours retain the Heat of midsummer, and all the wishes imaginable are therein formed, & working for you, with, S^r^

Your affectionate Friend & Serv^t^. Co. Mather.

I hear of no Ships, that are suddenly bound for *England*. They're all gone.

My dear, — Hast thou not yett with thee one of S^r^ *Richards* volumes, His "*Essayes*," * in prose? Examine thy Library.

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

Boston. 18^d^ XI^m^ $17\frac{19}{20}$.

My dear Friend, — As an Appendix to what I wrote this Day Se'n night, there now pray your Acceptance, two of our latest publications.

One of which is but a postscript unto what your Goodness gave unto the public a year ago.

If I live, it won't be long before you will receive more agreeable Entertainments from me.

In the mean time, and always, I beseech the Glorious Lord, That He would multiply His Favours on you and yours; and am, S^r^ Your perpetually obliged Friend & Serv^t^

Co. Mather.

Mr. Winthrop.

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* "Essays upon Several Subjects. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1716." By Sir Richard Blackmore.

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

Boston. 9d III m 1720.

My dear Friend, — This day se'n night I received by the hand of a post, (whom I never saw before,) a packett with Two Letters from you; for which he makes me pay (tho' more than you designed) no more than I shall always count well spent for the least line of yours, which I ever sett a value upon.

In one of your Letters which is Dated, Jan. 13. you say, *I now inclose to you for a safe conveyance, a Small Box directed to Dr Woodward.** Alas, This Box never came to me; was never delivered; nor did I ever hear of it, until (as I said) *This Day Se'n night.* So Ill do our people serve us!

I would gladly entertain you, even with packetts of New Things; But at this time, I go not beyond the bulk of a single letter, because I would not putt you to an I know-not-what Expence; But first request you over again so to settle the Method of our Correspondence, as (these hard Times) may be least expensive.

I do most heartily again & again condole with you and your Excellent Consort, the Death, of her Tender Father.† The Honour done him at his Death, cannot but be a comfort unto the surviving Relatives.

The Disturbances in our poor foolish *Boston*, on various occasions, both political & Ecclesiastical, are what you cannot but have some knowledge of; and be heartily troubled for.

The unhappy Apostasy of some among the Dissenters at home, to *Arianism*, or to *Gentilism*, and the *Laodicean* Temper of many others, who are not yett gone into their Heresies, has fill'd the Hearts of Good Men there with sorrow & with Horror.

The Holy One has ordered it, that a Letter of mine, written the last Fall, upon that subject, has been published & scattered thro' the Nation, and has proved an Incredible Service to the cause of Truth, which was labouring. And the complements upon me for it, are contrivances to fetch over thither, the meannest man in our countrey.

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* John Woodward, M.D., an eminent naturalist and antiquary, and Fellow of the Royal Society; born, 1665; died, 1728.

† Gov. Joseph Dudley died April 2, 1720.

Peace is the word, among the Nations of *Europe*, only the *Russian* Leviathan, wants an hook in his Jaws. I hear, the King of *Prussia*, has one, (of an hundred Thousand men) ready for him.

I wish all possible, (& especially all Spiritual) Blessings, to you and yours; and am, S^r^.

Your assured Friend & Serv^t^ Co. MATHER.

My Friend, can't you recover the missing volume of S^r^ Rich. *Blackmore's* Essays? Have you thought yett, what special oblation to make, for the Life of your Son?

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

BOSTON, 4^d^ V^m^ 1720.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND, — Your very kind present, Behold, I have consecrated unto a Service, which I am sure you will be pleased withal: And this I did, not because I abound in Riches; for I encounter with many straits and wants, and, *Res angusta Domi*, exposes me to many Difficulties, but for this very Reason, Because I thought it a Service that you would be pleased withal.

In this publication, I have had the Experiment of my dear *Franckius* renew'd unto me. For, having prepared the Treatise, but being at an utter loss how to publish it, *Just Then* your Bounty arrived; by which it comes abroad for the service of the most substantial piety.

I propose to lodge your *Coheleth*,* (for tis *yours*) in such hands as it may be most useful to; Especially the colledges, here, & in the Lower *Saxony*. And I pray, that you would give me your Direction, how to send you a Dozen or Two, to pass thro' your Hands, to yours at *New Haven*.

But in a singular manner next unto my own son, I intend these Instructions for yours, (whom you shall give me leave also to Adopt for mine!) who, I hope, will begin to Read, before he is

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* "Coheleth." Boston: 1720. 16mo. pp. 46.

Two years old, and begin to Live, before he is Four, & give you the Heart of a glad Father with his wisdome.

That it may be so, is the hearty prayer of, Sy^r.

Your most obliged Friend & Serv^t Co. MATHER.

I have a suspicion (hearing it is yett only by the edges,) that before this week is out, I may receive some Curiosities from Gresham-Colledge. If I do —

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To John Winthrop Esqr.

BOSTON, 15^d V^m 1720.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND, — Within these Few Days, I have received packetts from *Gresham-Colledge;* by which I am sensible, That some former packetts from them hither, have unhappily miscarried; But that the Gentleman whom I almost look'd upon as Dead is yett Living. The Account which you desire, of the Engagement wherein his life was in danger, you shall here find as he himself has given it.

With it, you have a dozen of your own little Books; which I pray you to take the Trouble of distributing; But Lett your Colledge at *Newhaven* have some share in the Distribution.

Tis a Blessing wherewith a gracious God has Enriched you, which is witheld from the most of men who have the wealth of this world bestowed upon them; A Blessing infinitely supcriour to all the wealth of that Great & growing Interest, with which you have been Talented; That you have the Excellent Wisdome to consider what Good you may do with your substance; & how you may with it glorify Him, to whom you Beleeve that you must anon give an Account of it.

For my own part, I have always thought, the publishing & the Dispersing of Books, calculated for the Good of Mankind, was one of the most comprehensive & Admirable ways to Do Good, that can be thought upon.

If the Gentlemen, whose Wise Expences run in this channel,

should sometimes have made unto them an handsome Dedication of the Books, which are by their goodness brought into operation in the world, it is but a very little of the Acknowledgment that is due unto them, thus to Erect statues for them; Their Best Recompence will be something of a Superior Nature.

The assistance which your Gencrosity has given unto my Poor Essays to Do Good * in their way, has laid me under lasting obligations. And I have been willing to look on it, as a Token for Good, That as we have been united in services, we shall be united hereafter in Enjoyments: And as we Together Endeavour to make This world Better, we shall Together see the Blessedness of a Better World.

I have no patience to think of your leaving *America*. I beseech you, advise with the Town-Clerk of *Ephesus*, before you come to any such Resolution. But if you'l come to *Boston*,— I want words to Express the satisfaction. Here you shall Do Good; Here you shall have all that in such a poor world as This, your Soul (which soars after what is Higher,) will wish for: Here you shall see Friends that will prize you, embrace you, employ you; and it may be, such as may be better than all *Europe* unto you. Think of it. And continue to Love, S^r^,

Your Constant Friend C. Mather.

You take your share in the Joy of the Reconciliation between the Two Gentlemen beyond-Sea.

In your Great Grandfathers Life, there is an Account, how this Countrey had like to have been oversett, by a controversy about an *Hog;* † introducing a contention about the Governours Negative.

We have had this week, a very critical Time among us; wherein the Crisis has turned favourably for us.

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* "Bonifacius, An Essay upon the Good that is to be Devised and Designed by Those who Desire to Answer the Great End of Life, and to Do Good While they Live," was printed in Boston in 1710.

† See a long account of this famous lawsuit in Winthrop's "History of New England, with Notes by James Savage," vol. 2.

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

My Invaluable Friend, — My glowing Affection to you, from your very Childhood, uninterrupted & Inviolable to this Day, has not been upon those Terms, — *Amo te, Non possum dicere Quare.* In your Descent, In your Temper, In your Accomplishments, I have seen a Reason, But there have been added hereunto, the obligations which your kindnesses have laid upon me; wherein, Oh! may I arrive to the Honour of Reciprocations!

I hope, you have received the packetts which I sent you a few weeks ago: Both a Number of Coheleth; And also Dr. *Woodward's* pamphletts.

I now send you a copy of my late Letter to the Doctor, (to be returned, when you have perused it,) which, I hope, he will apply to his Vindicators, as well as to his Adversaries; For they are both of them too Liberal of Scurrilities.

But (now we talk of *Scurrilities!*) much Less than the venomous Crew, by whom our unhappy Province is at present governed.

And this introduces a peece of kindness in me, which you may well count unpardonable; Tho', I know you will (as you do all my Trespasses) pardon it..

My, True way of shaking off a Viper, will be a sufficient and Eternal Confutation of all that *Malice* (*at the Highest!*) can do, to hurt a friend, for whom you have the kindest Regards;

A contusion to the Serpents, and a confusion to all their Sibilations.

It was never dispersed in this countrey, tho' printed (after a wretched fashion) at *London*, about Nine years ago.

Our Patriarch the Last week readd it; It gratified him! It Ravished him! He expressed his Desires to have it published. And his venerable Hand will write a preface to it. But he asked me, How I could gett thro' the charges of the Impression. I Replied, "That I had at *New London*, a Friend, who is better 'to me than a Brother; A Friend who never thought, that he 'could over-load me with his Favours; A Friend, who had several 'times helped me through my Designs to serve the Kingdome of

'God, and the cause of PIETY. He does for me, as the brave 'Ambrose (a person of Quality thereby made famous,) did for 'his *Origen*. And his Goodness on such occasions is inex- 'haustible.*

In pursuance of this Declaration, tho' you have so lately assisted my COHELETH, my Ink will not Blush at it, (tho' I should) if I again grow so very Impudent, as to sollicit for a little of your Assistance, towards the charges of an Impression, which may happen to do some Execution among your *Vipers*, as well as ours.

I know, you do but love me & Thank me, for all proposals of projections to do Good in the world: which Goodness will be Rewarded, not only unto you, but also unto yours, after you shall be gone unto a Better World.

May our Glorious Lord multiply the Blessings of Both Worlds upon you all. I am, S^r^,

Your most affectionate Friend & Serv^t^ Co. MATHER.

BOSTON, 29^d^ VI^m^ 1720.

P. S. Have you a perfect Account of a late whirlwind among you, which I am told of?

MR. WINTHROP.

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

MY DEAR, DEAR, VERY DEAR FRIEND,—And, *O mihi post nullos memorande!*

Now go handle your *Vipers*.

If you want any more of your Antidote, send me word, and you shall have your order.

By the ships just now arrived from *London*, I have not yett received (but am in minutely Expectation of) some Return of our Philosophcal Communications, And you must be master of all that I shall be owner of.

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* "The Right Way to shake off a Viper," was printed in Boston in 1720. It is to be inferred that Winthrop was induced to yield to the author's flattering appeal.

When the great *Moses* was pestered with a *Generation of Vipers*, he hurt himself by *Speaking with his Lips what should not be there*. I often find cause myself, to think of the warning. Pray, my dear, Do you so too.

And still allow a share in your Loves to, S^r^,

A Friend that loves you at all times, Co. MATHER.

BOSTON, Oct. 24. 1720.

M^r^ WINTHROP.

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

Mr. Winthrop.

BOSTON. 26^d^ X^m^ 1720.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—It is but just now, that the post-boy brings me your kind (but short) Letter, which was dated five weeks ago: as in duty always bound, I sett myself *Immediately* to answer your Desires. But it is hardly any otherwise, than by telling you, That *I cannot yett Answer them.*

All the Return I have yett had of the Remittances I made the Last *February* to the R.[oyal] S.[ociety,] is an obliging Letter of Mr. *Chamberlain*, Aug. 31, whose words are, 'I thank you for your Noble Entertainment with which so many of my Friends 'were Regaled, before I could gett a Snap for myself, who hungred '& thirsted for it, that I had not the pleasure thereof till very 'lately, and indeed too late to communicate the same pleasure to 'your Illustrious Brethren, the Gentlemen of the R. S. who have 'always a long Recess at this time of the year. As soon as I 'had perused your learned Letters, I Immediately communicated 'them unto S^r^ *Isaac Newton*, our Excellent Præsident; And he 'has referred them to the most Learned Mathematician and Great 'Traveller, D^r^ Halley, whose Report I expect with no small Im-'patience. But, as I beleeve, you expect to be informed of their 'Destiny, with respect to their coming to my hands, I was resolved 'not to slip the opportunity of telling you, They are safe arrived."

And verily, I had Reason to wish for some Information; For I was made sensible, that the captain to whom I committed my

packetts, prov'd a base, false, ungenteel Fellow; (a sorry Rake, ycleped, Brown,) who returning to N. E. confessed, That he had not thought fit to answer my desire, but had however putt my packetts into the *Post-office*. I gave 'Em over for lost. The Advice of their being received, was Good News from a far Countrey to me, and enough to content me for the present.

So was what Mr. *Dummer* sais to me, about my CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHER. (That's now the Title.) His words, Sept. 12. are "Your Book is compleatly printed; but I don't yett publish 'it, because in the Recess of Parlaiment, all people of Distinction 'are out of Town, and if it should come abroad now, it would be 'an old Book before the parlaiment meets. This is a peece of 'prudence that the best Authors are obliged to use. Besides, 'I have not yett determined upon the Patron. So we must be willing, both of us, to stay a little. And your stay, my Friend, shall be no longer than my own.

I have newly received large packetts from *Tranquebar* in the *East-Indies*; with a New Testament & some little Books of piety, printed in the *Damulic* Language & character; which are the first things that ever were printed in those parts of the world. The Excellent Missionaries there (who are strengthened with an accession of Three, lately gone from D^r. *Franckius*, to them,) give me to understand, That they perfectly conform to my poor Advice about the Religion in which they instruct their proselytes, which is the very same that you have in the LAPIS È MONTE EXCISUS.* God prosper them wonderfully! of This also perhaps more hereafter.

I am at this time, at work upon an Essay, which I shall entitle, THE ANGEL OF BETHESDA.† *Pliny* was not the first who observed, *Nos optimos esse cum Infirmi sumus:* Excited by this observation, I do upon most of the Destempers commonly afflicting the children of Men, offer the *Sentiments of Piety*, which the Distempered are thereby the most Naturally, and Rationally and Religiously to be led unto. But then upon each Article. I subjoin such powerful and parable ‡ specificks, as in my Reading or

* "The Stone Cut out of the Mountain," English and Latin, was published in 1716. 16mo, pp. 26.

† "The Angel of Bethesda visiting the Invalids of a Miserable world," 16mo, pp. 17, was published at New London, in 1722.

‡ Remedies easily acquired. See Brown's "Vulgar Errors."

otherwise, I have mett withal for the cure of these Maladies; with proper cautions upon occasions. I am not without Hopes, that it may prove a very serviceable and Acceptable Essay.

When I have thought on the circumstances wherein your Grandfather & Father (and now yourself, and anon I hope, your *Ascanius*) have come to my place in their Travels, I still have had in view, *The Angel of Bethesda*, appearing there. I dont know, but I have somewhere in print used the expression concerning them. If this little Book should ever come abroad, I flatter myself something of the same Title may belong unto it.

The Book will be more than a dozen sheets, and the publication will be expensive. But my dear *Franckius* has taught me, to go on with useful undertakings, and beleeve in a glorious CHRIST, for the carrying of them thorough, with seasonable Interpositions of His Almighty Providence. It may be, when the Book is finished, that Glorious Lord, will find some way to bring it forth, which I am not as yett aware of.

I was thinking to have sent you a sheet or two of my MSS, that you may have a perfect *Idea* of my Design: As also that you might favour me with such communications, as you might be willing to have published for the good of mankind; with my Honourable mention of the Hand from which they come unto me. But we are so Ill served still in the methods of conveyance, that I suspend for the present.

I think, I have no more to add; but that I send you, according to your direction, a few more of your *Vipers*. And wishing you and yours, all the Blessings of Goodness. I am Syr,

Your affectionate Friend & Serv^{t} Co. MATHER.

MR. WINTHROP.

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

BOSTON. 14^{d} I^{m} 1720–21

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND, — It is with an inexpressible Satisfaction, that I hear of a SON* born unto you, to carry on the *Jointed Æviternity* of your Honourable Family.

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* John Still Winthrop.

I can easily excuse your being so swallowed up in this New and Great Enjoyment, as for a while to seem forgetful of all other Friends; even of him, who will compel you to reckon him not the least among them.

I Earnestly pray, that this Hope of your Family may live, and may do worthily in his Day, and may tread in the steps of his worthy Ancestors.

That this Blessing may be continued unto you, and all of us, I beseech you, my Friend, in the first place, to become a Noble Sacrificer; and be Ready to offer up your *Isaac*, if the glorious God call for it; and be strongly perswaded, that if a precious CHRIST, the son of GOD, be yours, you have what is far Better than a Name of Sons & of Daughters.

And, one thing more; Think, *what shall I Render to the Lord?* Think on some SPECIAL SERVICE, to be done for the House of God, who is building your House; for the kingdome of your SAVIOUR, who has another subject of His Kingdome, thro' you, added unto His people.

You been't yett at liesure, to peruse the copies of my late Remittances to our Masters in the *Royal Society:* So I only enclose (at this time) a copy of one of them; And then subscribe, with a pretty little Quill taken from the wing of Your *Water-Dove*, (and with all the Simplicity & Sincerity of the *Dove*,) Syr, Your obliged Friend & Serv^{t},

Co. Mather.

Mr. Winthrop.

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

Syr, — Our Christian Philosopher (blown off the last Winter to *Antigua*) is newly arrived. And tho' I am not myself made owner of more than one, yett our Bookseller has one Hundred; From which, to detach one at the small Expence of a little, Dirty, Ragged Ten Shilling Bill, is but a very small Acknowledgment unto an Invaluable Friend, unto whose Gencrosity I have been endebted for more than as many pounds.

It afflicts me very much, that I cannot hear from a Friend so

dear to me. But if want of Health, be the Reason, (I am sure, it cannot be want of Love.) I should be glad, that the CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHER may do as much for my Friend, as *Livy* and *Curtius*, they say, did for the persons of Quality, who recovered their lost Health by Reading of them.

A spiteful Town, & a poison'd Countrey, can't extinguish my poor Studies to do Good in the world, (tho' they unavoidably hinder my doing of the Good unto them, which they might have had:) And therefore as I can gett any time for it, I am slowly proceeding with my, *Angel of Bethesda;* whereof, I think I formerly gave you some Account.

But, alas, what will become of it, after all. The Booksellers, I beleeve, must see forty or fifty pounds engaged, before they'l venture on the Impression.

My admirable Dr *Franckius*, bids me, proceed & prepare, things to serve the Kingdome of God; and never doubt; our Glorious LORD will in the proper Time raise up Friends, & find out ways, to bring them forward. Among other surprising Instances occurring in his own Experience, GOD putt it into the Heart of a Generous young person of Quality, to assist his own undertakings, with marvellous contributions. — But neither my Faith nor my *Good works*, are equal to those of that Wonderful Man.

Wherefore despairing of my *Angel's* becoming visible (any otherwise than in Mss.) I here single out one chapter of it, for your present Entertainment; Because I thought the Curiosity with the Novelty of it, would be really Entertaining to a Gentleman of your Sagacity. I have yett no more Direct Returns from *London*, of my Remittances thither above a year ago, than what I have told you of. When I have them, you shall share in them.

I wish you (and yours) all Blessings from the God of Patience & of Consolation; and am, Syr,

Yours as ever, CO. MATHER.

BOSTON, Apr. 17, 1721.

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To My Worthy Friend, Mr John Winthrop, at New London.

My dear Friend, — Shall I ever hear from you again? I pray, lett my sufferings from a Barbarous, & Bloody People, help to make you patient under yours.

But look oft to an infinitely greater pattern of Patience.

Your Govern^{r} will exhibit unto you, my Letter to D^{r} *Woodward;* which after you have perused, lett it in a Months time return to me again, [But by a Safe Hand!]

I present unto your Lady, a little Treatise or two, lately published.

After the miraculous Defeat of the late Attempt upon my Life,* (which I daily expect a Repetition of,) I could not but preach a Sermon on those words, *This Night there stood by me, the Angel of the God, whose I am, & whom I serve.* I have had some Thoughts to give it the public: But I don't know yett whether I shall (or can,) or no.

God grant unto you & yours the Benefit of the Angelical Ministry.

I am, S^{yr}, Yours forever, Co. Mather.

Mr. Winthrop.

We have an Army at this time under the Inoculation. Several preachers of the gospel, old Mr Walter† & his Family, intend it in a day or two.

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* At the time of the excitement against Cotton Mather, on account of his zealous advocacy of inoculation, a "granado" was thrown into his window.

† Rev. Nehemiah Walter [H.C. 1684] was ordained colleague with Rev. John Eliot, Oct. 17, 1688.

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To My Worthy Friend, Mr John Winthrop at [New London.]

12 d. 12. m 1721 [2]: Boston, or The Tents of *Kedar.*

My dear Friend, — Entring this Day into the Sixtieth year of my Age, I hope you will congratulate my near Approach to that World, where I shall with a full Joy see the Reverse of what this Base World is fill'd withal.

Connecticot cannot be more Abusive or Distastful to you, than all *New England* is to me. But both of us must learn to be patient, & rejoice in conformities unto our Lovely Saviour.

I am strangely disappointed of my justly expected Returns from *London.* But allow me to say, I find it almost as hard to hear from *New-London*, as from *Old*, Tho' what comes from thence to me, is always as cool Waters to a Thirsty Soul.

Our press now brings forth, you see what!

If you have any left of your, *New Year well-begun:* * Be so good as to bestow half a dozen on me.

And, pray enrich me with as many Communications as you can, that may go into my *Angel of Bethesda.*

Employ your liesure bravely & nobly, & as a Philosopher. Tell me also, what you think of your Christian Philosopher, now you have talked with him. And continue to love,

Sr, Your hearty & constant Co. Mather.

Mr. Winthrop.

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To my worthy Friend, Mr John Winthrop; N. London.

My dear Friend, — Wondring that I have not Enjoy'd the satisfaction of one word from you, since my last & large Answer to yours, many weeks ago; the Wonder ceases upon the sorrow

* Cotton Mather published a book with this title in 1719. He had probably sent a number of copies to John Winthrop.

which is given me, by the Advice of your having been under the arrest of an unhappy Sickness. But then this sorrow also abates, upon my being advised, that you are upon Recovery. May the Lord our Healer perfect & confirm your Health, & bring you as Gold out of Every Furnace.

I have been myself confined for Three Weeks about the Latter End of *January* and Beginning of *February*, by a very Ill Turn, (which had a Fever in it) whereof I am not yett wholly Recovered. But I am again in the public Service. And Returning to the use of my pen, I could no longer forbear using it in my old way of telling you, how much I love you, & love & long to hear from you.

We have no point of Intelligence here worth cõmunicating, which you have not from other hands. For the Malice and Slander which fills this poisoned city, is not worth Reporting to you.

A Letter of mine to Piscataqua said, That *Ideots* and *Fuddlecaps*, and *Men that love & make a Lye*, now govern us, and *American* (worse than *African*) monsters, were bringing the City into a *Snare*. To gratify one, whom I ought never to contradict, I unawares & unjustly confess'd, that the expressions were too keen, & I ask'd pardon of the Men, (or Representatives,) to whom the wife (tis s^{d}) of the Gentlemen to whom I wrote it, sent my original Letter; and who took me on the sudden, at a Disadvantage in their clamourous way, wherein I own myself not a Match for them. I soon had cause given me, to Repent of my Repentance; and our best men will Demonstrate & Justify the characters I have betow'd on those Evil Men.

But patience must have its perfect work. I pray, my dear, Lett it have so in you, as well in,

Your most hearty (tho feeble) Friend & Serv^{t}

Co. Mather.

Boston, Mar. 13, 1721. [2]

I pray your Acceptance, of the last little thing that I have published. I suppose, good Mr. *Adams* will see it.

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

My very dear Friend, — All that I have yett received from *London*, is only what putts me in Hourly Expectation, of receiving something or other, that may be some little Entertainment for you. For I have hitherto nothing but that which Tantalizes me.

But unto what must I ascribe it, that I can hear nothing from the Friend, whom I am so often dunning for his Favours? Your vexatious Neighbours will not lett you grow so Rich, as to gett the *Gout*, Else, I should complement you on *That* in your Hand, as the probable cause of your Quill being so seldome there to gratify me. But prithee ease my Enquiry after the *cause* by convincing me, that the *Thing* itself is no more in Being.

I was looking out something to treat you withal; and, Lo, as a Fore-runner to some other Things, I single out a Chapter, in The Angel of Bethesda; which, I pray, lett Return by a safe conveyance within a month; with your sentiments upon my Nishmath Chajim,* which you always know my value for.

But at the same time, I cannot forbear a Touch upon our Grand concern. My *Pamphilus*, I can wish nothing better for you, than to be filled with that *Excellent Spirit*, which was in your predecessors for many Generations; and which will Enable you gloriously to triumph over the Folly & Malice & Ingratitude of a Despicable World; And which will also Dispose & Furnish you, to be, as you have been, a Blessing to a Multitude. I am aware of my Impertinency in it; And yett, I will be so Impertinent as to tell you, That I thought it would be not at all ungrateful unto you, or at all interfere with my Desires & my Designs for you, if I should ask you to employ a few Minutes on some Lords-day Evening, in perusing my short Essay of Divine Afflations.† Which, when you have done, I will take leave to add, That I am now in a Manner out of Books of Piety to be dispersed in the Pastoral Visits: And, if your Good Neighbour, & my old, faithful, useful and

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* "Nismath-Chajim, the probable seat of all diseases, and a general Cure of them," is mentioned among the books published by Cotton Mather in 1722. See "Life of Cotton Mather," by his son Samuel Mather.

† "Divine Afflations. An Essay to describe and bespeak the Gracious Influences of the Holy Spirit." Printed at New London, 1722.

Constant Friend, Mr *Green*, would venture on the printing of the Little Book, I would immediately pay for *Fifty Shillings* worth, and afterwards, if I live, take off some further Numbers; This you may say to him; or, in your own time lett the poor Manuscript return.

It must be a very long Letter indeed, that shall express the Thousandth part of my Good Wishes for you.

But in short, I wish to you & yours, all the Blessings of Goodness; and am,

Syr, Yours in the most Inviolable Frendship,

Co. Mather.

Boston, Apr. 23. 1722.

By the Computation last *October*, there were dead of the plague in the South parts of *France;* Three hundred & forty thousand.

Rev. XVI. 5, 6.

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

My dear, & never forgotten, (but I had almost said, Forgetful!) Friend, — *Si Terrena Spernas et Superna quæras, benè est, — Ego quoque conatus Sum.*

Do, tell me, how I shall entertain & gratify you. Our Domestic Intelligence has nothing but Folly & Baseness in it. And here *He that increaseth Knowledge, increaseth Sorrow.* So I'l offer you nothing of That. The Foreign is bad Enough; But a formidable & comfortable passage in the Second of *Daniel*, which has the word *Consume*, in it, is now upon a Speedy Accomplishment.

I send you a Little *Mantle*, which the season may commend unto you.

Lett us now consider, what special service may we further do for the Kingdome of God.

Our Friends of the R.[oyal] S.[ociety] do strangely neglect us, (or packetts miscarry.) I hear of many things of mine published; but I never saw them.

We must no longer lett our Letters go into the Post-office; they render it so very chargeable.

I again say, Tell me, what you would have me do;
I earnestly ask for multiplied Blessings of Heaven, on your person, & consort, & offspring. And am,

Sr, Yours as ever, Co. Mather.

Boston, Jan. 10, $17^{2}\frac{2}{3}$.

Mr. Winthrop.

Did I ever send you a Little Disertation of mine, upon, *A Seventh Son?* A passage in one of your Letters, Looks as if I did; tho' I don't remember, that ever I did it.

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

My Worthy Friend, — The feeble State of your Health, (which I take it for granted, is all that hinders your making some Return to my Repeated Addresses,) is a matter of Concern to me. I will not think it enough to say, *Medice, Cura teipsum.* But I will rather look up to the Lord our Healer for you.

And I will humbly move, that you be sure to stick unto all the Rules of Health & Cure, which our *Nishmath Chajim* concludes withal; especially, that of a Mind Kept in a perpetual Tranquility.

I must importunately Request, That my Two Manuscripts; The *Nishmath-Chajim*, and The *Seventh Son*, may, by some safe hand, & the first opportunity, be return'd unto me. I have no copy of them, and I have more than ordinary occasion for them.

I have this Request also to add; That whereas I hear there is lately discovered a New Snake, who commands & governs the Rattle-Snakes, and upon their not observing order strikes them Dead, with a Bone, which he has instead of a Rattle, you would please, when your Health allows, to obtain & remitt a very particular Account of this Animal.

We are still kept in a Strange Darkness about our *Europæan* affairs. *Inoculation* goes on & prospers, The New Uproar, which keeps the King at home, & keeps the Camp at Hide Park still

going on, is variously talk'd about. The plague is almost entirely ceased in *France*, except at *Avignion*. Our New Scene of Troubles here, God knows when & how it will terminate.

I Long, Long to hear from you. I pray lett me at last extort from you that Satisfaction to,

S^r^, Your most hearty Friend, Co. Mather.

I have not yett one Line from any of my correspondents in the R. S. only Mr. *Chamberlain*. tells me (and I feel it from other circumstances,) That my XII Letters to him have been published. And yett I have never to this Hour seen them: nor have they that have published I know not how many other things of mine, ever given me the sight of them; (or else, they have miscarried.)

I have done, I have done, with Expectations from This World.

I wish I had you in my Neighbourhood. It would make up the Loss of Another *Winthrop*, removed into the common.

And what? Has my Friend forever done with me? must I never hear from him any more: will he never enrich me with any of his Communications? will he supply me with no Remarkables to be added unto my *Curiosa Americana?*

S^r^, By this time you have perused, *The Christian Philosopher*. Well, Names-sake, Tell me now, how far, (or whether at all?) it agrees with you.

Lett the enclosed afford you some Entertainment; and comfort yourself, that you live out of the way of *Sawny's* & *Mundungus's*. what the Names of your Animacules are, I know not.

Be patient; and be very Good; full of Goodness. And continue to love

Your Loving & constant & cordial Friend,

Co. Mather.

Boston, 12^d^ 1. ^m^ 1722. [3]

Oblige me so far, as to tell dear *Tim*,* when you see him, that I wish he would send to his Brother (for me) a Number of his *Good Lessons for Children*. And if they be not all gone, Two or Three of your, *New Years*.

M^R^ Winthrop.

* Timothy Green, printer, of New London.

[The following letter is from the Belknap Collection.]

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN WOODWARD.

[Copy of a Letter from Rev^{d} Cotton Mather to Dr. John Woodward, probably the Secretary of the Royal Society in London. — *Note prefixed to this letter by Dr. Belknap.*]

(*A Tide & Storm of uncommon circumstances, to Dr. John Woodward*)

Sir, — The reading of a storm is not so bad as the feeling of it; I shall therefore think it no tresspass on civility to entertain you with a short relation of a storm & tide, wherein these parts of the world saw what no man alive remembers to have seen be fore, & suffered incomputable damages. It was on February 24th 1723,[4] when our little American philosophers observed an uncommon concurrence of all those causes which an high tide were to be expected from. The moon was then at the change, and both sun & moon together on the Meridian. The moon was in her perigee, and the sun was near to his, having past it, but a little before. Both the sun & moon were near the Equinoxial, and so fell in with the annual & the diurnal motion of the terraqueous Globe. There was a great fall of snow & rain, the temper of the air was cool and moist. & such as contributed unto a mighty descent of vapours; a cloudy atmosphere might also help something to swell & raise the waters. Finally, the wind was high, & blew hard & long, first from the southward, and it threw the southern seas in a vast Quantity to the Northern shores: Then veering Easterly it brought the Eastern seas also upon them; and then, still veering to the northward, it brought them all with yet more accumulations upon us. They raised the tide unto an height which had never been seen in the memory of man among us. The tide was very high in the night, but on the day following, it being the Lords day, at noon, it rose two feet higher than ever had been known unto the country; and the City of Boston particularly suffered from it incredible mischiefs & losses. It rose two or three feet above the famous Long Wharf, and flowed over the other wharves and streets, to so surprising an height, that we could sail in Boats from the Southern Battery to the rise of the Ground in Kings street, & from thence to the rise of the Ground ascending towards

the north meeting house. It filled all the cellars, & filled the floors of the lower Rooms in the houses & ware houses in town. The damage inexpressible in the Country on the Inside of Cape Cod. The tide rose four feet, & without, it rose ten or a dozen feet higher than ever was known. At Rhode Island & Piscataqua they fared as we did in Boston. At Hampton the sea brook over its natural Banks for many miles, & continued runing over for many hours. Almost all over the Country the artificial banks of the sea were broken down. The marshes were overflown and overwhelmed, mighty stacks of hay, some removed, some destroyed, many acres of marsh ruined, being either torn up thro' the rage of the water, or covered with the sands from the Road. This is the sum of the story, if there be nothing in it worthy to be remembered than as waters that pass away (or anything like the memorable November Storm, that filled the English world with horror twenty years ago,* & whereof a Large book was written) yet it may lead a person of your sagacity to some considerable speculations, and more particularly, tho' I have mentioned what our small philosophers here may dream for the causes of such occurrences, yet you will also consider how far the subterraneous heats & steams below the bottom of the ocean rising thence and passing thro' it, and causing the deep to boil as a pot, may farther contribute unto them. However, as for a tempest, so for a Letter about one, you may think the shorter the better, it shall therefore now be over. I will add no more, and you shall be sensible of nothing more but a swelling tide of esteem & affection for you, in the breast of, Sir,

Your hearty friend & Servant, C. M.

September 24th, 1724.

Indorsed, — "Copy of a Letter from C. M. To Dr John Woodward."

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* De Foe wrote an account of the Great Storm of November, 1703. Mather may refer to this.

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

S^{r}, — Having passed thro' a Winter of much Feebleness (and some Employment) it appears high time for me to Renew my Acquaintance, with a Friend, who would have been in my Debt for I know not how many Letters, if his Vast civilities to my son had not much more than cancelled it.

He would have joined with me, in the Acknowledgments, I am now making, if he had not been at this Time, at seventy miles distance from me.

Such is my penury, that I have nothing to send you, but, first, a few of our latest publications.

And then my Humble Request & Advice, that you would not lett your mind be disturbed, much less, your Health Impaired, by the Base usages you may be Mal-treated withal.

I know not how better to address you on this occasion, than by letting you see, how one whom you love well is used; And if the Best Man in Connecticot Government, will use a poor minister, as I have been used, you will not wonder, if Inferiour people treat you as I have heard they do. With the Help of Heaven, I concoct all with patience. And I shall find the God of patience, to be the God of Consolation.

[I could wish M^{r} T. *Woodbridge* knew it: But I don't care to tell him]

I *know not how better*, — Yes, I do. Sett before yourself the Exemple of the glorious Lord, who was as the sheep before the shearers.

We have no Intelligence, worth a straw. I was going to say, No Intellect. We are like to continue one year longer as we are, — Inexpressibly Happy, in our Lt Govern^{rs},* wise & Good Administration.

You know what I wish you; And That I am,

S^{r}, Your most cordial Friend & Serv^{t}

Co. Mather.

Boston, May 1. 1725.

Mr. Winthrop.

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* William Dummer.

COTTON MATHER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To My honoured Friend, Mr John Winthrop, New London.

An Illustration Extracted from the Biblia Americana.* on Mar. I. 6.

"The custome of eating Buds of Trees, or of that Fruit which 'the Italians call, *Carobs*, and the French *Careages*, and which is 'the same whereof the Prodigal desired for to eat his Fill with the '*Swine*, (Luk. XV. 16.) and should be rendred, *Carob-bean*, was 'very common among the prophets of old, and poor people; as 'may be seen, Prov. XVII. 1. which as L. *Capellus* observes, is 'to be rendred, *Better is a Mouth-ful of Carob-beans.* Whence the 'Germans call this Fruit *JAANS Broot*, that is *John's-Bread.*

'But the most exact Travellers, who have been in the *Holy* '*Land*, as *Brochard & Sandys*, and company, observe, That passing 'near *Jordan*, they have found a kind of Fruit or Pulse, that the 'Monks there Eat, which they call by the Name of *Locusts.* And '*Sandys*, describing the Wilderness of *John Baptist*, adds, That it 'abounds with *Trees* called *Locusts;* which doubtless gave occasion 'to a mistake; Because the Greek Word *Ακριδες* and the Latin, '*Locustæ*, signify also the same Animals, which we call by the 'Name of Locusts, It seems plain to some, That *John Baptist* lived 'on the *Carob-beans* and *Wild-honey.* Whereof consult *Knatchbul*, 'and you may hear a further Entertainment.

'*Knatchbul* observes, That the *κερατέα* (so called, because of 'their being, *Reflex, sicut cornu*) are at this called S^t^ Johans Brot, 'among the *Germans.* They take it for granted, That his Diet in 'the Desert was upon the *Frondium Summitates.* Yea, our *Sandys* 'relating his Travels in Judæ, describes the very Desert where the '*Baptist* chiefly sojourned; and adds this Remark upon it; *Beholding* '*only the Locust-tree;* which may be the same with the *Carobtree.*

'*Galen*, who lived in a countrey, to which they brought the *Kera-* '*tium* from *Syria* sais, *Εςι εδεσμα κακοχυμον. Est parvi succi Edulium.*

Presented unto my worthy Friend M^r^ *John Winthrop*, on the occasion of a comunication, wherewith he (by a Second hand) obliged me.

Indorsed by John Winthrop,—"Doct^r^ Mather about the Fruit I sent him which John Baptist eat in the Desert of."

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* The manuscript of the "Biblia Americana" is in the Library of the Historical Society. It consists of illustrations of the scriptures, from Genesis to Revelation, in six large volumes. It is a work of vast research, and contains a huge mass of curious lore.

STATEMENT BY COTTON MATHER.

One Small Instance of the Hardships, which the Dealings of the people in the Countrey run into.

It is well known, how I was betray'd into the Indiscretion and Infelicity of letting my Name Stand, for an Administration upon the Estate of *Nathan Howel*, and how unaccountably some have treated me, who betray'd me into it.

It is also well-known, how my Attorneys, having almost gott thro' as knotty a Business as ever was managed in the Countrey, underwent a strict Examination, by Four as acute Gentlemen as could be found by the Judge of Probates; who, after sitting one and Twenty days or Times upon it, and seeing Vouchers for Every thing, found Every thing so well done, that their Account received an Authentic Allowance.

However, the Loss of Time occasion'd chiefly by some, who treated me, as if they design'd all that was possible of the Reverse to what they owed me, issued in such a Growth of Bad Debts owing to the Estate, as very much to enfeeble it, for the paying of the (comparatively) few Debts that were owing from it.

One of these Debts, was an Obligation for Fifty pounds, with Interest for some few years, to be paid in Silver, from *Howel*, to a Friend of mine in *Hartford*.

For the Discharge of this, an obligation of Mr Lilly the father to *Howel*, for Fourscore pounds with Interest, was all that I could find any where to offer. Mr *Lilly*, the son, tho' I suppose the Law could scarcely have compell'd him to it, generously paid unto my *Hartford-Friend*, the sum of *One Hundred and twenty six* pounds: But his Attorney, by his order, insisted on my paying above *Twenty* pounds more, above the *One Hundred and twenty Six*, which had been paid him; that so, the obligation to him for *Fifty* pounds with Interest, might be fully answered, at the Extrava[ga]nt price whereto silver is risen at this day.

Hereupon, I wrote in as Decent & as Humble a Manner, as I could unto my *Hartford-Friend;* and I petition'd him, to Remitt that remaining sum, in consideration of the Vast oppression which the Depreciation of our *Bills of credit*, had brought upon

us all; and which had already made one Hundred & twenty six pounds be paid for Fifty, & a very few years Interest; wherein all that would not have *Judgment without Mercy*, should be willing a little to share with one another, in the Epidemical Suffering.

I Remonstrated unto him, that tho' I never was, nor Expected, nor desired to be one farthing the better for the Estate into the Administration on which I was betray'd, yett I had actually paid *between Three & Four hundred* pounds, out of my own poor purse, to answer the Demands of Creditors upon it; And that I was a poor man, and had nothing left in the world, but a Few Books, and a little Houshold stuff & plate, that I could call my own; and that if I paid this Twenty odd pounds, it must all come out of my own Empty pockett.

I prevailed with an Eminent Gentleman or two in the city, to add their Letters and Requests on my behalf, and represent, how little it would be for his Reputation to use the severity of the Extortion upon me.

This all signified, Nothing! None of all this, [Nor the Eighteenth chapter of *Matthew!*] made any Impression on the Gentleman.

But the Gentleman counting me too mean a person to receive a line from him, sends those orders to his *lawyer*, upon which, I must Either pay the Twenty pounds, or, *Go to prison*. So I have paid out of my own purse, the Twenty, above Mr Lillies' One Hundred & twenty six, to answer the extremity, for Fifty, and a few years Interest.

This I have not hitherto *told in Gath;* and I scarce ever speak of it; nor do I now mention the Name of the *Oppressor:* Because I perceive the man is exceedingly Decried and Censured for it among the few that have unavoidably heard of it. And I would not hurt him; I would rather, if I know how, overcome Evil with Good. And my cause is to be *silently* Left with Him, who *hears the Cry of the oppressed:* The *Silence* will it may be louden the cry. I would *hope* to meet with him in *Paradise*, who would have laid me in *Prison*, that he might force me to a point, which yett further conforms me to Him, who *Restored what He took not away*. I must believe, That tho' he had no compassion on me, when I had paid him, what was *in all conscience Enough*,

but *extorted* from a poor Minister, a considerable sum of money which he knew, could never be with the Justice commonly used among Genuine Christians required from me, yett he has those Apprehensions, which place him without the reach of that word; 1: Cor: vi. 9. *Be not Deceived; Neither covetous nor Extortioners, shall inherit the Kingdome of God.*

LETTERS OF JOHN WHITING.*

JOHN WHITING TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Reverend Mr. Increase Mather, Teacher of a Church in Boston.

Revd and Dear Sir, — The particular errand of these lines is to informe that the two Congregations in Windsor having mutually ingaged themselves to submitt to the advice of a Councill in the difficulties depending among them, they are accordingly advised to a re-union and walk in the Congregationall way according to Synods 48 and 62; and for their further settlement to seeke out for another minister, Mr Woodbridge being left to his liberty and Mr. Chancy looked att by some, not so throughly furnished to lead so great a people, tho: his doctrine is sound, and his conversation eminently pious: The Councill (under whose guidance the matter yet remaines) have proposed your kinsman Mr Samuell Mather, (in whose piety, parts and perswasion (?) some that know him are greatly satisfied) and in case of non-concurrence in him, to Mr ffoster † of Charlstown. Mr Mather they fall not in with (though the Church, as I heare, is generally for him). The Councill g^{d} desires that you would be pleased (with the Revd Mr Oakes, to whom I have also written to that end) to intimate in a few words whither Mr ffoster be free from ingagement, and then, how qualified in respect of godlines and learning, (we are strangers to him on all accounts) and particularly what his judgement is in respect of church order; whether indeed declaredly Congregationall, that being of considerable weight to the settlement and welfare of that people, as well as the comfort of their neighbours. I beseech you Sr, according to wonted candor and

* Rev. John Whiting [H. C. 1653] was a tutor of the College, but called to preach at Salem, in 1657. He remained there two years without being settled. In 1660 he went to Hartford, and was ordained as colleague with Rev. Samuel Stone.

† Rev. Isaac Foster. See p. 93 in this volume.

faithfulnes, give us an account of him therein. There are some thoughts that Mr Mather's being indeed Congregationall (though Synodically) is that which diverts their thoughts from him, who was first comended to their enquiry. You have the summ of the matter, wherein I earnestly intreate a plaine and speedy answer. We desire to mourne with them that mourne, and sympathise with them (especially saints) that are in sorrow. The Lord pitty and heale poore New Eng'd.* Alas, what have we done? Our God humble and helpe: News would be very welcome, especially if you have any certainty in that great busines about the King: Harty respects from, with desire of prayer for

Yours sincerely in our deare Saviour,

Jn° Whiting.

Hartford, ffeb: 27. 78: [9]

Reverend Sr, — Being desired by the Councill to joyne with Mr Whitting in desiring of yourselfe & Mr Oakes to grant us information concerning Mr Foster; the opportunity being so suddain & not known by me till just now, I can onely request your favour herein, which will greatly oblidg

Your humble servant, John Allyn.†

JOHN WHITING TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Revd Mr Increase Mather in Boston these.

Revd and Deare Sir, — Yours of 9ber 18 with the inclosed proposall came to hand; for which I hartily thank you, and rejoice [that] the Lord hath putt it into your heart to sett so good a work going: I have communicated it to sundry, and am perswaded it is and will be very readily complyed with, by them that beare Sion's teares and feares upon their harts. The Lord himselfe reward richly to yourselfe and yours all your labours in his work. The

* Written while Randolph was making trouble in England.

† John Allyn, of Windsor, and also of Hartford. See note on p. 87.

letters from N. H. were left with me some time since, but have waited till now for a conveyance. As to the contents of them, I shall be glad if God make way for your son (Mr Mather) to come so neare us. They were once (you know) a beautyfull Society, and thou[gh] . . . .there hath been some fade upon their glory, I doubt not [there] is still a considerable number of precious soules among them, and if God vouchsafe to still the paroxysme (which I hope is in good measure done) there may be a comfortable being, with an advantage to much service for Jesus Christ, in so considerable a place, wherein there are many soules. The Lord direct His way to them, if it be His will. To His guidance and grace I comẽnd you in this and all your concernmts. In hast, I am Yours sincerely, in our dear Savr,

JOHN WHITING.

HARTF: Janry 23, 1681. [2]

I thank you for the matter sent by J: B: I exspected no such thing. Mr Joseph Eliott hath lately lost his wife.* Mrs Garner (sometimes Stone) also, gone to Heaven.†

The letters that come inclosed with this, I request may be conveyed, as soon as conveniently you can.

JOHN WHITING TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Revd Mr. Increase Mather, Teacher of a Church in Boston, these dd.

REVD AND DEARE SR, — It was an a[ff]liction I was forced to leave Boston without some converse with you. I thought myselfe necessitated to hasten, having left a sore sicknes begun here, which since hath grown to a great height. Most families visited, many sick and weake and some sleep (about 9 or 10 grown persons in our towne) wherof Mr Foster ‡ (as you have heard) is one, a

* Rev. Joseph Eliot, [H. C. 1658], of Guilford, son of the "Apostle" Eliot, was ordained in 1664. His first wife was Sarah, daughter of Governor William Brenton, of Rhode Island.

† Eliza, widow of Rev. Samuel Stone, of Hartford, married George Gardner, and died late in 1681.

‡ Rev. Isaac Foster, of Hartford (see note on p. 98), died Aug. 20, 1682.

surprising and (circumstances considered) very awfull stroake to us. God has spared my family, though my wife hath been nigh to the gates of death, but now abroad againe, blessed be the Lord. I very hartily thank you for your books (Latin and English) lately sent me. The Lord continue your life and labours for the good of many souls. Mr Sam: Mather sticks somewhat about Synod principles, and by that meanes his settlement at Windsor seemes yet uncertaine. This day some of the Elders meete to discourse him. Affectionate respects is all at present, besides desire of prayer for

Yours *sincerissimè* in our deare Saviour,

JOHN WHITING.

HARTFORD, 8ber 25, 1682.

JOHN WHITING TO INCREASE MATHER.

These ffor the Revd Mr. Increase Mather, Teacher of a Church in Boston.

An account of a Remarkable passage of Divine providence that happened in Hartford, in the yeare of our Lord 1662.*

THE subject was Anne Cole (the daughter of John Cole, a godly man among us, then next neighbour to the man and woman that afterward suffered for witchcraft,) who had for some time been afflicted and in some feares about her spirituall estate; Two of her brethren also were very lame, one of them so continuing to this day, his knee-joint of one leg having no motion, but otherwise well for many yeares. She hath been and is a person esteemed pious, behaving herselfe with a pleasant mixture of humility and faith under her heavy sufferings, professing (as she did sundry times) that she knew nothing of those things that were spoken by her, but that her tongue was improued to express what was never in her mind, which was matter of great affliction to her. Since the abatement of her sorrows she is joined to the church, and therein been a humble walker for many yeares. And since also married to a good man, hath borne him severall children, and

* This case is related, but in a condensed form and different words, by Increase Mather, in his "Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences," chap. v.

in her constant way aprovcd herselfe truely godly to the charity of all observers : — :

The matter is, That Anno. 1662. This Anne Cole (living in her ffather's family) was taken with strange fitts, wherein she (or rather the Devill, as 'tis judged, making use of her lips) held a discourse for a considerable time. The generall purport of it was to this purpose, that a company of familiars of the evill one, (who were named in the discourse that passed from her) were contriving how to carry on their mischeivous desiignes, against some and especially against her, mentioning sundry ways they would take to that end, As that they would afflict her body, spoile her name, hinder her marriage, &c., wherein the generall answer made among them was, She runs to her Rock. This method having been continued some howers ; The conclusion was, Let us confound her Language, she may tell no more tales. And then after some time of unintelligible muttering, the discourse passed into a Dutch tone (a family of Dutch then living in the town) And therein an account was giuen of some afflictions that had efballen diverse, among the rest a young woman (next neighbour to that Dutch family) that could speak but very little (labouring of that infirmity from her youth) had mett with great sorrow, As pinchings of her armes in the dark, &c. whereof she had before informed her brother (one of the ministers in Hartford) : In that Dutch-toned discourse there were plain intimations given, by whom and for what cause such a course had been taken with her. Judicious M^r^ Stone (who is now with God) being by, when the latter discourse passed, declared it in his thoughts impossible that one not familiarly acquainted with the Dutch (which Anne Cole had not at all been) should so exactly imitate the Dutch tone in the pronunciation of English : — Sundry times such kind of discourse was uttered by her, which was very awefull and amazing to the hearers : M^r^ Sam^ll^ Hooker was present the first time, and M^r^ Joseph Haines,* who wrote what was said, so did the Relator also, when he came into the house, some time after the discourse began. — Extreamely violent bodily motions she many times had, even to the hazard of her life in the aprehensions of those that

* Rev. Joseph Haynes [H. C. 1658], son of Gov. John Haynes, successor to Hooker, at Hartford, in 1664.

saw them: And very often great disturbance was giuen in the publick worship of God by her and two other women who had also strange fitts. Once in speciall, on a day of prayer kept on that account, the motion and noise of the afflicted was so terrible, that a godly person fainted under the appearance of it: — :

The consequent was, That one of the persons presented as actiue in the forementioned discourse (A lewd, ignorant, considerably aged woman) being a prisoner upon suspition of witchcraft, the court sent for Mr Haines and myselfe to read what we had written; which when Mr Haines had done (the prisoner being present) she forthwith and freely confessed those things to be true, that she (and other persons named in the discourse) had familiarity with the devill. Being asked whither she had made an express covenant with him, she answered she had not, oncly as she promised to goe with him when he called (which she had accordingly done sundry times) But that the Devill told her, that at Christmass they would haue a merry meeting, and then the covenant should be drawn and subscribed: Thereupon the forementioned Mr Stone (being then in court) with much weight and earnestnes laid forth the exceeding heinousnes and hazard of that dreadfull sin. And therewith solemnely took notice (upon the occasion given) of the devill's Loving Christmass.

A person at the same time present being desired, the next day more particularly to enquire of her about her guilt, it was accordingly done, to whom she acknowledged That though when Mr Haines began to read, she could have torne him in peices, and was as much resolued as might be to deny her guilt (as she had done before) yet after he had read awhile, she was as if her fflesh had been pulled from her bones (such was her expression) and so could not deny any longer. She also declared that the devill first appeared to her in the forme of a deere or faune, skipping about her, wherewith she was not much affrighted, but by degrees he contriud talk with her; And that their meetings were frequently at such a place (neare her own house) That some of the company came in one shape, and some in another, and one in particular in the shape of a crow came flying to them.

Amongst other things she owned that the devill had frequent use of her body with much seeming (but indeed horrible, hellish) delight to her: — :

This with the concurrent evidence, brought the woman and her husband to their death as the devill's familiars, and most of the other persons mentioned in the discourse made their escape into another part of the Country.

After this execution of some and escape of others, the good woman had abatement of her sorrows, which hath continued sundry yeares, and she yet remaines maintaining her integrity, walking therein with much humble comfort, after her so sore and amazing affliction : : The works of the Lord are great, sought out of all them that have pleasure therein.

Rev^{d} and deare Sir, — I had thoughts of sending the precedent account before now, but I could not (nor yet can) find my papers wherein I wrote what came from An Cole in her fitts. However I have gathered up the maine sum, and now send it : if you think fitt to insert the whole or any thing of it, not varying the substance, it is left with you : —

There are some other Remarkables I haue some acquaintance with, wherein I haue moued others that know them more fully, to giue an information : — The Lord be with you, succeeding all your holy labours to his honour and the good of souls : fforget not

Yours sincerely in our deare Saviour

Jn^{o} Whiting.

Hartf: 10^{br} 4. 82.

Indorsed, — "Ann Coles Case — 1662."

JOHN WHITING TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Reverend Mr. Increase Mather, Teacher to the Church . . .

Rev^{D} S^{R}, — I received yours of the 6th instant, and thank you for the intelligence therein giuen. Gou^{r} Eaton * and Haines † were

* Theophilus Eaton was Deputy Governor of the Baltic Company in London, and agent of King James at the Court of Denmark. He came to Boston with Rev. John Davenport in 1637, and went with him to found the settlement of New Haven. He was made Governor in 1639, and each year afterwards till his death, Jan. 7, 1658.

The account of his last hours is given by Cotton Mather, as follows ("Magnalia,"

† John Haynes came from Essex County, England, to Boston, in September, 1633. He was chosen Assistant in 1634, Governor the next year, and again Assistant in 1636. In

both walking in the day, and both died in the night by a suddain surprise: I have communicated your desire to Capt: Ffitch. Since my last, here is another dreadfully tremendous providence fallen out in the death of poore (?) Mr. Stone, the short of whose sinfull life and sorrowfull death is this. Sam[ll] Stone (the son and heire of Mr. Sam[ll] Stone, the first Teacher of the church in Hartford) whose abilities, naturall and aequired, were so considerably raised, that he preached some yeares in severall places, with a generall acceptation among those that heard him, as to

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Book II. p. 29): "He would often say, *Some Count it a great matter to Die well, but I am sure tis a great matter to Live well. All our Care should be while we have our Life to use it well, and so when Death puts an end unto that, it will put an end unto all our Cares.* But having Excellently managed his *Care* to *Live well*, God would have him to *Die well*, without any room or time then given to take any *Care* at all; for he enjoyed a Death *sudden* to every one but himself! Having Worshipped God with his Family after his usual manner, and upon some Occasion charged all the Family to carry it well unto their Mistress who was now confined by Sickness, he Supp'd and then took a turn or two abroad for his Meditations. After that he came in to bid his Wife *Good-night*, before he left her with her *Watchers;* which when he did, she said, *Methinks you look sad!* Whereto he reply'd, *The Differences risen in the Church* of Hartford *make me so;* She then added, *Let us e'en go back to our Native Country again;* to which he answered, *You may* (and so she did) *but I shall die here.* This was the last Word that ever she heard him speak; for now retiring unto his Lodging in another Chamber, he was overheard about midnight fetching a Groan: and unto one, sent in presently to enquire how he did, he answered the Enquiry with only Saying, *Very Ill!* And without saying any more, he fell *asleep in Jesus.*"

In the "Winthrop Papers," Mass. Hist. Collections, vol. vii., pp. 457 *et seq.*, there is a poem, by Rev. Abraham Pierson, on his death, in which are the following lines: —

"He had a quick passage up to heaven
Was well & sick, and dead in houres seven."

May, 1637, he removed to Hartford, Connecticut, and was made the first Governor of the Colony in 1639, to which office he was frequently re-elected till his sudden death, according to Trumbull and Mr. Savage, March 1, 1653–4, but as is more correctly stated in a letter from Elder William Goodwin to John Winthrop, Jr., in Mass. Hist. Collections, 4th series, vol. vii., before January 10 of that year. See Savage's Geneal. Dict.; Trumbull's Hist. of Conn.; Mass. Hist. Coll., 4th series, vol. vii.

It is probable that Mr. Whiting referred to these sudden deaths of the two Governors, in reply to an inquiry by Increase Mather, who was preparing his book of "Illustrious Providences," published in 1684, in which they are mentioned, as well as some other facts furnished by Mr. Whiting.

In the letter of Elder Goodwin, above referred to, the account of the death of Governor Haynes is given as follows: "I was, with some others, in a conference with him in the euening of that night wherein he dyed: & he was as chereful, & spake as fresh & freely as euer he did, in my hearing) in his life: & the like he did at supper & duty at home, & went so to his bed: and yet not long after the midtyme of the night, he accomplisht the greate worke of exchanging this life for a better, the which he did so seweet & so silent, that his wife, who lay by him, & being awake, had no other intimation thereof but onely his short breathing, & had onely the liberty to aske him how he did, but he gave no word to answer."

the gift part of his work therein: He long since fell into a course of notorious drunkenes, pretending a certaine infirmity of body with an iñocent and necessary use of strong drink to relieve him against it, so as no endeavours of magistrates, ministers, &c., could reach him to any conviction, but he continued an habituall drunkard for sundry yeares; yet still professing and defending himselfe to be as faultles therein as the child unborne. His precious, godly mother (whose life was somctimes hazarded, before she dyed) through the greife she receiued by hard words and wretched cariages she met with from him on the forementioned account: whence some that had occasion to obserue it, feared an untimely end would ouertake him, unless an eminent repentance were giuen.) His mother desiring the churches forbearance of censure, till a solemne day were kept for him: which it was accordingly done* by sundry ministers and other faithfull . . . himselfe refusing to be there [be]cause, (as he said) he would not dally with God in desiring conv[iction] about a matter, wherein he knew himselfe fully cleare. Whereupon [after] much patience and pains used, the church proceeded to an ex[communica]tion, in which state he continued without any repentance or reformation manifested to his dying hower. He wasted his whole estate (lying in a very comfortable house, a considerable quantity of land, and a good Library, left him by his worthy ffather) to satisfy and serue that sordid lust, and so dyed in debt: — : Upon the 8th of 8^{ber}, 1683, he went from the house where he lived, about noone; was among his companions first at one, and then at another Taverne, and thence went in the evening, to a ffreinds house, where his discourse was bitter and offensiue to some present; but going thence, the night being very dark, was found the next morning dead in the little Riuer that runs through the town of Hartford; having missed the bridge. He fell down upon the Rocks, and thence rowled, or some way gott into the water at a little distance, and there lay dead at breake of day. A terrible instance of the infatuatings of sin, and fearfull severity of Israel's Holy One against it; that in this dreadfull example, amongst many others, loudly proclaimes the coñand, Eccles: 7: 17, and the threatening: Proverb: 29, 1.

* May. 81. — [WHITING.]

I haue giuen you the sum of this lamentable story. The Lord

make this awfull death powerfully instructive and awakening to those that liue :—

If any thing in this or any other passages I have formerly written may be of publick usefulnes, I leaue it to your prudence, only requesting a concealement of my name, and what you judge unmeete under present circumstances for a publick view, especially in the matter of the Wakemans, relating to Bishop B:——: The Lord assist and succeed you in all your holy labours for the good of soules, unto his glory, in whom I am

Yours sincerely, J^N^ WHITING.

HARTFORD, 8^ber^ 17, 1683.

I request the kindnes of a speedy conveyance to the inclosed.

LETTERS OF JAMES FITCH.*

JAMES FITCH TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Reverend Mr Mather, Pastor of a Church of Christ at Boston.

Reverend Sr, — I had sometimes a most rich oportunitie of knowing the mysteries of the doctrine of Godlines, but it's too manifest that I profited little, *quicquid recipitur, recipitur secundum modum recipientis:* and something of this the importunitie of my people have prevailed with me to expose to publique veiw, and you are pleased, from undeserved love towards me to promove the printing of my Chatechisme. I am but a poore instrument to hande to our people & their posteritie, what I have received from my Instructers in Christ, & *instrumentum infimum locum habet* — and that is my place, and the more any ffreind doeth love & honour me or any of my labour, it shall remember me in the presence of the infinite & eternall One, my Maker, Redeemer, & Comforter, my All & in All, to whom be glory forever. What a vaine & vile nothing I am. — Sr, I humbly beg the continuance of your prayers for me, — my worke in this solitary place with a little flock, is too high & harde for me, and my sighs to the Ffather of mercies, who is the Ffather of lights, are that he would reward your labour of love, and continue to bless you in your Publique & Domestick concerns: & Sr, I remaine yours to serve to my poore power, James Ffitch.

Norwich, 23d May, '79.

* Rev. James Fitch came over in 1638, and was first settled at Saybrook in 1646. He afterwards removed to Norwich with a large part of his people, in 1660.

JAMES FITCH TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Reverend Mr. Mather Pastor of a Church of Christ at Boston p^r^s.

Reverend Sir, — The enclosed contains some observable Providences, of which we have beene experienc'd, since we came to this place. What of these will be sutable for a Record, acording to the Pious designe intended, I must leave to a better iudgment then mine; — onely, I having this oportunity, I could not omit the mentioning of this, to the Praise of Him who is wonderfull in counsell, & excellent in working: — My son hath also with him my explanation of our Rulers' advertisment in the time of the warrs, and something I have written in the defense of the Christian Sabbath, upon occasion of a Replye I was desired by our Govern^r^ * to make to some Answers one John Rogers had made to some Queries respecting the 7^th^ day Sabbath, — propounded by our Govern^r^. I have beene desired by the Govern^r^, & severall magestrates & Elders, who were present at the reading of these, that they may come to a more publique veiw; but my determination at present is, first, humbly to beg your advise concerning both these writings, and after I have receivd your advise, and, it may be, by a little delay, I may gaine a fairer oportunity for the printing them. Good S^r^, let me have a few words from you in plaines, whether these my poore writings, as the time now is, had best, all of them or any of them, be printed. I am a poore prisoner of affliction; — but who am I, that the Lord doeth visit me? I feele many tremblings because of the Ark. I can easily beleive, for yourself & many others, that your God will enable you to doe valiantly for his namesake. I feele hard work to beleive for myself. I pray, pray for me, — & I cannot forget to pray for you, in my poore maner. So, S^r^, I remaine yours humbly to serve, in our onely Lord & Savio^r^ James Fitch, Sen:

16^th^ Aprill, 83, Norwich.

* Robert Treat.

JAMES FITCH TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Reverend [Mr. Increase] Mather, Pastor to a Church of Christ at Boston.

Reverndo Sr, — I return many thanks for your books, but I am sorry that your book of Remarkable Providences was no larger, seeing God hath given vs many occasions of enlargment. But I cannot be silent concerning a late wonderfull experience of the power & pitty of our Saviour towards a poore tempted & deserted soule. There was a maide, descended of very Godly parentage, whose education hath been so blessed to her, that she hath feared the Lord from her childhood; and being approved of all, she was admitted to full comunion with our Church; but in her later time was most violently assaulted & vexed with Diabolicall sugestions, in a most blasphemous maner, especially in the time of religious dueties, so that her Phancy, cogitation, & memory were hurried & captivated by the Evill one, that I thought she was neer to a being possessed, as could be, & yet escape. I ioyned with her ffather & some relations in a private fast, but obtained no present answer, but she saied that all the day long that Satan mockt at the prayers, and held before her minde most blasphemous images, & Atheisticall misrepresentations of God & the things of God, so that she concluded there never had been any thing of saving grace wrought in her, and despaired that it would be. At last I propounded to the Church that they would keepe a day of ffasting & prayer, principally upon this occasion, and partly upon an occasion of some uncomfortable difference which had fallen out between some Brethren; — & we having agreed upon the day, the Envious One raged the more, — and this poore dejected soule could hardly be perswaded to take what food was necessary for [the] preservation of life. I sent to her, that I might speak with her one[e] more before the fast day. When she came, at [h]er first coming into my chamber, she saied she was come, but to no purpose, for her hope was cut of. I onely replied, Come, let us reason together, and heare what God will say — that every sin & Blasphemy shall be forgiven, except the sin against the Holy Ghost; — this is the word of the Ever living God. — and reasoning no otherwise

than I had formerly done her heart was melted, — the flood-gate of Godly sorrow opened, — she wept bitterly & plentifully. I asked, what the matter was, at this time. Her answer was, she wonderd what was come to her, amazed at the change she felt, — there was such a repelling & scattering of all those violent temptations, — and a gospell peace & composure bearing rule in her heart, and hath in a steady maner held it, now about halfe a yeare, in a greater degree of firme composure then before she was thus buffeted. I ad no more at present, but I have thought that if ever I see the rod of Christ's strength in my chamber, I had some vision of it at this time. I loved my studdy the more for many dayes after. O, that I could be the more enlarged in loving, trusting, & obeying my Lord, as long as I live; &c.

As concerning John Rogers, his madnes is manifest now to all. He is fallen to Quakerisme, and ioened with Banks, and hath prevailed with his aged Parents to dance among the Singing Quakers, — but my son will informe you more then is needfull for me at this time to write: So, with my cordeall desires that God would bless you more & more in your domestick & publique concerns; beging the continuance of your prayers for me,

I remaine, Yours to serve in our comon Saviour,

JAMES FFITCH.

July 1st 84.

LETTERS OF REV. SIMON BRADSTREET.*

SIMON BRADSTREET TO INCREASE MATHER.

N: London, April 20th 81.

Revd Sr, — I think I never yet sent you my thankes for your last Letter, & your book against the Anabaptists, if not, it is time now to doe it. I remember in your letter you say, that you doe not vnderstand of any in your parts against the Xtian Sabbath, I beleive there are far more then you are aware of, and most Anabaptists I have known either deny it, or qvestion it. However, if there was a fair opportunity, I think some elucubrations of that nature might bee of great vse; I am apt to think among good christians there is not one in a hundred able to maintain the Xtian Sabbath with any strenght. Their vsuall argts are, practise of the Chhs & Xt's Resurrection, both of which are good & from both an idle sophister would drive them, & run them into a hundred absurdities. Three sheets of paper, well filled by a dexterous & able hand to prove the change, under those 3 heads, *De licito*, that it may; *De jure*, that it ought; *De facto*, that it is; I am apt to think would profit the world more then all Dr. Owen, Mr Baxter, Mr Hughs, etc. have written, tho: they deserve more then thankes for their paines. But I have forgott my self. Sr, I have read your sermon, occasioned by the dreadfull Comet, and now according to my wonted manner send to begge one, (that I saw being only vpon loan) haveing not hetherto mett with any repulse, which is no small encouragement to beggars. Whatever you print, I ever promis myself an Interest in. You have made me so to beleive.

ffor newes wee have the same you have, & as late as last Ffriday, by one that came then from Boston. I am not fond to

* Rev. Simon Bradstreet [H. C. 1660], son of the Governor of the same name, was settled at New London, Oct. 5, 1670. He died in August, 1683.

beleive what is said at present, if any strange reports should abuse & impose upon my reason, it is only because it is engraven with a pen of iron & the point of a diamond vpon my spirit (& has been so severall yeares) that dreadfull times are coming upon our Nation in a speciall manner, tho: doubtles Calamityes enough upon all Christendom at least. ffor ourselves here, I am far from thinking wee shall bee at rest in the evil day, it was so formerly, but things were not then as they are now. I am sorry the great Conservators of your priviledges, &c. in the Bay, are making rods for their own backs, & the backs of others. Some say my ffather * is to be layd by this eleet^{n}, as too great a freind to Cæsar, not caring for or regarding the concerns of your *R.publ.* &c. I think they cannot doe him a greater kindnes. God forbid the reines of that poor Colony should bee under his hand. P. T. in the N. West, with others of the same complexion, that have skill to guide a plow-tail, may bee the fittest men to steer a C[ommon] Wealth. I well remember in Rome of old, some were fetchd from the plow to lead an army; & so *vice versa*, & why not as good now? It is plain wee need no enemyes to conspire our rvine. Our sins & follies will doe it too fast. S^{r}, pray let me vnderstand by the bearer what newes you have from England by private letters, &c. Perhaps some ships will bee arrived before his return, & please to coñvnicate your thoughts of your own affaires, both with reference to England and among your selves. I would fain know how that cursed Bratt Toleration is favoured by your new Justices, & whether the old stand firm, &c. I have made much Inquiry but haue had no satisfactory answer. S^{r}, I mvst not adde at present, but my own & wives hearty love & service to yourself & good Cosen (to whom pray give the inclosed) hoping yov never forgett us for the best things in the best place, & so rest Dear Sir

Yours in great truth, S: Bradstreet.

I am at present, I thank God, indifferent well, but far from well, God knowes, and whether I shall ever have the health I have had is with Him who healeth all our diseases, who sends forth His word & does it. M^{r} Ffitch † is very infirm; has not preached

* Gov. Simon Bradstreet. See note to his letters.

† Rev. James Fitch, of Norwich. See note to his letters.

many times this winter, not at all of late. If God should remove him it would bee a great blow to the Colony, & the ruine, almost, of that town. The death, sicknes and infirmitiey of so many ministers has an awfull aspect with it. S^r^, you will not forgett him in your prayers; — nor poor me, not to bee named with him.

SIMON BRADSTREET TO INCREASE MATHER.

[I suppose this dated about March or April 1683. — PRINCE.]

R^p^ & DEAR S^R^, — My weak hand (through my abiding Indisposition,) will not suffer me to write many lines. I received the verses & Almanacks you sent, & thank yourself & my cosen your sonne. I think his verses were in time & tune, & his Almanack too,* only I must confesse I see, (tho: I well know what is said by some) no religion in Hebrew mo^ths^, nor irreligion in calling a vessell Castor & Pollux, &c.

S^r^, I send you herewith some papers I received the last fall from Barbadoes, from a Gentl. I was severall years since acquainted with. I shall also inclose his letter, and have nothing further to adde about it, but only to hear your judgment of it. I sent him word I purposed to send it to yourself, who had much studyed that point, & to give an account thereof by the next. If any of it bee misplaced, it will easily bee regulated by the figures. The Rom^e^ against the masse might well bee printed, if any would bee at the charge.

S^r^, wee have no newes here but what comes from you, and some of it as to Cranfeild's motions, &c., hath an ill aspect, but I hope He that sitts in Heaven will turn all such counsells into foolishnes. If wee can keep God our freind, no matter who are our enemies. But I fear this is our great wound; wee are making God our enemy, & that upon many accounts, too long to write. I think now, if ever, it's the time for N. E., especially for magistrates & Ministers to putt on all the armour of God, that they may stand in the evil day, & not to desert or betray the cause

* Mr. Cotton Mather published an Almanack for 1683, begs with March. — [PRINCE.]

they have so long espoused. Sir, I cannot adde at present but my own & wive's service to yourself & cosen, with respects to my cosens your children, desiring your dayly remembrance of me in my weak & low estate, & so rest, Dear Sir,

Yours in much truth, S. BRADSTREET.

S^r^, I hope you will send mee by the first [*sic*] your discourse about Cometts,* with your Sermon upon the last Comett.

Please to keep the papers safe, I send, for if they obtain no *Imprimatur*, I have promised to return them.

S^r^, The author of these papers is an Englishman, but born in France, & as he told me, he lived in Paris near twenty years before he knew any other place. I note this only that yov would excuse some words which are neither good French nor English.

SIMON BRADSTEET TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Rev^d^ Mr Increase Mather, Teacher of a Ch^h^ of Christ in Boston.

N: LONDON, April 24. 83.

R^p^ & DEAR S^r^, — Yours of April the 2^d^. with the books to myself & Mr. Ffitch & the letters, I received last night. I shall take the very first opportunity to send Mr. Ffitch his book & the letter. S^r^, I am your great debtor upon these accounts, & desire to bee so still. I beleive this discourse you sent me will have as serious and solemn an influence upon those who read it, as many practicall Sermons in a larger volû. I am glad any putt it into your heart to spend some time on such a subject, & think you deserve more then thankes for the paines you have taken.

As to the MSS. I sent, I expected you would say much what you write. As for the *Imprimatur*, if any would joine with yourself, I doe not perceive you are fond of its seeing the light. The knack (?) of the masse, (if yourself would regulate the presse, & putt it into some better forme, & those who can spare money

* Printed 1683. — PRINCE.

would vndertake the matter,) I am apt to think may doe some good. But you are better acquainted with the humors of the people than I am. I expect every day, by a ship belonging to this place, to hear from Mr. Row, & perhaps I shall have the scripts he mentions in his letter. As to what you hint of my kinsmans Almanack, you seem to presse it too hard. I was as innocent as yourself in your reply. Wee all three agree in the matter, nor did I think otherwise than what you say, as to his intention, &c.; nor doe my words (as well as I remb^{r},) import any thing further. Before this comes to your hands you will hear of the death of our Governor.* God is able to make up our losse, but our choice runs very low, both as to Governor, &c.

Sir, what you mention as to speciall providences in this Colony, &c. I suppose you have an account already. As to this ꝑticular place, I could send you many things (having for many years kept such a Journall) but many of them, and the most considerable, reflect so much upon surviving freinds & relations, that I doe not account it prudent to meddle in them; yet I purpose (if I live a few weeks) to send yov one or two, (if not more,) of very solē providences in this place. My weaknes & hast of the messenger, will not suffer it now.

S^{r}, let me hear often from you, what newes you have, &c. As to evil times coming on vs, & the world, &c. I be[lie]ve no two ꝑsons in the world are more agreed. Pray for me & mine. I am, yours, S. B.

* William Leete, Governor of Connecticut, died at Hartford, April 16, 1683.

LETTERS OF JOSEPH DUDLEY.*

JOSEPH DUDLEY TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the reverend Mr. Increase Mather, Pastor of the 2d Chh: of Xt in Boston.

Reverend Sr, — A litle discourse from your self, & more from others, hath Informed me of unkindness & Distance grown between your self and Mr. John Cotton, your Kinsman & mine; for which I am deeply sorry, knowing that your resentment & representation thereof will tend to his utter ruine; & for that, he is a person of good Descent, & hopes, & I think of present good Improvement; & if God please hereafter, may be of much more, I am Concerned to Intreat your favour for him. I am Ignorant of perticulars & would be so, but pray you on his behalf to Consider that what he is & hath of vallue in him, which I hope is not a litle, is, under God, of your own Making, & it is an argument to be used to good men, as unto God, destroy not the work of your hands. Remember that he is young, & if he should strive to fly before he is flegg[d], you may laugh at him, but not suffer him to break his Neck. I have written to him to advize a retrenchment of any aversation grown from yourself, & shall further say when opportunity presents. In the mean time I humbly pray your favor for him & the work in his hands, & which you will not deny for my self, who am, Sr,

Your humble servt, J. Dudley.

Roxb. Decemb. 12, 1681.

* Joseph Dudley [H. C. 1665], son of Governor Thomas Dudley, was Representative in 1673–5, Assistant from 1676 to 1685, President of the Colonies of Mass. and N. H. 1686, was of Andros's Council, and imprisoned here at the Revolution. He went to England in 1689, was Deputy Governor of the Isle of Wight eight years, and came back in 1702, with a commission as Governor, which office he filled till November, 1715.

JOSEPH DUDLEY TO EDWARD RANDOLPH.*

D. to R.

Dec. 1, 1684.

I WROTE you my willingness to sustain some place in the Regulation.

You will bee very easily capable to recommend your best Friends, who will bee such also as may bee acceptable to the Body of this people.

Lett not particular persons be shutt up from Redress of Ill Issues here.

I would bee glad that the *Placita coronæ* might bee shut up, except the Treasonable Libel, which I can gett no copy of.

Here is a strange Spirit in some of the people, towards Mr St.[oughton] † & Bu.[llivant] ‡ but beyond all account against my self, — of which, if the New-Settlement should take no notice, however they may bee disappointed, they will fling up their caps for joy, that wee are neglected.

If his Majesty should at first betrust the Governm^t^ wholly to persons among us, I am sure the charge would be the less, & I beleeve the service performed to good satisfaction, both to His Majesty & people.

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* This letter, and that which follows, together with one or two letters of Edward Randolph, which will be found in their proper place in this volume, are from a connected series of extracts from letters among the Mather papers, in the handwriting of Cotton Mather. The whole series is indorsed by Increase Mather, "Extracted out of lres written by Mr Randolph and Dudley."

† William Stoughton [H. C. 1650] went to England, and was, by order of Parliament, created a Fellow of New College, Oxford. He preached the Election Sermon in 1668; was an Assistant from 1671 to 86; Commissioner of the United Colonies, and agent to England; of the Council of Andros, but fell in with the popular tide at his deposition, and was nominated Lieutenant Governor. After the recall of Sir William Phips, he became chief magistrate, and again after the death of Lord Bellomont. — *Savage's "Geneal. Dict.," etc.*

‡ Benjamin Bullivant was a physician from London, made Attorney General, acted under Andros, was imprisoned at the revolution, but remained in New England.

JOSEPH DUDLEY TO EDWARD RANDOLPH.

D. to R.

June 7, 1684.

I suppose, notwithstanding all the Delayes you complain of, if Mr Atturney General please, *Trinity Term* may end His Majties suit, & make Way for his perfect Satisfaction. When I may expect to satisfy myself.

I have since sometimes Drank your Health at my Dame Taylor's.

Wee well know that your Influence & Industry may prevail much. Sr Wee drink your Health, & are

Your most humble Servts

J. D.

Thaddeus Mackarty.

JOSEPH DUDLEY TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Reverend Mr Increase Mather, at Cambridge.

Reverend Sr, — My son aequaints me that he wayts upon you at the Colledge this day, where these may find you, & where I have reason, amongst & beyond many others, to give you my sincere thanks for your eare & service. I have humbly to offer you a litle sober & well disposed son,* who though very yong, if he may have the favour of admittance, I hope his learning will be tollerable; & for him I will promise that by your & my Care, his own Indnstry, & the blessing of God, his Mother, the Vniversity shall not be ashamed to allow him the place of a son at seaven years end. I pray you will please to appoynt a time when he may wayt on you to be examined, which his Brother Thomas † may prepare him for.

I am Sr, your servt, J. Dudley.

Aprill 26. 86.

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* Afterward Chief Justice Paul Dudley [H. C. 1690].

† Thomas Dudley [H. C. 1685].

JOSEPH DUDLEY TO EDWARD RANDOLPH.

To Edward Randolph, Esq.

S^R^, — I made my Excuse yesterday to M^r^ West * for my absence. I am this morning ill & uncapable to ride. You have already a coppy of the letter you desire,† & that which is in my hand is not M^r^ Mather's own writing, but only his subscription. What may be done by the one will alike be done by the other. Give my humble Service to his Excelleney.‡ I wish his health while I want my own,

Your serv^t^, J. DUDLEY.

15 Dec. 1687.

Memorand. that this 29^th^ Decemb. 1687, I was at Roxbury with the President, who owned the Inclosed to be a true coppy of M^r^. Mathers h̄e, And At any tyme on occasion he would have the Originall In court. GILES MASTER. §

JOSEPH DUDLEY TO COTTON MATHER.

To the Reverend M^r^ Cotton Mather at his house in Boston.

REV^D^ S^R^, — I am told that this morning is a last opportunity for the rolling away the stone from the mouth of this Sepulchre, where I am buried alive, in which I yet trouble you for your Assistance.

The Committee of the Deputyes being to Make their return, and the House accordingly to pass their resolve, if S^r^ William ‖ could yet be moved to speak to the House, of which I understand he hath yet been prevented, I beleive it might obtayn. Besides any bonds I will give them my oath, if there be reason, not to depart from my answer; to which I eannot live if I must be here restrayned. My chief serv^t^ is yesterday run away, & I have no body to steer my husbandry, upon which a great family depends. I am, S^r^,

Your affectionate se^rt^ J. DUDLEY.

21 June, 1689.

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* John West, secretary of the government of Andros, was sent home with him in 1689.

† See page 100.

‡ Andros.

§ Called King's Attorney in Sewall's Diary.

‖ Sir William Phips.

LETTERS OF JOHN AND THOMAS BAILEY.*

JOHN BAILEY TO INCREASE MATHER.

These ffor the Reverend Mr Increase Mather, Minister of the Gospell in New England, present.

LIMERICK, May 27, 82.

REVEREND & DEAR SIR, — I, lately, at the desire of my Cousin, Mr Edwd Willy (the bearer herof) wrote to your worthy Brother in Dublin on his behalf, giving him as fair & faithfull an account as I was able, both of him & his, of his reasons & ends in this great & weighty undertaking; and with all begged your Brother to improve his interest in you for him & his, both as to the outward & inward man. All which he has most readily granted, (for which I thank him,) & has in his to you given the contents (I pceive) of mine to him, which may now save me much labour, and I hope it will not stick at your door, of doing for them what lyes in your power to do. I had thought somewhat freely & largely to have unbossomed myself unto you, tho a stranger, but am at pr'sent taken off by bodily illness, & so am forced to be silent. The wofull, sinfull & sinking condition of these nations would be too large now for me to tell you, I leave it to the bearer. How New England is aimed at (tho thats not the present work of

* Rev. John Bailey began to preach at Chester, in England, at the age of 22. He afterwards went to Ireland, and abode at Limerick fourteen years. He suffered long imprisonment for nonconformity, although he was unblamable and inoffensive. "Though not ejected from any living, he was prevented from enjoying one." His own words in his diary describe his character: "I desire to get three things, patience under the calamities of life, impatience under the (moral) infirmities of life, and earnest longings for the next life. O that I may not be of the number of them that live without love, speak without feeling, and act without life."

He came over in 1683; preached first as assistant to Rev. Samuel Willard, at the third, or Old South, Church; was settled, Oct. 6, 1686, as successor to John Sherman, at Watertown, and July 17, 1693, as assistant minister of the First Church in Boston. He died Dec. 12, 1697. Cotton Mather, at his desire, preached his funeral sermon on Psalm 31, 5. His younger brother, Thomas, accompanied him to this country, and acted as his assistant at Watertown, where he died, Jan. 21, 1689. See Calamy's "Nonconformist's Memorial;" Mather's "Magnalia," etc.

the adversary,) I leave that to my good friend Mr Archibald Ereskin by letter to acquaint you, who hath very lately been in England. God has, of and by His grace, lately made a people here that once was no people. Mr. Willy & his very good wife, Mr Tho. Key & his growing wife for heaven, gave up themselves vissibly, first to the Lord and then to us, by the will of God. I hope they will take care to walk as becomes the gospell. They have been of use & comfort to me. I hope they will not faile me at last. Many advices and well-wishings goes along with them. Its likely to prove a very sad parting. The Lord carry me with soul advantage through it. My poor people cannot tell how near & dear they are to me. There has of late yeares crept in, just as Poligamy of old, a spirit of too much vanity & unallowed liberty amongst Professors themselves, both in their spirit & habit; if this you see in any of them, I doubt not but it will be easily cured by a serious, secret & sweet admonition; for they have been always tractable, & would not willingly grieve me for the greatest gaine or pleasure. Tho these nations are probably within a very litle of desolation and ruine, unless God by an outstretched hand from heaven appear for them, yet I greive (at p^sent) few or none, at least in this Kingdome, inclined unto or concerned about removeing, excepting this place, and the generality of the people here, over whom the Lord has set me. I cannot tell what the mind of God is in it, but if I would have now removed, many of my people would have rejoyced to have gone with me; and only stayes with me as an act of love & self denyall. Mr Willy, so far as we, according to the judgm^t of charity can judge, goes upon a religious & conscientious account, chusing to leave his posterity under the gospell, so that I hope friends will be raised up for the good of him & those that goe with him. Under whose ministry they may be cast I know not, but hope some will be found ready to watch over them in the Lord, administring all ordinances to them. I am sorry to part with his eldest son Rich^d, who has of late come hopefully in at the call of the Gospell, tho always sober, being well educated. I hope I may say the same of his eldest daughter, Sarah. Oh that their convictions may not be lost, but may by some good help or other be ripened unto saving conversion & eternall life! My dear Cousin M^rs Willy & also M^rs Key are sometimes drooping & discouraged, but I do

not doubt they will meet with some Son of Consolation or other that will speake to their heart & take them by the hand. Pardon, (dear S^{r},) this sickly & confused scrible. I canot but be concerned for my poor soules, but alass, my heart is too sick & too full to write.

The Lord save you from Jesuitts & all other evill Instruments; the Lord save you from heart formality & the secret love of this world; the Lord help you to maintaine your old peace & purity, enabling you to walk worthy of the many priviledges you do enjoy unto all well pleasing. This and much more is the hearty pray^{r} of him for you all, who is

Your unworthy Broth^{r} in the work of the Gospell,

Jo: Bailye.

I hope I need not to beg your prayers for us. Who can forgett these lovely Kingdomes, that ever was in them or has read or heard of them?

I gott my brother * (who is occasionally very vsefull to me in the Gospell) to transcribe these lines, I not being well, & he writing better. Pardon, I pray, this trouble I putt you to. I am a totall stranger to every body else there. I cant but make more bold with you then another vpon the account of my strong Affection to & great Intimacy with your dearest Br., now in heaven, (viz.) M^{r} Sam. Mather. ffarewell, Deare S^{r}.

THOMAS BAILEY TO COTTON MATHER.

For his honoured Freind the Rever^{d} Mr. Cotton Mather, minist^{r} of the Gospell in Boston in New-Engl^{d}, America. pr Amicū Q. C. D.

Limerick, June 6th, 83.

Worthy & kind S^{R}, — Your very kind lines I receeived by dear Bro. Willy, Feb. 6th $\frac{82}{83}$, whose face I was glad to see, & the lines was to read. I have often heard of N. E., & long agoe, but never took no great heed to it, only as ꝑsons too often dis-

* Rev. Thomas Bailey. See his letter next following, and also the notice of him, in connection with that of his brother, affixed to this letter.

course of things remote & at randome; but of late, since your late troubles begun, since which ours have begun & continue, there have been more serious discourses about it, for during your disturbances were there frequent & fervent remẽbrances of you, I suppose the kingdom throughout, in country places as well as others, & many solemn ꝑticular occasions & opportunitys set apart to seek God for you, God's interest in generall, and N. E. especially being dear to all his, & a great measure of sympathy & spirit of prayer I well remẽber was seen that time amongst his people here. Since your troubles ended, ours begun, which has awakened the minds, & opened the eyes of many, & made them to look about them, to see where God's chambers are, wherein they may hide themselves. But alas! where shall we fly from his presenc; from his vengance, poor guilty runagades from God? Its best for us draw nigh to God, to his place & grace. 90 Ps. 1. Lord, thou hast been, not has found, a place. His name is the surest sanctuary in the world we shall [have] trouble, be we were we will, in X^{t} alone is peace. Within or without will be fightings & feares. If others do not, we shall create ourselves exercise. If not in the macrocosm, we shall never want it in the microcosm. Not but that there are places in the earth more desirable, peacable & safe than others, & that its lawfull, nay, a duty to fly. But how few amongst us in flying, take the right way, or begin at the right end of their work? They come to God, & look to Him in the last place, 5 Hos. 13, 15. How might God fulfill his threatenings? 24 Isa. 15, 17, 18; 30, 15, 16. Oh, that these nations could follow their leader & his orders! 2 Chr. 7, 14; 37 Ps. 3.; 4 Jer. 1; 15 Gen. 1.; 17, 1; but, alass! dear S^{r}, we shall not do well, no saying will do, we must into the fires, we must feel the smart of God's displeasure, before we shall learn righteousness. Oh! the insencibleness, security & profanity of the most ꝑt of men, & oh, the nonproficiency of professors. We have very much left God, & now he leaves us. How many fall of, & fall away. How blind & mad, deceived & deluded are our conforming clergy; all for the Duke of York, all against Dissenters, filling their pulpitts with railings, but I need not insist here, for both my brother Willy & the constant tidings from Old Engl^{d} will fill your ears & hearts with these things. Scotland has suffered sore & long, many suffering death, so that the enemy has done his work

there. No assembly meetings, they are broken to pieces, sinc which they fell upon their work in Engl[d]. But Oh! their prudence, patiene, & conrage, the good heart & hopes they seem to have & retain, & poor we, in Ireland, are quiet and in peac, enjoying our libertys as formerly, & truly, S[r], we are the most to be pittyed. Our neighbouring nations are suffering greatly, but we are sinning greatly. Oh! that we knew the things that belong to our peace, in this our day. Oh! the many mercys we have, & obligations we lye under! Oh, what shall Ireland render to the Lord for all his benefitts? Oh! how much wisdom & grace do we want & our case require to the due managem[t] & emprovem[t] of such circũstantiated libertys & priviledges as we enjoy. Our turn to suffer will come. God is calling Old Scotland & Old Engl[d] to it first. His old disciples, the people of his Holiness here has but enjoyed the sanctuary a litle while. We are but young, weak, unexperienced, not yet accustomed to such yokes. We are beholden to the Papist for our libertys, for they have publick & open masses, & they cannot for shame medle so with us as otherwise they would. Some are inclined to think God will wholly forsake these nations. But will God give up so great a people, the 1000[d] pt of which can never remove? Will he do nothing for his great name? Is God's pouring forth a spirit of prayer night & day amongst some, his of late yeares spreading the gosp. into many of the blind ꝑts, bordes, & corners of Scotland & Engl[d], to the gaining of many to the faith, blessing many with hopes, conrage & resolution to stand to it & by it; is there any thing in these and such like premisses to draw such a conclusion from? Is it not now betwixt Protestant & Papist? Have we not promises for the Kingd[s] of the world becomeing the Kingd. of X[t]? Have not these nations shaken off a papall yoke, & many kingdomes besides? Is it not concluded to be now under AntiX[ts] begun ruine? Certainly He will not leave them nor forsake them, so long. 54 Isa. 7, 8; 89 Ps. 30; 77, 7, &c. But I must divert you no longer. It is not for any good frame I am in, that I thus enlarg, for I never was worse, never so diverted, disjoynted, distracted, & afflicted as of late, & yet like to be longer so. But to pass by ꝑsonall, nationall, & European matters, I rest satisfyed abundantly in what you write of N. E., for no doubt it is so. N. E. is not N. E., A great decay of the old

primitive purity, humility & holiness, which easily may be through the flocking in of others from other ꝑts; & yet, no doubt, no place has more of God's pʳsence then N. E. These things may be easily reconciled, for it may be the most holy place, tho not so pure as at first. Most places & ꝑsons degenerate, & rather grow worse then better; & God has upon that account a controversy with all his people. Also I have heard, & so you write, worlimindedness to be one of their evills; but you have a remedy for these that we have not, a godly magistracy; had we that here, we should as much outdo you every ways, as you outdo vs. Ireland may compare with most places for rich soyl, plenty of most things, & a very moderate clymate for cold & heat. Could we but procure a Magistracy suitable to what might [*sic*] of a ministry, I know none might compare with us, for there are no doubt some 1000^{ds} of able ministers in Scotland & England. Ireland has but few, it being but a planting, as it were, in that respect, though the North is very full. As to our 2 familys now with you, mentioned in yours, we were sorry to part with them, being relations, & some of the chief of our Xtians; my sister Willy & country woman Key, being 2 experienced souls, of which sort I hope we have a good many yet behind. As I begun, so I may end, your troubles in N. E., & ours in O. E. made us mostly to bear us in your thoughts, so now our dear kinsfolks & Countrifolks being there, will & always does enlarg our hearts in prayer for you. I hope they will carry as becomes the gosp. I have wrote to them all. After thanks for your lines, & my love to yourself, & begging your prayers, I rest, as I ought,

Your ffreind & Servᵗ, T. B.

JOHN BAILEY TO INCREASE MATHER.

These ffor the Reverend my worthily respected ffreind Mr. Increase Mather, Minister of the Gospell in New England present. att Boston in N. E.

LIMERICK, June the 12ᵗʰ 83.

MOST DEAR & REVEᴰ Sᴿ,—I did by the hand of my cousin Willyc (whom I was very glad to see) receave your courtious &

christian lines, bearing date Oct. 9th 82. It rejoyceth me greatly to heare of the safe arrivall of those 2 poore ffamilyes in N. E.; & that God hath graciously given them ffavour in the eyes of that pious people. Oh, that they may be enabled to walk worthy of God & his manyfold kindnesses to all well pleasing! In partieular I most hartily thank you (my very Dear Brother) ffor your great readines to help any of them, at any time, in any thing that lyes in your way; all which I not only vnderstand by letters, but by word of mouth. Indeed you should not be a right Lancashire Mather if it were in any wise otherwise. I am sorrye to vnderstand both by you & others, what endeavours have been vsed in order to the hurting or hindering of you as to eivill & spirituall libertyes. You are in the handes of the wise & ffaithfull God, whose pathes (ever, all of them) are mercy & Truth to his own people. God seemes to have a controversy with his ꝓfessing people every where. Where shall we hide ourselves this evill day? Or where may we think of being vsefull to the name & glory of God for a litle while? Alas! every door, almost, is shutt already. God is now teaching us dayly to depend vpon himself for all the good we stand in need off. Oh, that N. England may be enabled of God to walk closely with him, & to maintain purity in worship & in walking, that so mercy & goodnes, peace & truth may follow them all the dayes of their life. Before this storme blow over, I suppose greater light will be afforded to vnderstand the book of the Revelation then hitherto hath been. As for the present ease of England & Scotland, & what is likely ere long to overtake us here, Mr Willye will be more then a score of letters to you, being an eye & eare witnesse of many things. This poor people, (& I also for their saks) had many Inclinations, nay, almost Resolutions ffor N. E., but were taken off, or at least delayed, by Providence. But this is too large now to speake off. Mr. Willye will acquaint you more ffully then I now, at this distance, can. I desire to rejoyce with you in the great mercy I understand you have in your sonn. The Lord prosper him in his worke, & give him to obtain mercy to be ffaithfull. My hartye love to him, tho vnknown. I had thought to have written to him, but at present am indisposed every way. My poor wife at present is in Dublin to see her ffather, Mr. John Price, who she hath not seen this pritty while. The last night, per post, they, both of them, desired most affec-

tionatly to be remembered to you. I do most hartily thanke you, (Dear Sir) ffor your very kind & unexpected tokens of love, I meane, those serious, seasonable, & ꝑfitable books of your own writing. Nothing could have been more welcome to me. The Good Lord greatly succeed all your holy labours in studye, pulpitt, & presse. I am sorrye I eanᵗ retaliatt, being east in the end of the kingdome, at a great distance ffrom Books, especially new ones. Your worthy brother in Dublin is well. I had a letter from him lately, & wrote to him ꝑ post, the last night. Our ease is likely to be very badd in this plaee, tho at present we have our libertye. Let us have your prayers. My love & serviee to Mrs. Mather. I must conelude, having a humour ffallen into my eye, whieh grows badd by houlding down my head. No more now, but that I am,

Yours in the ffaith & ffellowship of the Gospell,

Jo: Bailye.

Mr. Ersskin, who of late is very much out of town, desired to be kindly remembered to you, with many thanks for the good books you sent him.

LETTERS OF JOHN RICHARDS.*

JOHN RICHARDS TO INCREASE MATHER.

For the Rev^d M^r Increase Mather, Teacher of a Church of Christ in Boston in New England. p^r Mr. Tho. Joles.

LONDON, Aug. 21; 1682.

DEAR S^R, — I could not omitt this oppertunity of saluting yo^w & giving yo^w my hearty acknowledgement for your great kindenes to, & care of, my wife, & family, in my absence, of which am pticularly enformed by her, which I trust yo^w will still continue. Your severall papers comitted to me, I have with all care disposed according to direction, onely M^r Collins's, who hath not been in towne since our arivall. Many of this Citty being now at Tunbridge, at the waters. I heard lately that your brother, in Ireland, is well. One of his church was lately here, but I missed him, not hearing of him till a litle after he was gone. Affaires here, as to the publique, very perplexed. Jealousyes & animosityes encreasing. Dissenters suppressed, their meetings prevented by soldiers, or they many times seized & proceeded against, by fines, &c. The Duke of Yorke had like to have been lost on the Sands, in his voyage to Scotland to fetch the Dutchesse. Escaped narrowly. Many of the men lost, the frigott staved; but is since with his Duchesse arived at St. James's, where shee is brought a bed of a daughter. The *Quo Warranto* ag^t the Citty is to be tryed next terme. Great strugglings here as to the choice of Sheriffs. The King is resolved to regulate that election, to

* John Richards was a wealthy merchant of Boston. He came over, says Dr. Palfrey, in 1644, with his father. Mr. Savage says that his father came in the "Mary and John," with his sons James and John, and was of Dorchester, in 1630. John was of the Artillery company in 1644. He was a captain and major; a Representative successively for Newbury, Hadley, and Boston. He was an Assistant and a Judge of the Supreme Court. "A high friend of Liberty." He married, first a step-daughter of John Winthrop, of Massachusetts, and next, a daughter of John Winthrop, of Connecticut. See Savage's Geneal. Dict.; Palfrey's Hist. vol. iii. p. 342. He was chosen agent of the Colony to England, in the place of William Stoughton, who declined, March 16, 1681.

prevent such Juryes as haue been formerly chosen. The present Lord Mayor is dissatisfactory to the Citty. There is a peace made with the Turke, but our captives are to be ransomed at the price they shall please. It is reported that the Emperor is coñing downe with a great Army against the French, & hath procured a truce with the Turke, that he may attend this designe. Our affaires vnder great disadvantages. What ever is objected or reported against us findes great creditt, & is difficultly taken off. We are repr̃sented such a people as need great Regulations. I feare, if mercy prevent not, the dissolution of our Goverm̃t is intended. Sr, It is a hard service we are engaged in. We stand in need of helpe from Heaven; & trust yow & all God's faithfull ones among you will be dayly petitioners at that Throne in our behalfe, that wisdome & counceil & all supplyes of Grace may be afforded, as the matter from time [to] time may require. God is againe threatening a sinfull world by tokens of His displeasure, a blazing star appearing againe in the heavens. I saw it, 18th instant, about the north-west, neer 8 of the clock in the evening, the blaze about a yard long. Great is the patience & long-suffering of God, that is so often warning before He brings desolating judgments. For more p̃ticular newes as to our affaires, I referr to what we haue given to the Honred Governr. I am straitned as to time, at pr̃sent, must beg your excuse. Pray present my respects to Mrs. Mather, Mr Cotton & your family, Lt Turell, Doctor Stone, Lt Way,* & such of our brethren & sisters as their may be occasion, begging all their prayers to God in my behalfe. I cannot enlarge at pr̃sent, further, but to subscribe

Your obliged freind & servt, JOHN RICHARDS:

Mr Dudley engageth me to present his kinde respects to your selfe & good Mrs Mather, & your son Mr Cotton.

Pray give my kinde respects to good Mr Eliott, Mr Willard, my cossen Torrey, Pr̃sident Rogers, Mr Hobart, Mr Andrew, Mr John Cotton, of whose dayly remembrance at the Throne of Grace we are very confident.

* Richard Way, of Dorchester, was a cooper, and "a man of substance, a lieutenant, and served at Castle Island, under Roger Clap; also Farmer-General of the imposts in 1674." Savage's Geneal. Dict.

JOHN RICHARDS TO INCREASE MATHER.

For the Reverd Mr. Increase Mather, Teacher to a Church of Christ in Boston in New England, These. pr Mr John Foy.

London, Sept. 25, 1682.

Rever^p S^r, — Your kinde lines per M^r Plaice, of July 27 last, came to my hand the 20^th instant. And I hereby render you my thanks for recomending me so lovingly to Doctor Owen. He hath been much out of towne since I came, so that I have not yet spake with him. I have been at his house once or twice, & left some letters which I brought for him; but not seen him but once in the Pulpitt. Neither have I yet seen Mr. Plaice, nor received that booke yo^w mention, so have not been to deliver your letter to the Doctor. I really rejoice (& principally with yourselfe) that God is so farr yet owning his owne worke among yo^w, & adding to yo^w such as are meet to stand in His house. Methinks it is sometime encouragement to me, in the middest of other sorrowfull thoughts, that God will not yet give vp His poor people, but remember mercy for us, all our provocations notw^thstanding. The truth is our case is come to a Crisis. They are resolved here of their way, and put us to a hard choice; either to empower ꝑsons here fully instructed & commissionated, to accept of such Regulations of our Government as shall be propounded, &c., or else a *Quo Warranto* will within 4 monethes proceed against our Charter. The whole of our proceeding, & their conclusion as aboue, I have given to Cap^t Fisher & haue desired him to show it yo^w, & take your Advice. The Lord direct yo^w & us. We had last weeke M^r Knowles & some other friends at M^r Collins's house in a solemne day to commend our case to God. We hope we haue many prayers goeing for us amongst yo^w. I am sorry to hear the Colledge is yet unsettled, as to a P^rsident. Pray please to put the corporacon vpon chuseing a Treasurer.* I doe hereby give yo^w my vote for M^r Sam^l Nowell,† whose name yo^w may cutt

* John Richards was Treasurer of the College from 1669 to 1682, and again from 1686 to 1693.

† Samuel Nowell was chosen Treasurer of the College in 1682, and remained in office till 1686.

out here, & put in for me, if it will be admitted. If God should lengthẽn my life to returne, I shall not accept that trouble againe. Here is moneys due which I shall enquire after, but whether it will not be needfull that some power be sent me from the Corporacõn to receive & discharge, I question. To be sure it will doe no hurtt. I am amazed at that tragicall newes about Mr Taylor.* What are poore creatures if God leave us to ourselves. Of all men in Boston I could not haue guessed Mr Taylor to be the author of such an Act. I desire to be ledd into the consideracõn of what is in my owne heart by the fall of others. It is devine grace that putts & maintaines the difference. All the newes from hence yow will gather best from the papers sent the Governr. The great thing now talked of is the seizure of the Duke of Monmouth, pr a Sergeant at Armes, in his progresse in Cheshire, on accompt of a Riott. Many Gentlem & others manifesting their affections to him, are said to haue exceeded due measures. He is expected in towne this night. Great endeavours in this Citty on both sides (the Court & Citty pty) about election of Sherriffs. Can the Court prevail, Juryes more fitt to serve the King would be procured, which some are affrayd of. About Bristoll the Dissenters miserably harrassed. They say 1,300 prosecuting now upon the Acts against Non Conformists. Meetings much disquieted here; but they yet continue their course. How long they will be suffered the Lord knowes. I desire to bewayle my neglect in that diligent improvemt of those quiet sabbathes that I sometime enjoyed with yow. Pray God sanctify all providences to eternall good. Present my due respects to Mrs. Mather, Mr Cotton, Mrs Maria, with the rest of your family, & all our Brethren & Sisters, as yow have occasion; to all the Reverend Elders, Colledg Corporacõn & other friends; & pray Sir, continue your love to & care of my family. Not else but to subscribe, Sr,

Your assured loving freind & servt, JOHN RICHARDS.

Mr Dudley † prsents his kinde respects to yourselfe & Mrs. Mather, &c.

* William Taylor, of Boston, an active and enterprising merchant, became melancholy, and died by suicide, 12th July, 1682.

† Gov. Joseph Dudley was in England at this period.

This day Mr Plaice brought me your bookes. I prsently waited on Dr. Owen & prsented his, who I suppose will write yow as much. Shall take time to deliver the other with the first, but the ships being ready to sayle am very buisy writing. Possibly may attend it before the ships goe.

JOHN RICHARDS TO INCREASE MATHER.

For the Revd Mr Increase Mather, Minister in Boston In N: England, These. pr Mr Jno Grafton pr viā Barbadoes.

London, Decem. 12th 1682.

Revd Sr, — The many favours I stand indebted to yow for, espetially your continued care of, and kindnes to my family in my absence, enforceth this aeknowledgement. It is likewise some refreshment, amidst the Sorrowfull circumstances that I labour vnder, to converse sometimes, though but in this way, with those that are so deservedly deare to me on many accounts. And judging this may be the first after the long & silent winter, I doe hereby salute yow, & give yow to vnderstand, that through God's goodnes, & helpe of your prayers, I am yet vnder the enjoyment of health & many mercyes, even in the midst of difienltyes & feares that doe attend us. I trust yor & all friends will not be wanting to me in that kinde. It is one of my greatest comforts & releefs to consider the stock of prayers are goeing for us. As to our affaires there is nothing new since our last, onely that one Thaire of Brantree is arived with fresh complaints, thô we haue not yet recd any order about it, receive it onely by information. It is a sorrowfull time with the Dissenters, their ministers prosecuted with much violence, on the Act of 40l p moneth and other Acts. Mr Baxters house broken open, & his person & goods seized, (he was afterwards released). Mr Mead's goods seized, but he escaped. Mr Cookaine, Mr Patridge, their goods seized. Mr Franklin & M. James imprisoned, & Mr Wise. Others sought after faine to conceal themselves, & convey their very household stufe out of the way. Yet many continue to preach on the Lord's dayes, & some lectures. How farre they will proceed is to be feared.

They are about to excomunicate such Dissenters as come not to their parrish churches, & receive the Sacrament. Here hath been much labour with corporations in reference to their Charters. Many haue submitted to the King's pleasure. Some, espetially London & Oxford, abide the Tryall, which proceeds but slowly. Bermuda's Charter is vnder *Quo Warranto*. Great endeavours in this citty to gett Mayre & Sherriffs suitable to the different interests. Att last Sir Will^m^ Pritch[ard] was sworne Mayor, & M^r^ North & Rich Sherriffs, who on Novem. 29^th^ last entertained the Duke of Yorke at a great Treat in the Citty. The Duke of Yorke recovered this last Terme, one hundred thousand pounds against M^r^ Pilkinton, one of last yeares Sheriffs, on an Action of *Scandalum Magnatum*. Said Pilkinton hath surrendred himselfe & lyes in the King's Bench Prison. The like Action is depending against one Arrowsmith an Apothecary, of 50,000*l*. The Whigg pty (as they call them) are vnder many feares. The Earle of Shaftsberry gon to Holland. They want their *Ignoramus* Juryes. M^r^ Fergoran, [*sic*]a minister, gon to Holland; They say he wrott the No Protestant Plott. The Earle durst not abide it when he peceived who were like to be Maior & Sheriffs. Prince Rupert dyed Novem. 29^th^ past. Marquesse of Worcester made Duke of Beaufort. Viscount Hide made an Earle, (they say of Rochester.) Marquesse Hallifax made Lord Privy Seale. Coll. Ley (they say) to be made an Earle. Duke of Orman made an English Duke p^r^ the same name or title. There happened, about a fortnight since, a great fire in Wapping, 6 or 800 houses (some say more) consumed. It burnt from about 11 of the cloeke Sabbath day night, till 3 or 4 the next day; could not be suppressed though there was much endeavor; many houses blowne up, &c. Much jealousy that it was done by some evill hand, but nothing yet made appeare. Not else at p^r^sent; but with my due respects to M^rs^ Mather & your family, & all our Society, I rest

Your assured freind & serv^t^, JOHN RICHARDS.

Pray give my service to M^r^ Eliott, M^r^ Willard, my Brother Allin, with all the Elders, as there may be oppertunity; begging their constant remembrance at the Throne of Grace. J. R:

Sir, I have one thing to propose to you as to our concernes; That you would discourse the Govern^r^, &c. about: M^r^ Dudley

& myselfe are of opinion that it might be well if the country would send over a dismission of us from further employm^t in their concernes. that might be enclosed to Major Rob^t Thomson, as a paper to be deliverd to vs when we should call for it, & see cause to make vse of it. It might possibly be of use in case we durst not write to the Country about it, least it should be discovered. M^r Dudley will also hint it to some freind. Pray keep this private. J. R.

JOHN RICHARDS TO INCREASE MATHER.

For the Rev^d Mr. Increase Mather, att his house in Boston, in New England, These. p^r Capt. David Edwards.

LONDON, Apr. 20th. 1683.

REV^D S^R, — I wrott you Decem. last, per Mr. Grafton, per viã Barbadoes, which I hope is come to hand. Since which, there is litle alteration, either in publique, or in our private concernes. Things much at the same passe, as to the Publique. The meeting of the Dissenters prevented as much as may be, Constables & other watchmen attending at the doares of the wonted meeting-places generally, keeping them out that they meet not, which is intended as a kindnes, rather then to suffer them to meet, & then app^rhend and prosecute them, the King pressing it upon the Lord Major & Authority in the Citty impartially to execute the lawes against them. Many are excom^municated for not attending att their Parish Churches, & takeing the Sacrament according to Lawes in that case provided, & Capias's out against some, & will come out against many, it is thought; which will be very hard, & put them to their witt's end what to doe. But notwithstanding all, they still continue their meetings, Lord's dayes & Lecture dayes, mostly in private houses, shifting places & the time of the day, that they may be the lesse observed. Doct^r Owen hath been very sickly ever since I came hither almost, seldome preacheth. He & Mr. Lee thanke yo^w for the booke, by my hands conveyed to them. I suppose they haue or will write yo^w. I have minded Mr. Edwards of the Instruments * for the Towne of Boston, as

* Probably mathematical instruments.

you desired me, & haue spoken to one Mr. Colson, who is an eminent mathematitian, to assist him (who helped Mr. Stoughton in what he brought for the Colledge.) & the thing is like to be effected. Many of the things bought already. As for the Colledge Bookes, I shall doe in it what I can. Money is scarce with me here. I came so away that I could not bring much with me. But I am laying out, & if I can procure money, shall likewise see that accomplished. Yo^{w} must be sure to gett the money ready, to answer when I shall draw upon yo^{w}. Lett it be lodged in Mr. Danforth's, or your hand, or some other safe hand. I thinke I shall draw on yourselfe, haueing onely your order about it. As to our affaires, we are held still in doubt what God intends with us. Haue this winter been sometimes in hope of some comfortable issue, but againe cast behinde, (especially since our last ship from New England,) things beare hard upon us, fresh complaints layd in, & easily credited. It is a time of patience. The Lord give grace suitable to our dayly circumstances, fitt His people for mercy, then should I hope the time would not be long. However, (as it was seasonably vrged this morning, at an eight a clock lecture, by one Mr. How, a very able man,) it hath been said, we know all things worke together for good to them that love God; & (saith he) shall we question it now? Make sure of your love to God, & beleive the same still, even vnder the saddest circumstances. I must needs say it is The Support, under those many thoughts of heart that attend me day by day. Pray, S^{r}, lett us still have your fervent & faithfull prayers. Who can tell but God may be intreated & say, that this likewise shall not be, not to our Ruine, but Refinement? Pray continue your care & kindnes to my family. The Lord will reward yo^{w}, & I hope I shall acknowledge it, if God give me to see yo^{w} againe. Present my due respects to the Rev^{d} Elders, as yo^{w} may have occasion, & to the Brethren & Sisters of our church: I trust they are not wanting to us, nor themselves, in their constant addresses to the Throne of Grace for assistance in, & good issue of, our affaires. I shall not give yo^{w} further trouble at p^{r}sent, but with my hearty respects to yourselfe, good Mrs. Mather, Mr. Cotton, our Cambridge friends, &c. rest Your obliged freind & serv^{t}, JOHN RICHARDS:

My ꝑticular respects to the President & Fellowes of the Colledge. Put them in minde of chuseing a new Treasurer, if it be

not already done, and pray see it effected. We shall send Gazetts, which is the best for forreigne intelligence, which the Govern^{r} will readily give yo^{w} the perusall of. Mr. Dudley presents his respects to yo^{w} & your Son Mr. Cotton.

JOHN RICHARDS TO INCREASE MATHER.

For the Rev^{d} M^{r} Increase Mather, in London. To be left with M^{r} John Ive, M^{r}ch^{t}, London. p^{r} Capt Andr^{w} Belcher.

Boston in New England, July 2^{d}, 1688.

Rev^{D} S^{R}, — I wrote yo^{w} by M^{r} W^{m}. Wheeler of April 11th last,* since which there hath been no oppertunity direct vntill now, that I know of. Not long since M^{r} John Eliot shewed me a letter from one M^{r} Joseph Paice of London, M^{r}chant, which signifyed the Lady Holworthy's desire of informaẽon how much was received in New England on account of S^{r} Mathew's Legacy to the Colledge,† & how disposed of. To which I have answered to said Paice that Major Rob^{t} Thomson (at my request) remitted hither twelve hundred thirty-four pounds, two shill. six pence, our money; & it not being feazable to lay it out in Land here, to yeild an yearly rent (as he intimates) because the Incomes would be very litle; It hath been put out at interest, & profitts improved towards maintenance of Fellowes, Schollars of the House, &c. I wrote him also that yourselfe (who had been P^{r}sident some yeares) would apply to her Ladyship, at least to returne thanks for former favours, &c. all which I thought meet to acquaint yo^{w} with. The comencem^{t} is to be managed this yeare by M^{r} W^{m} Hubbard of Ipswich. The Govern^{r} sent to M^{r} Lee to do it, who likewise intended, but was not possitive in his answer, & so M^{r} Hubbard is to manage it, hath been here about it. I am not yet dismissed from my Treasurer's place; but of late some orders

* So M^{r} I. Mather sail'd before Apr. 11, 1688, & he says he sail'd in April, 1688. — Prince.

† Sir Mathew Holworthy was a merchant of Hackney, of great wealth, charity, and piety, knighted by Charles II., in 1665. His bequest was the largest to the College in the seventeenth century. His name was given to the Hall erected in 1812. He died in 1678. — *Quincy's "History of Harvard University."*

have come from the Govern^r^ to me to act in severall ꝑticulars. What is intended I cannot yet gather. The health of your relations, & other ꝑticular affaires yo^w^ will receive by better hands. We haue reason to blesse God for the helpe yo^w^ left with us, I meane in your son, who carryes on affaires very prudently & comfortably amongst us. How ever we cannot but long for your good company, & hope yo^w^ will be industrious to hasten your returne. I beg your prayers, & comitting yo^w^ & your affaires to Devine Guidance, subscribe

Your friend & serv^t^, JOHN RICHARDS:

My cousin Humphry Luscombe * dyed June 10th last, of a strong feavour. Lay by it but a weeke.

* Major Humphrey Luscomb, of Boston.

LETTERS OF THOMAS DANFORTH.*

THOMAS DANFORTH TO INCREASE MATHER.

These ffor the Reverend Mr Increase Mather Pastor of the North Church at Boston.

Camb. 28, 10mo 1682.

Revd Sr, — The order given Mr Hayward to receive the Colledge Papers and Accounts † I saw not vntill this evening after that the Overseers parted, where I do not observe any order that he hath to take care of the Colledge Edifices & Presidents Lodgings, which is a part of the Treasurer's office, and if neglected or putt into such a way as to make that work difficult, will not, in the issue, be found the best method. And although I do heartily desire to quitt that trust, yet cannot with honor to my Acceptance therof from Capt. Richards,‡ consent that any prævious desire of mine should be made the Basis of the present change. Yourselfe well know, a new Treasurer was actually chosen, before I expressed any of my Desires to yourselfe, or to any other Person. But vnderstanding from yourselfe the strennous Desires of the Fellows, that the Papers might be lodg'd in some other hand; As also being inform'd that Insinuations were more privately hinted to the Overseers (or some of them at least) that had a personall Reference to myselfe; I was & still am much heightned in my Desire to quitt that trust. But this matter may be easily

* Thomas Danforth came to New England with his father in 1634, was Representative in 1657–8, Assistant from 1659 to 78, Deputy Governor from 1679 to 86, and again after the usurpation of Andros. He was President for Maine in 1680, and a Judge of the Supreme Court in the Witchcraft Trials in 1692. He was named Treasurer of Harvard College in the Charter of 1650, and held that office eighteen years.

† Danforth, after leaving the office of Treasurer, in 1669, took, by desire of the Overseers, the office of "Steward and Inspector of the Economical affairs of the College," which he held till April, 1682, when John Richards sailed for Europe. He then had "all the accounts and papers concerning the college" placed in his hands. These he held till January, 1682–3. — *Quincy's "History of Harvard University."*

‡ See note to his letters.

salv'd by your positive order for my deliv^{r}y of the Papers, leaving out those words, of my desire therof. And I shall not at all dispute the matter any further, but most readily & thankfully yeild obedience thervnto; only wheras I receiv'd the Pap^{r}s in the presence of the Corporation, & the Colledge Treasury being a matter of Conc^{r}nment, I do desire that with the like clearness I may deliver them again: or, that the Ov^{r}seers or Corporation will please to appoint their Committee, in whose presence it may be acted, & receive my discharge, for so it was when I deliver'd them to Capt. Richards.

I have not yet had time to visitt the President, but intend it in the morning, & in case he declines the time appointed for his Installment,* I shall immediatly give yourselfe notice therof.

S^{r}, with myne & my wife's kind salutes, & tender of many thanks for your reiterated respects, & tender sympathizing with vs in this day of our sorrow, begging the continuance of your Prayers, that we may know how aright to sanctifye the name of the Lord therin, & be made more & more partak^{r}s of His Holyness by all the Lord's dealings with vs, I take leave & am Rev^{d} S^{r},

Your sorrowfull Freind & servant to my Pow^{r},

THO: DANFORTH.

THOMAS DANFORTH TO INCREASE MATHER.

These ffor the Reverend Mr. Increase Mather at Boston, dd.

DECEMB^{R} 30th, 1682.

REV^{D} S^{R}, — Yesterday according to the appointment of the Overseers, the President was inform'd of the time by them ordred for his Installment, wherevnto he did not manifest any Compla-

* Rev. John Rogers. In the College Catalogue, the date of his accession to the office of President of the College is given as April 10, 1682. Quincy, in his "History," says he was chosen and inaugurated in 1683. Mr. Savage, in his "Genealogical Dictionary," assigns the same date. The reference in the letter of Danforth proves the correctness of Mr. Quincy's statement with regard to the *inauguration*, but not as to the *choice*. He was chosen by the Corporation, April 10th, and approved by the Overseers, April 20th, 1682. He appears to have been in Cambridge October of that year, but was not installed till Aug. 14, 1683. He died July 2, 1684. In a letter of Cotton Mather, dated Nov. 18, 1682, on page 388, Mr. Rogers is said to have "lately come [to Cambridge] to make a little trial of what it is to be a President."

cency, but hath promised to signifye his desire therin to the Hon^{d} Governo^{r}. So that now it will rest with yourselves to give your finall Resolve.

On the fifth day, as I came home, I called at your house, that I might have discoursed a little with yourselfe, as to the contents of those lines I sent you yesterday; wherin I could but breifly hint what I intended, yet I hope you will fully comp^{r}hend what I aim at; and am accordingly wayting for your order, which I shall most thankfully imbrace.

I am, S^{r}, Yours, T. D.

THOMAS DANFORTH TO INCREASE MATHER.

These ffor the Reverend Mr. Increase Mather, in Boston, present.

Cambr. 8. 11, 1682.
^{d} ^{m} —[Prince.]

Rev^{D} Sir, — In a letter by Ffay, from Capt. Richards, he signifies his desire that a Tre^{r} may be setled in the Colledge, and that he shall not againe susteyne that place; and also that some moneys are to be receiued in Engl., which will require that the corporac̃on impow^{r} some meet person to give discharge, upon receiueing the same. For the latter of these, I know none more fitt then Capt. Richards, and for Tre^{r}, he doeth nom̃inate & p^{r}sent to the Corporation Mr. Nowell, whom he saith, he judgeth will be a good Tre^{r}, & he thinks, may possibly be p^{r}vaeled with, and truly I do not know where the Coll. will be better provided. It will be necessary that without much delay, yourselves, to whome the setling of this affaire doth belong, do meet & take order therein. With all kind salutes I take leave, and am, S^{r},

Yours, T. D.

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* Capt. Richards' Letter was dated at London 7^{br} 25. 1682. — Prince. See the letter in this volume.

THOMAS DANFORTH TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Rev^d M^r Increase Mather, President of Harvard Colledge, ddd.

CAMBR. 9. 9. 1686.

REVEREND S^R, — When I was discharged your service as Steward for the Colledge, which is now more then 13: weeks, you well know that I was then put in expectation of a speedy opportunity to give up my accounts; & of some orderly way for the obteyning what should be found due to my selfe upon the just ballance. I have been ever since waiting when I should have had notice to attend the same; but from that day to this I have not had the least intimac̃c̃on of any further actings therein; and knowing none that I may more properly address my selfe unto then your selfe, my request to you is that I may not be further delayed. I know you cannot be ignorant that I am a great sufferer, many ways, by the neglect thereof, and happily in the issue you will find that others are no gainers. And also I uot unsensible (if reports be true which I hear) that the delay of this matter is improved in such wise as God hath no hono^r, nor will it, I fear, be comfort to some in the close: I should gladly have had some conference with your selfe, had you been pleased to eall in at my house, going or coming; but fearing a disappointm^t (as hitherto) I am bold to give you the trouble of these lines. I have no more to add at p^rsent, but the very kind salutes of him that is & shall remaine

S^r! Yours to serve so far as you shall give me leave,

THO: DANFORTH.

THOMAS DANFORTH TO INCREASE MATHER.

For the Reverend M^r Increase Mather, Pastor of one of the Churches at Boston.

CAMBR. 8. 9. 87.

R^p S^R, — Referring to an Address to his Ma^tie, I do humbly propound & desire that no mention may be made of the Proclamation for a geñ^all tolleration, there will be no need of touching upon

it in the least, & I am assured many dangerous rocks will be shunned thereby. For my own p^{t} I do more dread the consequences thereof, than the exeeeuc̃c̃on of those pænall lawes; (the only wall ag^{t} Popery) that are now designed to be cashired, wee may without breach of charity conclude that the Popish Councells are layd deep: time will shew more, God Almighty bring them to nought. Our Pasto^{r} * in his proposall to our church, nameing the Proclamation, I told him I did highly distinguish between being thankfull for our Libertyes, & for the Proclamac̃c̃on. If wee had never heard thereof, yet wee owe thanks both to God & man, were it but for the liberty of our sabbath. Wee are in a dream if wee imagine that X^{t} and antiX^{t} will be reconciled. Anti X^{t} is none of that woolfe that shall feed with X^{ts} Lambes. The promise is that the K^{s} of the earth, God will put it into their hearts to hate the Whoare, & to burn her with fire. Amen, Amen. Come L^{d} Jesus, Come quickly. I beg your pardon, & remaine, Dear S^{r},

Your ffr^{d} & serv^{t}, THO: DANFORTH.

In the Life of Dr. Increase Mather it seems that the following Adresses of Thanks to K. James for his Declaration of Liberty of Consience were carried over by s^{d} Mather, who went away Apr. 7, 1688; arriv'd at London, May 25; & on May 30, presented the Address to the King. — PRINCE.

* Rev. Nathaniel Gookin [H. C. 1675] was minister of Cambridge at this period.

LETTERS OF SAMUEL BAKER.*

SAMUEL BAKER TO INCREASE MATHER.

W[ATESFIELD,] Jan. 30th 1682, [3.]

REVD SR, — I am obliged to acknowledge the rect of letters from you since my last. My infirmities hinder my frequent writing. I am therefore the more large when I do attempt it, which I design once a year, if have opportunity while in this Tabernacle. I am also endebted for the books your Lr advise of being come safe to hand. It is my trouble I cannot be wel enough to read all you send, for they are very acceptable. The Lattine peice I have skil enough to understand, but not health, for I converse little with books but as read to mee. I only observe by the way Mr. Allen's mistake, who said he was with me when admitted at the University. I guess it may be true of my Brother. I should be glad to hear how he does & is employed, if it be he I received in London during the plague, for I knew not what was become of him. But to return from this digression, — A ministr to whose perusal I recomended the book *De signo filii hominis*, returned me a very full acco of the Author's worth & learning conspicuous therein. As to Revelation notions, I have recd much satisfaction from Dr. Goodwin's Expos: of that book which is newly printed. Your other book of sermons do judg very seasonable here, as with you. I had most of them occasionally read in my Family instead of Repetition.

Another I recd in answer to the Anababtists, in vindication of proceedings against them, I desired Mr. Petto to peruse it through, & give you his sence, but from my cursory veiw when I thought on that Scripture, The Servant of the Lord must be meek & gentle with them who oppose, &c: however the things

* Samuel Baker, Esq., of Watesfield, Suffolk, Eng., is called by Calamy "the famous." His funeral sermon was preached by Rev. Samuel Petto, of Sudbury.

may be justifiable, I thought the managem[t] more likely of success, had it more footsteps of that spirit.

I was much pleased to see the names of those who had comenced in your College, with some of which I have been acquainted. I wish for its future flourishing you had seen your way plain to acceptance of the Presidentship. The scarcity of good men in the ministry is much to be bewailed. The Education of persons qualified that way where opportunity serve is much to be desired & promoted. Here I cannot but subjoyn a caution how you in N. E. entertain strangers and employ them in preaching work, for I have heard some debauched young men of parts & good education, when become prodigals, have gone thither pretending sobriety, engaged in that work for a subsistance, which a sufficient Testimonial might prevent. S[r], I am sorry the smal Tracts I sent last winter miscaried. My nephew R. was confident you woul[d] receive them, else I had sent others, which I suppose will now be too late. The sufferings of the French Protestants being I doubt not known to you, as also the present state of the Empire. That of Dr. O. of Repentance I send now, as stil seasonable, with a 4th plea of a Conformist for the Nonconf. newly printed, relating some of their sufferings, which may affect you, though but a very few instances of their afflictions, which are now generally renewed by a fresh prosecution on the Stat. of 20£ ꝑ mo. for absence from Ch: made against Popish Recusants, now turned against Dissenters, and nothing accepted [on the] discharge but full Conformity, viz. hearing service & receiving Sacrament. In some great places also meetings are almost wholly prevented by the watchfulnes & severity of them who suppress them, especially in Norwich & Bristow, and lately begun in the suburbs of London: The meeting places destroyed. A furth[r] progress there is daily expected for as the present L[d] Major & Sheriffs are such whom the Dissenters opposed in their Election, so after a great strift in the choice of a Comon Councel, the parties in it are so near a ballance as it may be greatly more than probable the major vote may be gained for a resignation of the Charter, the Consequences whereof any wise man can foresee: Norwich & some other corporations have resigned already, and in the new Charter alteration of the Aldermen, &c, is made, & power of nomination hereafter reserved as is said . . . In Scotland I was lately told

by one who eame thence, that 150 min[isters] . . . for refusing the Test: the meetings generally suppressd . . . come not hither now. . . . . .

[*Several lines mutilated.*]

. . . . . .

I know not what to add but that a new Comet appeared here last Dec. in North E., tapering upward S. E., mueh of the form of the great one in smaller proportions, yet exceeded any for 20 years past, the last exeepted. The light was not so bright as some others, but the star & stream larger. [It] was seen in the evening for about 3 weeks. S^{r}, I should be glad to hear by you how religion flourish in N. E. I perceive by worthy Mr. Oakes's sermon he thought it in the wane. I would be glad to have the Synod's opinion of Reformation, & means of its . . . you onee sent me. I lent [and] so lost it. Also be willing to understand if those proposals had any good effeet. I think of one thing as I am writing this, not impertinent to ask, viz. the truth & reason of it, why the traders with N. E. generally eomplain here they meet with sueh failures in the people of N. E. dealings as diseourage trading thither, & refleet on their profession. Whether it be searcity of money or also unfaithfulnes in dealing occasions it I know not, but I wish I be misinformed only, & the report be groundles. I am awar we have faults too many at home, and need your prayers on that account. I wish I eould tell you our sufferings had amended us. A worldly, earnal spirit is the root distemper whenee mueh bad fruit do spring. We need your fervent prayers, as our sufferings are like to enerease, for graee sutable. Sinee I wrot the last side, tarrying for the ship, order is given in London to suppress all meetings. The Coñon Councel is said to have voted thanks to the last L^{d} Major for his good service last year; earried by 33 votes, which shews their strength: only 2 wards were not determined as to their Election, which is not like to alter the ease: and [the] Earl of Shaftsbury is said to be dead in Holland, Dr. Owen very ill, & feared will not recover. His complaint the stone & an uleer in the Kidneys. Mr. Vineent, a London minister, eonvieted on the 35th of Eliz: lies a prisoner his 3 months, then must leave the King's dominions or suffer death. Thus, S^{r}, I have given yo^{w} a prospect as I may of

our state at present, which may tire & trouble you in perusall. Shall add no more, but saluting you much in the Lord, as honoured & beloved, I rest, S^r^

Yo^rs^ affectionately, S. B.

SAMUEL BAKER TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Reverend Mr. Increase Mather, Minister of the Gospel in Boston in New England. dd.

Sept. 2^d^ 84.

Dear S^r^, — I am endebted to you for two L^rs^, one received last sumer, another this, which were very acceptable, though I have not acknowledged my obligation. Indeed I am not disposed to write L^rs^ as formerly, and have nothing worthy of you. The little book of Providences, I received. There are, indeed, many remarkable, and our acquaintance with them may be helpful to our faith in liveing on the same God on all occasions to preserve & save. The other of the life of dying religion is exceeding seasonable. May the Lord please to revive his work of grace in the hearts of his people. It is sad to observe the decay of spirituality, faith, love, and holines, whilst yet professors are suffering for conscience sake. Earthly mindednes prevails much. Pride of life, want of love to the truth, to the bretheren, formality, even in such as refuse to worship with a form. Complaints there are, but little true sence of duty, practically to reform persons, families, or churches. The Lord knows how to purge that which wil not be purged. He sitts a refiner, and has gratiously promised to do it throughly. You hear, I doubt not, the sufferings of such Dissenters as do not comply, have lately encreased universally. They ly under great reproach & affliction, weakned & broken in their estates, & in their spiritual priviledges restrained & scattred, and nothing in prospect but greater troubles. I have my share, as I am very willing to take my lott in the afflictions accomplishd in the rest of the Bretheren, and having obtained help of God, I continue witnessing to the truth of the

gospell without fainting, finding it a faithful word. If we partake of the Suffering, we shall also of the Consolation. I bless God it is not for evil-doing, but well-doing. And it is my rejoycing in my own & others behalf, the testimony of our Conscience that in simplicity & godly sincerity, by the grace of God, we have had our conversation in the world, and more abundantly towards our Superiors & Governors, However, we are misrepresented by some enemies of the Protestant Religion. I have nothing to write y^{w} in particular. Mr. Ames, the son of Dr. Ames is yet liveing, but strangely disabled for work, by a weaknes in head, that he cannot bear discourse, nor able to pray in his family, yet looks well, eats and sleep[s.] so its said, he is a little better than he was.

I have given Mr. Epps order to send you, 1. An Acc^{o} of the present state of the Prot. Religion, supposed by Dr. O., though I guess you have it, for which reason I do not send you his Meditations of Glory. 2. A defence of his 12 arguments in answer to Baxter. 3. The Dr's Escot reprinted, with a Catalogue at the end, of all the Dr's books. 4. A little book against Health-drinking. 5. The life of one Mr. Henry Dorney, who was an Elder of Mr. Row's Church, whose Discourses & L^{rs} in it I presume you will value. Let us abound in prayer for each other as sufferings abound, that we may be strengthned unto all patience &c. and Christ be magnified.

I remain Yours [*Signature erased.*]

[Indorsed, — "I suppose this Lett^{r} is ā Samuel Baker, Esq. of Wattsfield Hall, in Suffolk." — PRINCE.]

SAMUEL BAKER TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for his much Respect^{d} fr^{d} M^{r} Increase Mather, Minist^{r} of the Gospell in Boston, New Engl^{d}

S^{R}, — There is no fault in any person but my self that you haue not rec^{d} L^{rs} from mee of late y^{rs} as before. The only reason was bec. I wrot not, and of that bec. I judged it prudence to keep silence. Neither can I recov^{r} my former freedom, yet very desireous to salute you, and return my acknowledgm^{t} for the books

I haue rcc^{d} I suppose none haue miscarried, and am sorry for the cause why I am like to receiue no more. I am glad to see your son so well furnished with Evangelical knowledge. I only wish he delivered truths in your stile, in that plaines of expression which the Gospel teach & most conduce to edification. You haue, also, the spiritual skill of speaking words in season. I wish the manuscript you mention may haue the desired success. I know not what return to make in this kind more acceptable than of Dr. Burnett's L^{rs},* herewith sent. You haue, I doubt not, heard of the man, and his book will give you a pleasant diversion with acc^{o} of his travells. There is a book late wrot by a Frenchman, would send, but is scarce to get, and I haue only seen it, but not my own. He is large in giueing characters of Antichrist, and expounding many things of the Rev.; as of the slaughter of the Wittnesses,† which he take to be doing in France. He has many notions ingenious, & others carry great probability of truth, but deliverd with somewhat too much confidence, & not so closely argued to clear the proof as might be, yet the book is much read & esteemed, therefore I had better not mentiond it, unles I could procure it, which shall endeavor, if it be not prohibited, whereof I am not certein. His Ma^{tie} haue favourd Dissenters with great Liberty here. The cheif want is of Preachers. There are some young men, too many of them Baxterian in their notion, very few close in practice with the Congregational way. I haue as eminent a young Preacher of 22 years old, in my family, as I haue heard of, but I fear will spend himself too fast in the work. Another that lived with me before him is a Pastor of an antient Ch. about Leeds, in Yorkshire. I cannot giue you so good a report as I wish of the success of Preaching; but we have enjoyed our Liberty but a little time, and it is yet but a sowing time. I hope fruit, with patience, may be brought forth & reaped with joy. There be g^{t} cause of humblings, that there appear so much of what the envious one hath sown among profesSo^{r}s. I know nothing materially here to add. I am very glad to hear of your welfare, & wish you may be continued in all Capacities of usefulnes, and hope Religion & Learning shall still flourish in N. E. M^{r} Petto is in

* Probably Rev. Gilbert Burnet's (afterward Bishop of Salisbury) "Travels through Switzerland, Italy, and some parts of Germany." Rotterdam: 1687.

† Rev. xi. 7.

health, who, I suppose, writes to you. Comitting you to divine Protection, I rest

S^r^, Your Affect. fr^d^ S. B.*

S^r^, Pray direct what you send to M^r^ Sam. Read, Merch^t^ in London, to be left at the Bell in Lawrence Lane.

He is very careful to convey what he receives, to mee.

I am told the price of the French book is 8^s^. There is no reason for such dearnes (being a thick 8°) only it is s^d^ to be prohibited selling here, for it was printed in Holl^d^; therefore I do not send it.

Indorsed in another hand, — "Since this letter was wrot there is come a packett from you to M^r^ Baker, w^ch^ shall bee forwarded to him."

* Conclude Samuel Baker of Wattsfield-Hall, Suffolk. — PRINCE.

LETTERS OF SAMUEL SEWALL.*

SAMUEL SEWALL TO INCREASE MATHER.

For the Reverend Mr. Increase Mather, in Boston.

Boston, March 23. 82-3.

Honoured Sir, — If you think it not inconvenient, I have some thoughts what if I should print the Colledge-Laws? that so every student admitted may have a fair *Admittatur* to keep p^r^ him, in memory of his Admission. I know that to avoid writing out a copy, many borrow Laws to present at their Admission, which they are fain to return agen awhile after, which is very mischievous, for by that means, they are without both Laws & *Admittatur*. I supose the Colledge-Orders are not very bulkey, so I could have some stitch't up in Marble-Paper, & (considering the fewness of what shall part with) afford them at a very easy rate.

Sir, Your friend & Serv^t^ Samuel Sewall.

SAMUEL SEWALL TO COTTON MATHER.

For his much esteemed Friend Mr. Cotton Mather. pr. Eliakim M.

Boston, Xr. 25, 84.

Sir, — Would intreat you to send me the little book you spake of to me, which Dr. Owen writt of the Glory of Christ.

Please also, in stead of some Recreation, when you can spare

* Samuel Sewall came to New England, with his mother, in 1661. He was chosen Assistant in 1684, 5, and 6, when the Charter was abrogated, and again, in its restoration, from 1689 to 92. He was appointed to the Council in the new Charter by William and Mary, through the advice of Increase Mather, and made a Judge of the Supreme Court in 1692. He was a supervisor of the press in 1681, and "printed the catechism with his own hand." See Savage's "Geneal. Dict."

the time, to give me your Reasons why the Heart of America may not be the seat of the New-Jerusalem. The worthy Pastor of Newbury,* in his fourth letter to Mr. Meade, (which I thank you for directing me to,) warrants me in such an Inquiry. Your Arguments, briefly laid down under several heads, will be refreshing to me to have them to consider of. Desiring your Prayers, that I may be found in Christ, not having my own Righteousness, I take leave, who am, Sir,

Yours, SAM. SEWALL.

My son Sam: is still sick.

SAMUEL SEWALL TO INCREASE MATHER.

For the Rev^d M^r. Increase Mather in London.

BOSTON, NEW ENGL., July 24, 1688.

REV^D SIR, — I writt to London of the 16^th^ inst. by Belcher, giving an acc^o of the serving of several Writts of Intrusion, on Colonel Shrimpton † for Dear-Island, on M^r Lynde ‡ of Charlestown, for land of his there; and on Mr. Russell § of the same place, for land of his near old Abraham's. M^r Lynde quickly made his peace with M^r James Graham, the Attorney-General. M^r Russell follow'd not long after, prevaild with by Mr. Stoughton's advice. I was urg'd by my friends two contrary wayes; but at last have this day petition'd for a Patent for Hogg-Island. M^r Dudley, Stoughton & several principal men having taken Patents, and intend to doe it; some of which were formerly most averse. I had resolv'd once to have come to you by Bilbao, in M^r Curtis, by whom I send this, but when it came to, my friends would by no means part with me, my wife being very near her time. Twere good if you could come to know whether persons

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* Probably Rev. William Twisse, D.D., vicar of Newbury, in England, who published "Fifteen Letters to Mr. Joseph Mede." See Sewall's "*Phænomena quædam Apocalyptica*," second edit., p. 29.

† See note on p. 113.

‡ Joseph Lynde was of the Committee of Safety in 1689.

§ James Russell was Treasurer of the Colony and Assistant in 1680, and subsequently he was a Counsellor under the new Charter, and Treasurer of the Province.

are thus to be compell'd to take Patents. The Judges did as good as tell us we should be cast; and Ap̃ealing to England does not hinder the Execution going forth. The generality of People are very averse from complying with any thing that may alter the Tenure of their Lands, and look upon me very sorrowfully that I have given way. There was a Gallery erected last Thorsday, at the east end of the Town House, from whence His Excelleney's * new Coñission was published, 8 Companys being in Arms. About two a clock the Leeture began, Mr Lawson † preached. The Governour speaks of setting forth for New-York next Thursday. Deacon Bracket was buried this day. 'Tis finally said that the Chh ‡ shall be set between the School-House & Capt. Townsend's corner, many of the Counsil urging it, that so it might not stand just full up with Mr Moodey's gate, where it would have wholly cut off the way between my fence & Jn° Coñey's, and have stood upon the eartway that now is, into the ground. We are all indifferent well, and so are yours so far as I know. We have had a very showery summer hitherto, which produces good sup̃lyes of Grass; but Ap̃les fail much by reason of worms in the spring.

I am, Sir, Your obliged friend & servt,

Sam. Sewall.

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* Sir Edmund Andros.

† Rev. Deodate Lawson preached for some time at Salem Village, now Danvers, and afterwards at Scituate.

‡ This, without doubt, refers to the first Episcopal Church edifice in Boston. The first society of that denomination was formed in 1686, when Randolph brought with him from England Robert Ratcliffe, an Episcopalian clergyman. The meetings were held for a time in private houses, and next in the Town House. Applications were made for the use of one and another of the meeting-houses, but were strenuously resisted. In 1687, Andros demanded the key of the Old South Church, that "prayers might be said there." The Church remonstrated, but in vain, and the building was occupied by the Episcopalians from March 25, 1687, till the Revolution in 1689. In the mean time they constantly kept in view the erection of a church for themselves. "Judge Sewall," says Drake, in his "History of Boston," "was several times applied to, to sell a piece of land at Cotton Hill, (an eminence near the southerly termination of Pemberton Square, and nearly opposite the gate of King's Chapel burying ground, named from its having been near the residence of John Cotton.)" The house was at length built on the site of the present King's Chapel. "The land was probably taken, by order of Andros, out of the common burial place which was given to the town by Mr. Isaac Johnson."

SAMUEL SEWALL TO INCREASE MATHER.

For the Reverend Mr. Increase Mather at London.

Boston, N. E. Octr 8, 1688.

Honoured Sir, — On Septr 21. I recd yours of July 6th, by which I am much oblig'd. Am glad to hear of the likelihood you have of succeeding in the great concerns you manage for New-England. I writt to you ꝑ C. Belchar, of mine & my friend's concerns relating to our Properties, and since ꝑ Mr Curtis, sailing to Bilbao, & from thence to Bristow. In the last I acquainted you, that thõ I thought it very hard measure to be serv'd with a Writt of Intrusion; yet my friends not agreeing in their advice, I petition'd for a Patent rather than to stand suit with the King. This was done July 24th; and July 30th the Governour * took his journey to New-York, East & West Jersey, Albany, from which voyages is not yet return'd. The Indian troubles falling in, which were begun, as I take it, July 30th, 4 or 5 Indians being slain at a place call'd Spectacle Pond near Springfield Road. Since that, several English men have bee[n] kill'd at Northfield, *alⁱˢ* Squawkheag; and since at North-Yarmouth four or five; of whom Justice Gendal, one: but tis thought sixteen or seventeen Indians were kill'd in the skirmish. Also, an Engl. man was toll'd into the woods, at New-haven, under pretence of assisting to kill a Dear, and was himself, by the Indian Inviter, butchered in a cruel mañer. The murderer aꝑhended. People are much alarm'd, and in many places dwell in garrison'd houses, to their great añoyance and impoverishing. Two Presses have been [in] Boston, 32 sent the first, & sixteen the second out of this To[wn,] to help those in distress in the eastern parts. The Lord provi[de.]

The Govr & Mr Secretary West being absent, with other of the Council, here is nothing done as to Patents, so have not any thing farther to add, till [I] see how I shall be us'd. Have petitioned only for the Island. Am so sensible of the miseries this people like to undergoe, if that course be follow'd, that I shall be very willing to give more than comes to my share, if some general way

* Andros.

of Relief might be obtain'd. I was so concern'd, that I had cast my self on the sea to come for England before petitioning, but knew not how to get away [from] my friends. My wife was delivered safely of a son August 15th, *vlt.** If my many Land-ties (that I know of) hold me not, shall goe near to make an Essay to see my native country, while some that I know are there. 'Tis much that nothing was said of Judge Palmer † in any letter, who is like to make a great figure here under that character. He hath so artificially reporterd the Articles (as they are call'd) against the Gov^r^, as tends to considerable disadvantage; thō M^r^ Nowell's, of . . . 21, gives check to a considerable part of his Relation. . . . of Cambridge was bur[ie]d last Friday. Supose . . .

[*Two lines mutilated.*]

from whence I lately came. Supose you will have a fuller acc^o^ p^r^ M^r^ Mather. My service to your . . . M^r^ Nowell, & my New-Engl^d^ friends. Praying God you may hapily finish what you have so well b[egun,] especially about Property, I take leave, who am, Sir, Your friend & serv^t^. SAM^L^ SEWALL.

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* Joseph Sewall [H. C. 1707], afterwards minister of the Old South Church. Judge Sewall's first wife was Hannah, daughter of John Hull, the mint-master.

† John Palmer was of Andros's Council, and took sides against the people for rising against Andros. He brought from England a commission to be Chief Justice. Savage's "Geneal. Dict.;" Hutchinson's "History," i. 371.

LETTERS OF JOHN ROGERS.*

JOHN ROGERS TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Reverend Mr. Increase Mather, in Boston, these.

Honoʳᵉd Sir, — Not to trouble yourself with any impertinencyes, service premised: the purport of these lines is to signify that we desire here a meeting of the Corporation the next week, either on Tuesday or Wensday, if either of them, or the thing itself may suit your convenicncy; and I entreat you to signify it to those concerned in Boston, and we shal be careful to give notice of it to those on this side with us. In the mean time, God keep you, & succeed your labors. Pray for him who is

Vnfeignedly Your humble servant & friend,

Jno: Rogers.

Cambridge, 24, 9, 83.

Sir, I hope an answer by bearer.

JOHN ROGERS AND OTHERS TO INCREASE MATHER.

Reverend Sir, — We are heartily sorry that we are enforced to give you the trouble of these lines; the purport whereof is to signify our great dissatisfaction with the stated time of the Coñencemᵗ, on the first Wensday in July next; the occasion whereof is, that upon that very day wil fall out a grand Eclipse of

* Rev. John Rogers [H. C. 1649] was born in England in 1631. Was both a physician and preacher. He occasionally assisted Rev. Mr. Cobbett, and Mr. Hubbard, at Ipswich. He was chosen President of Harvard College in 1676, but declined; was again chosen in 1682, and accepted. See notes on pp. 388 and 505.

the Sun,* which was not foreseen, or at least, thought of, upon the last meeting of the Corporation. What reflection wilbee vpon our oversight of it, or upon our persisting, notwithstanding we have still the opportunity of correcting it, before the Almanack come forth; as also how obstructive the Eclipse wilbec as to the busines of the day, is very obvious. Wee are not superstitious in it, but reckon it very inconvenient. If, therefore, yourself shal joyne with us, and improve your interest once more with the Honoʳed Overseers, to alter and confirme the day on the 2ᵈ Wensday in July, or for this pʳsent turne on the first Tuesday in July, or the forementioned 2ᵈ Wednsday, it shal be most grateful and obliging to us.

Sir, praying a blessing upon al your laboʳs, and begging your prayers for us, we kisse your hands, & are

Your friends & servants,

J. Rogers.
Samuel Andrew.†
Jno. Cotton. ‡

Cambridge, 9, 10, 83.

JOHN ROGERS TO INCREASE MATHER.

Reverend Sir, — By these I pay my humble Thankes for your late kindnes in the Booke you were pleased to do me the honoʳ to enrich mee with by the hand of Mr. Cotton, and kisse your hands. The further occasiõ of my present writing, is to signify that the time requiring it, the yong men that are this yeer to cõmence Bachelors are ordered these three next weekes, to attend the two first days of every the said weeks, in the Hall, the pleasure of such Gentlemen whom it concernes to make tryal of their sufficiency, according as is appointed. I had purposed to have sent

* It is remarkable that President John Rogers died July 2, 1684, the day after Commencement, during the eclipse of the sun to which he refers in the letter. The Commencement exercises appear by the almanac for that year to have been held on the first Tuesday in July.

† Samuel Andrew [H. C. 1675] was a Fellow of the College.

‡ Rev. John Cotton [H. C. 1678], son of Seaborn, was a Fellow and Librarian of the College. He succeeded his father as minister of Hampton, where he was ordained Nov. 19, 1696.

yourself word the last Thursday, not thinking of the Fast to prevent. Sir, I shal give your more weighty occasions no further interruption, but cõmend all your studyes to the blessing of [the] Almighty, with requests of reciprocal prayers for us, and always shalbee Yours truely in Friendship & service,

JNO: ROGERS.

CAMEBRIDGE, 26. 2. 84.

LETTERS OF EDWARD RANDOLPH.*

EDWARD RANDOLPH TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Reuerend Mr. Increase Mather, deliuer.

Boston Dec. 13th 1683.

S^r^, — I found the Gou^r^ last night willing that I should carry ouer to Mr. Boyle, one of Mr. Ladd's compasses, which was some tyme since disordered by a storm at sea. I beleiued it had been in the Town House, but hearing it to be in your custody, desire I may haue it deliuered to my brother, the Bearer hereof, that I may dispose of it as designed. I am, S^r^,

Your humble ser^t^, Ed. Randolph

EDWARD RANDOLPH TO SAMUEL SHRIMPTON.†

Whitehall, July 18th, 84.

S^r^, — I receiued your kind lines, & thank you for your care in my affaire. Mr. Nelson ‡ hath sent me a very indiscreet letter,

* Concerning the early life of Randolph nothing is certainly known. His first appearance in New-England history is in March, 1676, as a special messenger from the King, bringing the royal demands for agents to be sent to England, and charged with the duty of inquiring into the condition of the country, &c., &c. He continued for the space of more than thirteen years to be the "evil genius of the Colony," going back and forth between the colonies and the mother country as a maker of mischief. He was a zealous promoter of Episcopacy, and the principal instrument of depriving Massachusetts of its charter privileges. He cordially hated the people, and was as heartily abhorred in return. He was conspicuous during the tyranny of Andros; and, at the Revolution of 1689, was imprisoned in the common gaol for several weeks, and afterwards sent home. It is said that he died in the West Indies. Eliot's Biog. Dict.; Palfrey's Hist. of N. E.; Hutchinson's Hist.; Chalmers's Polit. Ann.

† Samuel Shrimpton was one of the Council of Andros in 1687, "but not a partaker in his tyranny;" also of the Council of Safety in 1689. Savage's Geneal. Dict.

‡ John Nelson was one of the foremost actors in the Revolution against Andros in 1689. He was taken prisoner by the French and Indians, and long imprisoned at Quebec and in France. Hutchinson's Hist. i. 376; Mass. Hist. Coll. Series iii. vol. i. p. 196.

but if he had not set his name to it, I should haue guesd from whence it came. I will not steale away his mother, nor be concerned with any where he has to do. I find all are mad in your country, and that Mr. Mather, the Bellowes of Sedition & Treason, has at last attained his end in setting his fools a horseback. If they do not mend their manners, some of them may ride to the divill. No better newes could come to me then to heare Mr. Dudley principally was putt out of the Election. The fitter man to serue the King & his Country in an honorable station; for they haue declared him so. I hope in God all will do very well, except your madmen endeavour to run the people into a Rebellion. You haue Mr. Mather's letter* sent to Mr. Gouge of Amsterdam, sent to Major Dudley; I desire him to let you haue a copy of it. Pray haue a strict eye upon my daughter[s] Betty & Mary. Their sister Jane hath shewn them a very bad example, & is a lost child to me. God giue her grace to repent. I found Mr. Foy could not bring ouer a horse as you expected. Pray haue a little patience, & you will haue choice in a little tyme brought you ouer. My seruice to Madam Shrimpton, and to all our freinds. I have no newes to send you ouer, onely that S^{r} Edw^{d} Dering, one of the Lords Comm^{rs} of the Treasury, is dead; and so is S^{r} George Downing. I send my brother ouer to succeed my Bro: Gyls, and Mr. Thatcher is no longer to be concernd, as I now writ to him. I am in great hast & greater trouble, & remain, S^{r},

Your assured freind & Serv ED: RANDOLPH.

MR. SHRIMPTON.

EDWARD RANDOLPH TO SAMUEL SHRIMPTON.

July 26. 1684.

S^{r},—I haue also receiued yours of Boston, June 5th, for which I heartily thanke you, & for your cautions therein. Euery line speakes great loue & freindship. I am prepared to answeare Gov. Cranfeild & Mr. Dyer's reports of me here at home. As to

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* See p. 104 in this volume.

the French wine, I value not any of their discourse. I onely wish you had as much more now by you. Sir, I haue not tyme to write particularly to your lady as I ought, but I intreat her to giue creditt to me, when I assure her that nobody in your Colony will be disturbd in their worship; but when I heare how foolish your people haue been in their late Election, I cannot but very much blame Brother Allen, who cannot forbeare blowing the bellowes. Its naturall to him to be medling in Gou^t^, & now lett the party see what a monster they haue made of their magistracy, composed of ffooles & knaues. I am extreamely solicitous that Mr. Dudley might have the sole Gou^t^ of N. Eng^d^, for no man better understands the constitution of your country, & hath more loyalty & respect to his Ma^ties^ affaires, but I dare not openly appeare in it, least it be thought there is some private design in it, but I am upon all occasions hinting his meritt to his freinds. But as yet there are no resolutions taken, whether one Gou^r^ ouer the whole, or a distinct Gou^r^ over your Colony, to be allowed of by his Ma^tie^, with the addition of N. Plymouth: & till that be under consideration twill be very improper to make any applications about it. S^r^, be confident no tyme or opportunity shall be lost to promote Mr. Dudley's interest, for in that all our happines consists. I am certain things awhile ago would haue been easily brought about; but now your people have madly contriued their security. Euery body here that is generally well inclined to your Country are so startled, that I am forced to take paines to convince them that the late proceedings are not the act of the whole Colony. I send you inclosed a copy of Mr. Nelson's letter, which, when read & shown to Major Dudley, committ to the fire. I am vnwilling to expose him for Mrs. Tayler's sake. Pray present my hearty respects to your lady, and once more I make my solemn protest, that if your ministers do not preach vp rebellion, as lately Mr. Nowell * did in his Artilery Sermon, & Mr. Mather in his late letter, they may preach till they and all their hearers are tyred. But thats a thing very naturall to them.

* Rev. Samuel Nowell, of Charlestown, was never settled as a minister. He was chaplain in Philip's War, Assistant in 1680, and Treasurer of the Colony in 1685. He went to England to co-operate with Increase Mather in his agency, and died at London in 1688. He preached the Artillery Election sermon in 1678.

Mr. Ffoy has been very diligent in all his affaires. I hope to see him in a better imploy, when your Country is once setled.

S^r^, I give my Blessing to my Daughters, & remain, S^r^,
Your most assured friend & most humble seru^t^,
ED. RANDOLPH.

Fryre* hath lately putt in Articles against Mr. Cranfield, which render him here a very ill man, & in tyme will do his busines. I heare not one word from him, Mr. Mason,† or Mr. Chamberlain.‡

MR. SHRIMPTON.

EDWARD RANDOLPH TO SIMON BRADSTREET.

*To the Hon^d^. Symon Bradstreet Esq^r^. Gov^r^*

Sep: 4: 1684.

HON^D^ S^R^, — I most gratefully receiue the favour of yours of the 7^th^ of June, which I shall improve to the benefitt of your Country, if their continued provoking his Ma^tie^ by their idle phancyes do not render them at last vnfitt to receiue that favour & grace, which has been so often tendred them.

Nothing as yet can be done till the beginning of next term, and then, in case they should tyme enough send over new power to their Atturney to plead, upon his appearance, it will but inflame the reckning. But what care your people? They have the Gou^t^ now, & will hold it as long as they can, knowing they shall never be troubled more in that station.

S^r^, you excuse me, that altho' I know you are Gou^r^, yet I discourse of the manage[ment] of your Gour^t^, as if you were not concernd in it. Truely I am glad they take it off from you: I am sure the whole miscarrige ought to be truely placed, and that no innocent person in your Colony ought to suffer because some men, great professors, have inspired a faction to act contrary to

* Nathaniel Fryer, of Portsmouth, was a Representative in 1666, and of the Council in 1683.

† Robert Mason. See note on p. 367.

‡ Richard Chamberlain, of Portsmouth, was Secretary and a Councillor under the Provincial Government in 1682. Savage's Geneal. Dict.

their duty to their King, and the good of that country they have sworn to gouern.

S^{r}, Its very true Mr. Mather did deny to lett me haue the compasse you were pleased to trouble your selfe to write about,* (as I remember,) he telling me there was another whose polarity was altered, & that was in the State House in Amsterdam. This is enough to assure you that I discoursd him about it, but methinkes he mistook his subject, if he intended to improve his interest in Amsterdam, & procure that Compas to be sent to Eng^{d}, when in his letter to Mr. Gouge, of the 3 of the 10th month, he reviles the Governm^{t} he liues under, taxing your Hon^{r} & severall of the magistrates with little lesse then perjury & vnfaithfullnes to your Country. It's then no wonder you & the seuerall of the Magistrates had so few votes at the nomination, when one of the Sanedrim had so magisterially prejudgd you all. I take no notice of his reflecting upon the proceedings of affaires in Eng^{d}, I hope, upon occasion, he is able to make good his severall assertions, & his politick obscruations; but when S^{r} Lionell Jenkins askd me what his name was who wrote the letter, & finding it to be Mr. Mather, (as I could well informe him) he said, What, is it that star-gazer: that halfe distracted man? & tooke no more notice of him, (as he deserued). I remember when I was last with you, you were all alarumd with a scribled paper (as twas called) abounding with treasonable reflections upon his Ma^{tie}, & vndecent discourses of your Hon^{r}, & others, but the Author not being proved, nothing that I heard of, came further of it; but I haue by me Mr. Mather's originall letter, which he promised he would write to good Mr. Kick by a ship which would sayle about 3 weekes hence, (as in the letter), in which letter he has treated me very much vnlike a good christian, much lesse a minister of God's word. Butt I thank God I heartily forgiue him, & haue endeavoured in noe way his disquiett, but pray that he may repent of so great a sin against the King & many of his good subjects. I beleiue, had I but one of the letters your Agitators carried about the Colony before your last Election, there would be found very little difference betwixt the matter of those & this letter. If any thing bring an unexpected alteration in your

* See Randolph's Letter of Dec. 13, 1683.

ecclesiasticall administration, its occasioned by those who would blow up into a flame those dissentions they haue been so long a kindling. I haue been obliged to produce this letter, to assure some of the Lords how ill your Hon^r & magistrates who voted for a dutyfull submission to his Ma^tie, etc. are resented by the heads of the faction; the better to confirm their Lords^ps good opinion of you. I am, in that libell (for I cannot, in respect to his Ma^tie, call it a letter,) said to be a mortall enemy to your Country. Could any thing be contrived of more dangerous consequence at such a criticall minute, as this paper. All the enimyes you haue, (if you haue any) could not give so mortall a wound to your ecclesiasticall affairs as this; for what prince will suffer their subjects to be instructed by such Teachers, when one of the chiefest vents abroad into the world for great truth, such seditious discourses as these.* After all this my busines shall bee to gett all that is past buried here in oblivion, praying heartily that your people may study to be quiett, & in all duty & obedience submitt to those powers that are sett ouer them. Some of them (I feare) beleiuing their liberty is as large as their consciences.

I shall not faile, by way of Barbados, if opportunity of shipping present not here for Boston, to give your Hon^r advise how your affaires are here like to be carried. I pray God grant it may all answear the expectations of the good & prudent people in your Colony, and end in your perfect peace & tranquility, which are the hearty prayers & endeavours of S^r,

Your very much obliged & most humble ser^t,

ED: RANDOLPH.

My humble seruice to your lady, to Mr. Willard & his wife, & to Mr. Dudley Bradstreet. †

S^r, Mr. Chickley was at Virginia, loaded tobacco there, carried it to Glascow in Scotland, sold it there; from thence went to

* This opinion of the fatal effect of the letter attributed by Randolph to Increase Mather may be regarded as having a bearing upon the question of authorship. If any enemy of New England would desire to give "a mortal wound to its ecclesiastical affairs," that enemy was Randolph himself. Does not his avowed anticipation of such a result indicate a motive which might have induced him to resort "to such a trick"? Does it not show that "the play *was* worth the candle"?

† Dudley Bradstreet, son of Governor Simon, was Representative in 1670, 90, 91, colonel of the militia, of Governor Joseph Dudley's Council, though a patriot, and a member of the Council of Safety in 1689. Savage's Geneal. Dict.

Rotterdam, where he loads, & is bound directly for Boston. He ought to be taken care of, for the Lords of the Treasury haue notice hereof. Perhaps some of his saylers may betray him. I beleiue, where you have ground to suspect, you may make the master of his pink enter upon oath.

John Ffrost has been in Holland, but whence he will come to you, or from what port, I know not, but he ought to be taken notice of also. I write not this to Mr. Thatcher: they are too nigh related to have any good done vpon a distant information:

E. R:

The following extracts from letters of Edward Randolph are printed as found in the Mather Papers, in the handwriting of Cotton Mather. See note to letter of Joseph Dudley, dated Dec. 1, 1684. There are several other extracts in the series which have been printed by Hutchinson.

R.[andolph] to the Lords.

Dec, 3. 1684.

There are dangerous principles among them, which Mr Mather maintains & propagates.

If that great Body of people by misunderstanding be once broken & dispersed into the Southern plantations, the French will certainly by degrees swallow up that great Countrey, planted & possessed by his Majesties subjects now above these 60 years, & so at length become masters of all his Majties West India plantations, which by the Benefit & Advantage of those many Harbors in that Countrey may bee obtained.

*R.[andolph] to the Ld Treasurer.**

Aug. 23. 1686.

Liberty of Conscience, will much obstruct the Settlement of this place. . . .

The commission sent hither was but Temporary, & served only to unhinge the Cõmonwealth, which for many years was usurped & managed by a Faction.

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* The Earl of Rochester.

*R. to Blathwait.**

May 21, 1687.

His Excell, has to do with a perverse people. Here is none of the council at hand, Except Mr Mason, & myself, & M^r^ B.[rock-holt] & M^r^ Usher,† who appear lively for his Majesty's Interest.

Nothing has been wanting in his Excell., to bring all things to a good posture, both private & public. He Discharges the Duty of an Excellent Govern^r^. But this people are Rivetted in their way, & I fear nothing but Necessity or Force will otherwise dispose them.

R. to M^r^ Pen.

Nov. 9, 1688.

This Barbarous people [the Indians] were never civilly treated by the late Governm^t^, who made it their Business to encroach upon their Lands, & by Degrees to drive them out of all. That was the ground & the Beginning of the last War. His Excell. has all along taken other measures with them. I hope the proclamation, & the Indian's confidence in the Govern^rs^ favour to such as shall submit, may putt a stop to their present Rage.

I hear M^r^ Mather and such like men of Antimonarchical principles at home, are complaining against mee. I confess, if being the occasion of subverting their old Arbitrary governm^t^ (& thereby putting a stop to the persecuting spirit raging every where in this countrey) bee a crime, I must submitt.

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* Printed in Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 354.

† John Usher, stationer, published the laws of the Colony. He was a Counsellor under Andros, and Treasurer of the Province of all New England; and afterwards, having removed to Portsmouth, was made Lieutenant-Governor of New Hampshire. Savage's Geneal. Dict.

LETTERS OF SIMON BRADSTREET.*

SIMON BRADSTREET TO EDWARD RANDOLPH.

ffor Edward Randolph, Esq^r. att Whitehall.

Boston, 8^th Decemb^r 1684.

Sir, — I receiued yours of 4^th Sept^r 84, for which I returne you many thanks, espetially for the endeav^r you say you will use for the peace and welfare of this place and people here, which if you can be instrumentall to effect, I am confident you will neuer have cause to repent thereof. I cañot chuse but have a naturall loue and affection to this place and people, with whome I have spent soe great a ꝑt of my life, tho I have sometyme mett with pretty hard measure from some of them. I am afraid, (by what I heare) that by this tyme, some iudg^t is passed against our charter, but if his Ma^tie would be graciously pleased out of his princely clemency, to ꝑdon what is past, and to contynue the goũm^t here in such a way as is intimated in his Ma^ties gracious declaracõn, to which myselfe and seũall of the magistrates voted a submission, I doubt not but it would conduce as much to his Ma^ties hon^r, dignyty, ꝑffitt, and satisfaccõn, as the sending over a Gouern^r, which would be chargeable, and the people here you knowe are generally very poor, vnles some few in Boston, and, most of them not soe rich as they are thought to be. The warr with the Indians and late great fyres have much impouerished this Country, and the unproffitablenes of trade euery where doeth

* Simon Bradstreet was born in England in March, 1603, received the degree of A.B. at Cambridge, Eng., in 1620, and of A.M. 1624; came in the fleet with Winthrop, was chosen Assistant in March, 1630, before embarking, and continued in that office forty-eight years. He was Deputy-Governor from 1673 to 78, Governor from 1679 to 86, and again from 1689 to 92. Dr. Palfrey justly describes his character as "a blameless and well-intentioned man, a conscientious Puritan, and a painstaking officer, eminently trustworthy in the details of business, the favorite of the moderate party." See Savage's Geneal. Dict.; Palfrey's Hist. of N.E., p. 330.

much discourage; and I have heard seũall solemnly ꝑfesse that in their irregular trading they have seldome or never seene their owne againe, and are resolved wholy to giue it ouer, which I should be heartyly glad they would. I hope amongst all the faults wee are or may be charged with, the service wee haue done his Ma^tie^ in subdueing and secureing (with the expence of soe much blood and treasure) soe large a trackt of land anexed to the Crowne of England, will not be wholy forgotten. It is noe small greife to see and heare the myserable condic̃on of our neighb^rs^ of Hampshire, sometyme a hopefull & flourishing plantac̃on, but now in a mañer vndone; noe face of trade, nor much care of anything else; there owne vessells being afraid to come into their owne port, from whencesoeuer they come, as some of them haue declared to my selfe. But enough of this; I suppose you will heare more from others. This makes our people dread the like condic̃on. I am sorry to heare what you write in reference to Mr. Mather. Some few weekes before I receiued your letter, there came ouer a coppy of a lett^r^ that went under the notion of one of his, but he possitiuely denyes it, and sayth every lyne of it is forged, is much concernd about it, and sayth hee is much abused thereby. And indeede, my charyty is such, that though I am afraid that hee might write something inconvenient to his ffreinds, yet I cañot think him soe foolish and absurd to write all that is contayned in that letter, especially in referrence to Mr. ffurgisson, inviting him hither, ꝑmysing welcome and safty as was shewed to Goff and Whaley, which hee could not say with any reason or trueth, ffor they were never hid or secured here that ever I could heare of. As for myselfe, I never saw either of them, but being att New Haven upon Comission, with my brother Denison,* when his Ma^ties^ ꝓclamac̃on against them came ouer, wee p^r^sently sent forth warrants to all ꝑts for their apprehenc̃on, (hearing they had bene in those ꝑts not long before,) and had they bene apprehended, would vndoubtedly haue bene sent prisoners to England, but what became of them afterwards, I could neuer heare to this day. I could be glad to see a coppy of that letter of Mr.

* Daniel Dsnison marrisd Patience, daughter of Gov. Thomas Dudley, and Simon Bradstreet married for his first wife, Ann, another daughter of ths sams. Daniel Denison wsnt through every rank in ths militia to the highest, and was an Assistant from 1654 till his dsath in 1682. Sse Savags's Gsneal. Dict.

Mather's, that y^{w} say y^{w} have by y^{w}, if y^{w} thinke it convenient. It is possible I might make some vse of it. I neuer saw any of our agitators letters that they sent abroad for the last elecẽon, but haue heard there were more then a few, and noe doubt full of strong reasons and arguments; but they fayled in part of their expectaẽon. Mr. Dyer * hath bene here euer sinee the spring, with a large Comission, as hec p^{r}tends, from the Comissioners of the Customes, to place and displace any of his Ma^{ties} offieers relating to the Customes in America; indeed hee is styled in a letter hee brought mee from the Com^{rs}, Surveyor and Search^{r} generall, but whither his Comission be soe large as hec declares it is; I eañot tell. I suppose hee will act to the vtmost end of it. When hee eame first, I told him Mr. Thatcher was the Deputy, whome after some discourse hee was willing to contynue, and soe I gaue him his oath as the Deputy, & euer sinee, shipps and vessells doe geñally enter and take their elearings from him, but Mr. Dyer seizes vessells, and makes them pay custome or composiẽons, I cañot tell whither, whereby hee hath gott a considerable some of money, as I am informed. A just account thereof, noe doubt hee will render to his Ma^{ties} receiuer, but whither seizing & receiueing his Ma^{ties} dues ꝑply belong to him, I doe not yet fully vnd^{r}stand, but thought it was best for the p^{r}sent to lett all things rest as they doe till wee see how our mayne busines wilbe determined. I doubt not but hee hath and will send many informaẽons and eompl^{ts} against the Country, and it may be some against yourselfe, as onee hee intimated to mee hee would, but none against mee, whoe hee sayth hath done as much for his Ma^{ties} service as can be desired or expected. Howeuer, I could be glad to heare what informaẽon hee giues, and assure myselfe that those honorable gentlem. whome hee informes will not condeme without hearing. Here came into this port a Ffreneh pryvatere to recrute his shipp, being very leakey. The Capt., one Miehael Andreson, Mr. Dyer ineouraged mueh for her ꝑmission to come in to repaire, and sometyme after seized her as a pyrate, & presented a large libell against the said Capt. as a most notorious pyrate, but could proue noothing considerable, and then demanded the 5s. ꝑ tun, whieh was not thought due by the

* William Dyer was Surveyor of the Customs and Searcher of the Port in 1680. Hutchinson, i. 330.

Council, shee comeing in neither to trade nor bring passengers. Much more might be said to this matter, but my tyme forbids mee, being very late att night.

Capt. Ffrost arriued here 16. October, a month before I rec. your letter, entred from Amsterdam, noething but ballast. Mr. Chickley came in a weeke or 10 dayes after the receipt of yours, entred from Whitehauen, shewed his clearing from thence, which I could not disproue, but doubt whither ever hee came there or not. I comended the strickt examinac̃on of both these cases to Mr. Dyer and Mr. Thatch^{r}, but what they haue done therein I doe not yet heare, but am informed that from Mr. Wharton and Mr. Paige hee receiued a considerable soñe, as much as their custome or something like it, telling them that hee hath power so to doe by his instruc̃c̃ons, for the first tyme. S^{r}, I haue sent 8 coppyes of bonds taken here of shipps for England, but S^{r} G. Downeing being dead, I know not well whome to write to. I pray p^{r}sent them with my humble service to some of the hon^{ble} Comission^{rs}. It is possible one or two of them may be duplicates of what was sent the last yeare. I haue many others by mee for these p̄ts and N.foundland, which I shall mynd Mr. Thatcher of, that they may p̄duce theire certificates, &c. I suppose you wilbe tyred with reading, as I am with wryting, Noe more therefore att p^{r}sent, but that I am

Your very loving ffriend & humble serv^{t},

S: Bradstreet.

Mr. Thatcher tells mee they haue sent informac̃on into England in reference to seũall certificates & clearings. The world is full of cheats.

SIMON BRADSTREET TO —— ——.

[Between 1686 & 1689. Suppose in 1687 or 8.—Prince.]

S^{R}, —I have no other l̃res that wilbe vsefull for you but what I shewed you. Nor is M^{r} Rawson * yet come home, soe that I know

* Edward Rawson was Secretary for the Colony from 1650 to 1686, and Register of Deeds for Suffolk County for many years.

not what are in his hands. I haue bene soe interrupted sinee you was here, that I have not finished that lyttle I intended, nor begun any matt^{r} of argum^{t} to proue our right & tytle to our lands, nor ean it well be done till all their obieẽeons be knowne. Nor doe I thinke I ean add any thing which is not in your owne thoughts. The breife heads that are in my p^{r}sent thoughts are as followeth, — 1. The grant of the Counеil of Plymouth to the 6 gentlem̃ & their assosiates. 2. The K. confirmaẽon to them & 20 more & their assignes, which was the Geñall Court, & impoured by the Patt^{t} to dispose of the land here to the best advantage of the people & Plantaẽon, which wee have done, & know not how to doe it better if it were to be done againe. A second right & tytle is our purehase from the Indians, & the grant from them of their right, which eertaynely was something. 3^{ly}. Our Possession and improuem^{t} for almost 60 yeares. If this will not give right to land in a wildernes, where neither the King nor any Christian had euer any property, I know not what will.

The onely objeetion insisted upon that I heare of, is our lands were not granted under the seale of the Company. Ans: Nor was it necessary that soe it should be. 1. Our Patt^{t} doeth not require it, but leaues the mañer of disposeing to our liberty. Nor is there any lawe of England that requires vs here in this ease to grant lands under the seale of the eompany. Nor is it necessary for ꝑpropryat^{rs} of land in Engl: soe to doe. It is true, where land is eonveyed by deede a seale is essentiall; but it may be done by liuery & seizen, as well without deede or other wryting, as the law-bookes tell vs; and Coppy-hold^{rs} in England have noe other evidenee for their lands but the Court Roll or a eoppy of it. When Will^{m} the Conque^{r} made himselfe M^{r} of the land, hee gave a great ꝑt of it to his Nobles & followers, but without any seale, for there was none used in Engl: many seoores, if not hundreds of yeares after, which shewes it is noe strange thing to eonvey land without seale; & if there should haue bene an error or omission, yet seing the grant^{r} & grantees iudged it good & rest satisfyed therein, whoe shall question or hath any thing to doe with it; and if noe thing be granted for want of a seale, then it reverts all to the grant^{r}. But what hath the K. or any vnd^{r} him to doe to question it. Hee hath graunted all his right, under the great Seale of Engl: so his grant eanot faile for want of a seale.

Againe, if want of a seale was an error yet being soe comon an error of soe long standing, & of such vniu^{r}sall concerm^{t}, it ought to be accounted none, as I thinke the law doeth, in such cases, say. Lastly, if want of a seale be a defect, the law for confirmation of all grants, in the yeare 84, helpes all; as for other objecc̃ons, as I doe not know what they are, soe I know not how to answer them. As for their lands comeing to the K. by escheat, till it be shewed how they doe soe come, is not worth answering.

I am, S^{r}, your willing serv^{t} in what I may S: B:

In poynt of Equyty, our great sufferings first & last, & losse of soe many liues, to mayntayne our owne right, & the K. interest, & the vast charges wee have been att in pryvate and publ buildings & improvem^{ts} ought to have its iust consideracon; and would it not seem a strange thing that a peece of ground in the wildernes not worth 5^{s} but by buildings, &c, worth 500^{l}, should become the K's, I know not how. Wee may be sure soe iust a prince will never allow it.

I thought to haue returnd onely a word or two, & soe made use of your owne pap.

SUMMONS TO SIR EDMUND ANDROS.*

At the Town House in Boston, 18 Aprill, 1689.

S^{R}, — Ourselues as well as many others the Inhabitants of this Town, & places Adjacent, being surprized with the peopl's sudden taking to arms, in the first motion whereof wee were wholly ignorant, are drawen by the present exigent & necessity to acquaint your Excellency, that for quicting & security of the people inhabting the Countery, ffrom the eminent dangers the[y] many wayes ly open & are exposed vnto, and for your own safty; — Wee judge it necessary that you forthwith surrender and deliver up the

* There are two contemporary copies of this summons contained in the collection of Mather Papers, neither of which has the autographs of the signers. The orthography, both of the document and of the names attached, differs greatly in the two copies; and that of the names has been printed in accordance with the mode of spelling used by the persons whose signatures were affixed to the paper.

Governm^{t} & ffortifycations to bee preserved, to bee disposed off according to order & direction from the Crown of England, which is svddently exspected may arriue, promissing all security from violence to yourselfe or any other of the gentl^{m} or soulders, in ꝑson, or estate, or else are assured they will endevour the taking the ffortifications by storme, if any opposition be made.

Simon Bradstreet	Wayt Winthrop
William Stoughton	Samuel Shrimpton
Thomas Danforth	William Browne
John Nelson	Bartholomew Gidney
Elisha Cook	Adam Winthrop
John Richards	John Foster
David Waterhouse	Isaac Addington
	Peter Sargent

To Sir Edmund Andros.

Indorsed, — "Sumons to the Gov^{r} S^{r} Edmond Andross.'

SIMON BRADSTREET TO JOHN HAMPDEN, JUN.*

For the Honourable [John] Hampden, These.

Right Hono^{rble} S^{r}, — We cannot be enough sensible of the wonderfull goodness of God towards this poor Land, in stiring up your Hono^{r}, a person so advantaged in respect of your Hono^{ble} Station and noble Virtues, to take notice of and Resent the case and illegal proceedings against this Colony, in the depriving us of our ancient Charter Government and the Franchises and priviledges thereby enjoyed, without any Legal process, or Oppertunity given for hearing, procured by the false and malicious Insinuations, Calumnies and misrepresentations of some notoriously Infamous and Vile men. Now (according to Information) by the Resolves of the Honorable House of Cõmons the said proceedings declared to be illegal and a grievance, which we hope by the ffavour of God and countenance of your Hono^{r} hath ere this time been drawn into

* Grandson of the famous John.

an Act of Parliament, for the nulling of that Judgement entred against us. And that in this day of General Restoration of Charters and English Liberties we shall not be forgoten, nor left without our Share therein, but be again fixt and setled in our former Charter Governm^{t}. For which we have addressed their Ma^{ties}, humbly praying the continuance of your Hono^{rs} Favour unto this poor people in promoveing the same, we haveing been under sore Oppression and almost ruin'd by an Arbitrary Governm^{t}, which for some time past hath been set over us, of which [we] have written more at large unto S^{r} Henry Ashurst, and of the Revolution hapning here, and manner of our proceedings since; Giveing your Hono^{r} our hearty thanks for your im̃erited kindness towards us, Praying God to requite it doubly into your bosome, We subscrible, Hono^{ble} S^{r}

Your most humble & sincerely devoted Servants,

In the name & behalfe of the Councill and
Representatives of the Colony. S. BRADSTREET.

BOSTON IN NEW ENGLAND, 8^{o} June, 1689.

LETTERS OF SAMUEL LEE.*

SAMUEL LEE TO INCREASE MATHER.

For The Rev^d & his highly respected ffriend M^r Incr. Mather, at his house at the North End of Boston, These.

Aug 25. 87, Mount Hope.

Deare M^r Mather, — 2 things in your letter call for an answer, & your kind excuse for delay. The 2 books were sent to your good son, to whom I wrote some time since, but not knowing it from the children, could not then mention it, which now I intreat you to send for them from thence.

As to my D^r Anne: I thank you for your love in her admission. We would not offend neither Jew nor Gentile, nor any Church of God. She stands with us onely transient, & her respective relation to your self stands still, till you be pleasd to give your dismission. It is so with all, unles some of the 1^st^, which was occasioned by necessity or else we had bin beaten, *in limine*. It was highly designed by whom you may please to judge, & yet still foments & ferments what he can. But God hath graciously resisted him, & we increase throu' his benignity in peace & love: I am compassed with various humors in neighboring townes & Ilands, but blissed be God, the fogs fly. I have had a long disceptation, I cant call a disputation, with a stout Anabaptist. But, blessed be his holy name, they give ground. I am invited to the Iland, & hope next week to see it, with the Lords leave, & try what work may enter. I want strength of body. I am in a

* Samuel Lee, the first minister of Bristol, R.I., was born in London in 1625, and educated at Oxford, where he received the degree of Master of Arts in 1648. He was ejected from a living in London in 1662; and, after a residence of some years in Oxfordshire, removed in 1679 to Newington-green, near London, and in June, 1686, to New England. Being desirous of returning to his native country, he embarked in 1691, but was captured by a French privateer, and carried into St. Malo, where he died soon after.

Frontire. You had need incourage vs with Aműnition & auxiliaries from Heaven, & to begin to think of some learned, holy, discreet man, that might undertake at Newport. But no more at p^{r}sent. My hearty love to your good son, to my ancient Lov: ffriend, M^{r} Allyn, & to my Beloved Brethren, M^{r} Moody & M^{r} Willard, intreating your pray^{rs} for strength every way, with hearty respects to my deare sister, of whose Turkeyes I have so often tasted, with my wives.

Yours affectionately in the Lord, S. L.

[I conclude — Samuel Lee — PRINCE.]

SAMUEL LEE TO INCREASE MATHER.

For his highly honoured ffriend, M^{r} Incr. Mather, These neere the North meeting in Boston, p^{r}sent.

8, 14, 87, MOUNT HOPE.

DEARE M^{R} MATHER, — Methinks its very comfortable to see your hand, & had I Dove's wings, I would soone see your face, with divine ꝑmission, & a supply, which you can more easily have there. My good ffriend Mr. Morton * has bin here. I thank him, but [he] runs up & downe here from place to place, & suddenly runs back. That truly I was much troubled at. Once he left me among the beares at Cambridge, & now among the spirituall beares in Rhode Island: but all in Love. Yet I shall hope when *you* come, you will give me some more of your company. Theres no discoursing under a bit of waxe; but meeting at Heaven's gate with the same petitions, through our gracious Redeemer. I found great respect from the Ilanders, as Paul speaks, no little kindness at Malta. One desired me to speak for a young scholar or student to live in his house, & teach his children; a man of some quality: but I think will give onely dyet at p^{r}sent. If any good ffriends would help for about 10^{l} a y. for clothes: we might begin some work there I hope. I have preacht once there to a few, with kind resentm^{t}, & I took occasion by the Judges

* Rev. Charles Morton.

going in there, & would fain have ꝑswaded Mr. Morton; since the Prsident told him he would provide for his place: but his love to his wife & some other things were his Apology. I intend to give him some account in time, God willing. My hearty love to your good son, & acquaint him he is in debt a letter to me. To your kind wife & to all our Brethren in the Ministry, & in the Lord, my wife and drs prsent their hearty resp., especially Anne, & so does

your truly Lov. Br. & servt in the Ld S. L.

[Samuel Lee.—Prince.]

SAMUEL LEE TO INCREASE MATHER.

For his highly esteemed ffr[iend,] Mr. I. Mather in Boston, these I pray.

Febr. 15, 87.

Deare, Good Mr Mather, — Your hearty letter I recd as heartily & embraced it *utrisq ulnis, & in imo sulco pectoris.* I am glad & sorry of your motion to England, *nostri hæc farrago libelli.* I doe earnestly desire to sit up one night with you. 3 things hinder as yet. A supply of my place, which if you or our fds would engage Mr. Metcalf or Mr. Parry to come for 2 or 3 sabaths, I should endeavour to come to you toward the end of next moneth, by the will of God. Another is I expect some things from England in May, & that will double my trouble to come then too. Another is the difficulty of travell to me. But if I get a supply by that time, with your loving help, & some of our ffds when they come up to you, since my house is as farr from being put in equipage now, as in Octob. last: onely hopes begin to spring. There be many things uncomittable to a languid seale, which I remitt, if the Lord ꝑmitt, to enjoymt. I am shutt off into into an Angle from your company; but not from a conversation with you above the circle of human affaires. In hast, longing my letter should quickly see you, subscribe deliberately

Your ꝑsevering ffd, & throu grace, Br., S. L.

[Saml Lee.—Prince.]

MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS AND PAPERS.

JOHN COTTON* TO HIS WIFE.

To my deare wife M^rs^ Sarah Cotton dd this with speede.

DEARE WIFE & COMFORTABLE YOKEFELLOW, — If our heavenly Father be pleased to make our yoke more heavy, then wee did so soone expeet, remember (I pray thee) what wee have heard that our heavenly Husband the Lord Jesus, when he first ealled vs to fellowship with himself, called vs vnto this condition, to Deny ourselves & to take up our crosse dayly, to follow him. And truely (Sweete Heart) though this eup may be brackish at the first tast: yet a Cup of Gods mingling is doubtless sweetc in the bottome, to such, as have learned to make it their greatest Happynesse, to partake with Christ as in his glory, so in the way, that leadeth to it.

Where I am for the present, I am very fitly & weleomely accom̃odated, I thank God: so as I see, here I might rest (desired enough) till my freinds at home shall direet ffurther. They desire also to see thee here, but that I think it not safe yet, till wee see, how God will deale with our neighbo^rs^ at home. For if you should now traveyle this way, I feare you will be watehed & dogged at your heeles. But I hope shortly God will make way for thy safe com̃ing.

Meanwhile send me now by this Bearer, sueh linnen as I am to vse.

If Margarett be fitt to eome with this Bearer, whither I shall

* Rev. John Cotton, born at Derby, England, Dec. 4, 1585, entered the University of Cambridge at the age of fourteen years, took his degree of A.M. at Trinity College, in 1606, and was made a Fellow of Emmanuel. Having preached twenty-one years at Boston, in Lincolnshire, he came over, with several of his parishioners, in the "Griffin," and arrived at Boston in N.E., Sept. 4, 1633. He was ordained Teacher of the Church in Boston, Oct. 10, 1633, and died, Dec. 23, 1652.

This letter was printed for the first time in Young's "Chronicles of Massachusetts;" but we have inserted it here because the original is in the Mather Collection, and because in the copy made by Dr. Young the spelling is modernized, and there is a slight omission.

direct him, she may come behinde him vpon my mare, vnlesse she desire to stay with some other, at Boston: which if she do, helpe hir hercin.

I pray you goe to my mother Hauered & cõmend my hearty Respect & love to hir, & the rather, because I had not time to see hir at my cõming out. To many other freinds it will not be meete to speake of me now. The Lord watch over you all for good, & reveale himself in the guidaunce of all our Affayres.

So with my love to thee, as myself, I rest, Desirous of thy Rest & peace in Him, J. C.

Octob: 3, 1632.

When you have read my lr̃e to Margarett, seale it vp & give it her. Once againe, Farewell in the Lord. If she be not yet ready to come with him now, he may come for hir the next weeke.

SAMUEL STONE* TO THOMAS SHEPARD.

To his dear Brother, Mr Thomas Shepard, Pastor of the Ch. of Christ at Cambridge, dd.

HARTFORD, July 19, [1647. — MATHER.]

DEAREST BROTHER, — God brought vs safely to Hartford, but when I came hither, God presented to me a sad spectacle. Mr Hooker † looked like a dying man. God refused to heare our prayers for him, but tooke him from vs July 7, a little before

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* Rev. Samuel Stone is said to have been born at Hertford, England. He took his degrees at Emmanuel College in 1623 and 7, and came over in the "Griffin" in 1633, with Cotton and Hooker; was ordained teacher of the church at Cambridge the 11th of October of that year, — Hooker being ordained pastor at the same time, — and in 1636 removed with Hooker to Hartford, which is said to have received its name out of regard to his birthplace. Here the two friends sustained the same offices as formerly to the church in Cambridge. Savage's Geneal. Dict.

† Rev. Thomas Hooker was bred at Emmanuel College, where he took his degrees in 1608 and 11, and was chosen a Fellow. He first lectured at Chelmsford, England, but "withdrew from the pulpit on account of his aversion to some ceremonies," and taught a school near Chelmsford, where his assistant was the celebrated John Eliot. He afterwards went to Holland, and preached at Delft and Rotterdam. He died of an epidemical fever, July 7, 1647.

sunne-set. Our sunne is set, our light is eclipsed, our ioy is darkened, we remember now in the daye of our calamitie the pleasant things, which we enioyed in former times. His spirits & head were so oppressed with the disease that he was not able to expresse much to vs in his sicknesse, but had exprest to M^r^ Goodwin * before my returne, that his peace was made in heauen, & had continued 30 years without alteration, he was aboue Satan. Marke the vpright man, for the end of that man is peace! He liued a most blamelesse life. I thinke his greatest enemies cannot charge him. He hath done much work for Christ, & now rests from his labours & his workes follow him, but our losse is great, & bitter. My losse is bitter.

I gaue thankes to my God dayly for his helpe, & no man in the world but my selfe knowes what a friend he hath been vnto me.

As his abilities were great, so his love and faithfullnesse were very great. I can neuer looke to haue the like fellow-officer in his place. There are but few such men in the world. I will say no more least I should seem to exceed. It is an extream difficultie to me to know how to behaue myselfe vnder the hand of God which strikes me [in this] speciall manner. Pray for me in this stresse, for I am astonished at his amazing ꝓuidence. I cannot complain of God, who doeth all things well; the Lord shew me what his mind is, that I may be rightly affected with this losse. I pray suggest, what you thinke may be the mind of God in it.

M^rs^ Hooker was taken with the same sicknesse, that night when I came to Hartford, & was very neer death, she is yet weak but, I hope, recouering. It would haue been a great aggravation of our miserie if God had blotted out that pleasant familie all at once. Little Sam: Shepard † is well. M^rs^ Cullick dyed that day when I came to Hartford. Goody Bets the schooldame is dead, with some others, 2 of M^r^ Warum's [Warham's] children are dead. My wife ‡ is sicke & weake. I am not well.

* William Goodwin came in the "Lion" in 1632, and settled at Cambridge; was representative in the first General Court in Massachusetts, but removed, in a few years, to Hartford. He was a devoted friend of Hooker, but unfriendly to Stone. He went afterwards to Hadley. He was Ruling Elder both at Hadley and Hartford. Savage's Geneal. Dict.; Trumbull, Coll. Rec.

† Samuel Shepard [H.C. 1658], son of Rev. Thomas Shepard of Cambridge, was born October, 1641. His mother was Joanna, eldest daughter of Rev. Thomas Hooker. He is undoubtedly the young person referred to in the letter.

‡ His second wife was Eliza Allen of Boston.

I am troubled with heat & faintnesse. The last night I had some rest, but the night before I co'd not sleep all the night, but slumber & dreame. God giues me warning, to p[rep]are for my chang. The glorious pr[csen]ce of Xt in heauen is much better then life. We wait for that blessed hour. If it had not been for this r[ea]son, I know not [wh]ether I should have written any thing [at] this time, be[ing] unfit to write. We shall doe what we can, to prepare M[r] Hooker's answer to Rutherford, that it may be sent before winter, I purpose to ꝓceed in the answer to Dr Crispe but whether I shall finish it & get it written out fair before winter, I know not, & when I haue done that I shall th[en] take further advice. If it should not be readie before win[te]r, bee not offended, if I doe what I can, if you will send me Saltmarsh I shall t . . . in him also. If I have the whole winter, you may think whether it may not be comely for you & myselfe & some other Elders to make a few verses for Mr. Hooker & inscribe them in the begin[g] of his book, as if they had been his funerall verses. I do but propound it.

fr: t: S[AM:] STONE.

Remember me to Mr. Dunster, Mr. Danforth & your Elders.
I pray remember my love to Mr. Collins & Mris. Bradde.

Indorsed, — "M[r] S. Stone his L[re] to my Grand Father Shepard."

JOHN DAVENPORT* TO MRS. SARAH COTTON.†

(DEARE MRS. COTTON,) — The departure of our freinds being more suddaine then I expected, I wanted opportunitie of saluting you, by letter, according to my desire, yet now, hearing of another way of transmitting these lines, I am encouraged to put pen to paper, to express my sincere love to you, in the Lord, and to your familie, praying you to be assured, that I doe as heartily wish all good to you and yours, as to my selfe and myne, which I would

* See note on p. 126.
† Sarah Story, wife of Rev. John Cotton of Boston.

most gladly make visible, by reall and suitable effects, if I knew how, and had power in my hand answerable to my desire. But this is your comfort, that whatever deficiency is in the creature, there is Allsufficiency for you & yours in God, who is your God & Father in Christ Jesus, by an everlasting Covenant, whereby he hath made ouer (as it were, by a deed of gift) his Allsufficiency, in respect of the fruite & benefit of it, unto you, thorough Christ. Yet seing it hath pleased the onely wise God to make men his instruments, that His goodnes may be diffused & cõmunicated unto us in that order, and by those outward meanes, in the cõmunion of saints, which he vouchsafeth and suiteth to that end; it will be well pleasing in his sight that you improve that channell, & those conduit pipes for your cõmunion with that blessed fountaine of all good. Of this kind, I know you haue plentifull helpes, daily, at hand, which you doe well, in that you make vse of them, according to the opportunities which God graciously affoardeth unto you. And, if I may be of any use to yourselfe or to any of yours, be assured that your interest in me is such, that the intimation of your desire will haue the force of a strong in[ga]gement upon me for the performance of any office, and service of love, that is or shall be within my compas. In the meane time and ever, (with my wife's most affectionate salutations) I heartily cõmend you & yours to the grace of our Lord Jesus, in whom I rest

Your assured thanckful freind, JOHN DAVENPORT.

NEWHAVEN, the 25th d. of the 6th m. 1653.

JOHN DAVENPORT TO JOHN COTTON.*

To Mr [John Cotton.]

DEARE Sr,—Yours dated the 17th of the 11th m. I received the 9th day of the 12.m., and having so good an opportunity, by so safe an hand as Mr Sam: Streete, I returne such Answer as I can to your Letter, wherein I observe with thanckfullnes your kinde acceptance of my loving freenes, in expressing my deepe sence of your sinfull

* Rev. John Cotton of Plymouth. See note on p. 226.

misearriages. I could not have approued my faithfulnes to God, to you, & to my owne conscienec, if I had neglected such a season of so speaking to you, as I did, that being the first opportunity which was given me of treating with you, *ore tenus*, about such matters as were not fit to be coñitted to wrighting, which might fall into other hands, to the blemishing of your name, which I desired to preserve unspotted by me, while I sincerely endeavoured the healing of your soul. How often have I fervently desired that as you beare boath your father's names, so you might hold forth the virtues of Christ, in the spirit & conversacon, which eminently shined in him! Thus you would be knowne to be his son morally, by imitacon, as well as naturally, by generacon, which would have given you a double interest, in the hearts of God's people, who knew, loved, & highly honoured your blessed Father, who being dead would thus have lived in you, as worthy M^r^ Hooker doth in his good son, at Farmington. Nor am I out of hope that yet it may be so, if the Lord convince you powerfully of your former sins, & humble you effectually for them to justifie wisdomes counsels by your holding forth publiekly your unfeined repentance, as I told you Origen did, with many teares, that scandal might be remoued, which while it remaines, will be *τὸ κατεχον*, to hinder the acceptance of your exercise of guifts in preaching, with men, & the blessing of it from God. You promised you would send me a copie of your publick acknowledgm^t^, which is reported to be slight, & unsatisfying, & that you would propound some things in reference to your case, for further aduise.

But you have done neither, whereby I am dissaduantaged from giving you that helpe which otherwise I might have done, with God's assistance. It is a temptacon from Satan to hinder you from propounding your case, upon a secret expectacon to see more of God in it, hoping that God, who helped me before to speake as if I had knowne the inward frame of your heart, will againe direct me to speake some thing to the troubles of your heart though I be not fully acquainted with them. For though if you had acquainted me with your troubles, & the grounds of them, & the effects, my bowells would have bene troubled with you & for you, & from a true sympathy I should have endeavoured to asswage your griefe, or to direct your apprehencons, or otherwise to speake suitably to your case; yet it is not God's manner, nor may you expect it, to

reveale to his servᵗˢ, by imediate inspiracon, the cases of others, which, by his ordinances, they aught to expresse, themselues, & seek helpe in from others that the comunion of saints may be preserved & exercised among them mutually. Thus you see how Satan tempteth you to tempt God. As for me, be you assured that in any way of God, you shall finde me really ready, upon all occasions, to be helpfull to you as the case may require. Farewel & account me, as I am,

Your true freind in the Lord, JOHN DAVENPORTE.

N. H. the 23: of the 1ˢᵗ m. 166⅔.

Sᴿ, — I thanck you for my letters to your Father, which you sent me according to my desire & your promise. Some I reeᵈ by Edm: Toolie, & some by Jacob Molines, with your letter. If any yet remaine with you, you will further oblige me if you send them to me. *Iterum vale.*

SAMUEL MATHER* TO INCREASE MATHER.

DEAR BROTHER, — Yours [from] Weymouth, April 5, is come to my hand. The reason I haue not written to you of late hath been partly for want of tyme, partly because I intended to have gone to Engl. myselfe, partly because I knew not, neither doe I yett know how to direct my letters to you, but cheefly because I was in suspence about the money which I wrote to you of in my last, not knowing when I should gett it; but at last it is ready for you. Your name was continued upon the list another quarter, after you went away. Ten pound I have kept to pay my Brother, that becing so much upon your account in his shop, which I would have paid myselfe, had not this money come in. There is therefore 40ˡᵗ left for you. Part of that he oweth mee. Let me heare from you about it when you have opportunity. As to that of Mr. Hudson I never wrote any thing concerning the Church Covenant, and [there]-fore what my mynd is about that matter, I suppose [Mr.] H.

* Rev. Samuel Mather [H.C. 1643], eldest son of Rev. Richard Mather, after studying for the ministry here, went to England, and having preached in England, Scotland, and Ireland, was settled in Dublin and made a fellow of Trinity College. He died in 1671.

knoweth not. As for that which I wrote of [spiri]tuall Blindnesse, it is no where applyed by mee to any godly presbyterian, much lesse to all that [arc] not of my opinion about the Covenant, though the thing is true enough in itselfe, and too true concerning some who call themselves presbyterians, but are malignant and profane. If Mr. Hudson know no such persons in the world, I doe, persons whose lives & Conversations witnesse it that they are blind in spirituall things, though they call themselves presbyterians. Your logical animadversions, which you sent to my brother Nath. for Mr Moll, I pray you also to send a copy of them to mee. Mr Huds. might have m[ade] a more charitable construction of my meaning, it is not soe much I that have made an harsh censure, but rather Mr Hud. that hath made an harsh constructiõ of what I said, so I rest

Yours, S: M.

April. 20. 1659.

SAMUEL MATHER TO INCREASE MATHER.

For Mr. Inc: Mather at Barnstable or elsewhere. Leave this with Mr. George Thorne, Preacher of God's word at Weymouth. Post payd.

Deare Brother, — Yours is come to my hand w'in you speake of your thoughts of coming to see Ireland againe. I should bee glad to see you here & to have you setled in Dublin, if it were in my power to effect it, and I should be glad to do it not onely out of my love to you, but to the publike good also of this poore city & natiõ. But the new Cõmissioners (as I am told,) have voted since theyr coming over that there shal bee but 4 ministers in Dublin, which, though I can hardly thinke they would resolve to have so few, for foure is too few by halfe, yett that they will diminish the number of those that are now here, and dismisse severall of them, I do not doubt; partly because I heard one of them say that 6 ministers would be enough for Dublin, and two at Christ church, and partly because they are in such straits for money, for they are in arreare with the ministers, with some 3 quarters, with mee 2 quarters, and no money is yett to bee had, so that I am in some

strait for want of my salary. Dr Winter's eldest son hath been here a long tyme. I meane not Jos. of the Colledge, but an elder then hee, and I have heard his [fa]ther speake to the Comissioners to settle him in Dublin, but it is not [yett] done, insomuch that I believe he wil go to England. Dr Winter's order . . . parliam^{t} was procured by some of his freinds in England, who would . . . him remoove from hence. I thinke theyr designe is to have him . . . to the Council of State at Whitehall. Mr Richardsons notes with you . . . I am content you keep them with you for a tyme till you [heare] further from me about them. I have written to my brother . . . about your money, and I have also sent a receyt to you, though not . . . sum̃e you desire, but of 80 pound, because the whole sum̃e of your . . . was almost so much, it was 75, not indeed ten went to my brother Howard, but of this sum̃e of 80^{li} you may abate to my brother Nath. what you shall thinke fitt. If this receyt which I have sent bee not come to your hand, and my brother Nath.'s letter to him, send me word and I wil send you another. My wife, remembers her dear Love to you & to my brother Nath. & his wife. Shee is neare her tyme. I have thoughts the next sum̃er of seeing England, and it may bee I shall then leave Ireland, and settle wholy in Engl. If they thus neglect to pay mee I shalbee forced to do it, for want of subsistence for myselfe and family. The state being thus behind hand with mee, your money is the greater kindnesse to mee, for which I do (as I have cause to do) give you many thankes.

Deare brother, the Lord bee with you. I pray lett mee heare from you as oft as maybee, so I rest

Your lov. brother, S. M.

Sept: 10. 1659.

SEABORN COTTON* TO SARAH MATHER.†

[Deare] Mother, — It hath been some exercise to my heart that I have not for a long time heard of your health & wellfare,

* Rev. Seaborn Cotton [H.C. 1651], son of Rev. John Cotton of Boston, preached first at Windsor and other places, and was ordained at Hampton in 1660.

† Sarah Cotton, widow of Rev. John Cotton of Boston, married Rev. Richard Mather, August 26, 1656.

though I have enquired of many, yet they could not certainly informe mee, & therefore I have hoped your health, because had it been otherwise, I should undoubtedly have heard of it from you or my Sister. At the present, through the goodnesse of God, my Family is in health, & my dear childe doth much thrive & grow; they that see it Judge it much to resemble your selfe. I desire you to blesse God with me, that though many have been sicke in our Towne, yet our Family have had theyre Healthe. [God] hath taken away Mr Dalton from us, & It troubles me to see the place so litle affected with it, I am sure It was . . . to mee, & brings a great deale of more labour upon mee, [with]out any more incouragement from the people. Of his sicknesse & death I have written to my Father, where you may see it. Deare Mother, I hope to see you in March, if I can get any cloathes to weare, & money to bring mee to you, for at present I am allmost naked of both. However I most earnestly desire the continuance of your prayers for my spirituall cloathing with the white robes of the saints, & filling with the gifts of His spirit, who alone can fitt me for his worke, & enable mee to serve my generation, as my never to be forgotten Father hath done before mee. Myselfe & wife present our duty to you, with unfeigned thankes for all your Love, & our Love & respects to our Brother Increase & sister & couzens. I should be glad to heare of any Newes from my Brother John, if you have any, as also of my sister Mary, about the changing of Her condition. In the meane time I take leave & rest,

Your most dutifull son, SEABORNE COTTON.

HAMPTON, Jan. 27. 1661.

SEABORN COTTON TO INCREASE MATHER.

DEARE BROTHER, — The occasion of my now writing is, to give you an exact account of the late awfull effects of the All disposing hand of God, in bringing his sore Judgement of the sword, home to our owne doores: The Lord of his Infinite goodnesse sancti[fy this] dispensation to all of us, Inhabitants in this place. The truth of the matter is in s[ubstance?]. The last Wedensday, being

June 13, about 20 Indians (as appears by theyre trackes, [althou]gh not above 15 persons seen by any of our living men.) having (as it is credibly said) crossed Pascataqua River the weeke before, & keeping close till the day before mentioned, in the woods between Greenland & us: at length, some time before noone espied two of our men (Ben: Hilliard, who in the late warre had accidentally slaine his comander, about Rehoboth, & Caleb Towle) who were returning home from keeping garrison, at Oyster river (as sundry of our souldiers did the day before safe, from other garrisons) while our two men, & a freindly Indian with them sat downe to take tobacco, upon a plaine about a mile from our outmost houses, they soone espied 4 Indians attempting to get before them, & others coming upon them to surprize them, whereupon the freindly Indian having no gun, fled to a swamp at the left hand, was hotly pursued by Simon, at last Simon caught hold of the Indian's shirt, but he slipping out of coate & shirt, left them with Simon, & got further into [the] campe, till at length hearing the Indians by theire shot ingaged elsewhere, H[e came] to the nearest place of our Towne, where our Warders received him. [The] Indian informing them of the danger of the other two men, Our Towne was Alarumd, & men called home from theyre worke to attend the service against the Enemy; only one Abram Perkins, who lived upon the same plaine forementioned, would needs venture to his house, though sufficiently warned; who going out at his backe doore, was imediately shot downe dead, (His wife & children having been removed to Towne before) the Enemy scalped him, & bowed his gun, broke the stocke & locke, & w^{t} they could spoile of axes or goods left, that they did.

This report being heard by our Warders, hastned the march of about 12 of our men to the house, among whome Edward Colcord & Abram Drake, Junior, being troopers, & venturing too neare the Indians, before the foot came up, found the House, & stone wall by it, lined with Indians, who shot many guns at them, wounded both theyre horses, shot Abram Drake through the right hand, as he was presenting at them, so that his gun fell from him, but rescued by the foot. Edward Colcord was shot through the bowells, rode home with his companion, & died Christianly that night.

The Enemy, knowing they had wounded these two, mounted over

the wall to ceize (?) them, but our foot coming on, made them get behind theire stone defence, our men plai'd vpon the Enemy with theyre shot, for about a[n] houre, an Indian could no sooner looke vp over the wall but a bullet or . . . flew at him & they let bullets fly at our men, some of which went through severall of our men's cloathes, but, through Infinite mercy, wounded no person, at length our Captaine sent out Henry Roby with about a dozen more to assist our men, & to get on the Indians backes if possible, that they might in incompasse them, & fight them before & behind, two of our men that were ingaged before also fetched a compasse & got on the same side of the stone wall with the Indians, & before the last party could come within shot of the Enemy, the Enemy gave 3 hoope[s,] marched to some further deserted houses, did some small damage, but were so eagerly pursued, & shot at by our men, that at a place called North hill bridge, they forced the Enemy to leave theyre packes, & guns & amunition they had taken from the two travelling homewards, before mentioned, & to fly for theire lives, leaving much fish & some porke of theyre owne behind them, what damage wee did them is uncertaine, they have been quiet to this 16 of June, our men in partyes have sought them, but ca[nnot] find them, but since have found & buryed our two men whome th[ey] first surprized, who were heard to fire at the Enemy some time, but at length were wounded & taken, & cruelly tortured while alive, as appeares by many simptomes thercof vpon theyre dead Bodyes: this is the sume of what yet wee know & feele, our men have been searching the woods daily but cannot find any. Wee are upon our guard, expecting them in some part, or other of the Towne daily, & hitherto have had no helpe from [neigh]bour Townes, but from the Lord alone, in whome is our Hope & Confidence. [Dear] brother, I begge your fervent prayers, & the prayers of all saints, as for the who[le] Towne, so for my selfe & family, that wee may bee kept from sin & suffering, in this day of distresse, & may have a sanctifyed vse of this sharpe visitation: When further certaine newes shall occurrre, God willing, I shall Informe you; in the meane time Hearty & Affectionate Salutations from us all, to you & yours, I am

Your truly loving & obliged Brother,

SEABORNE COTTON.

HAMPTON, June 16, 1677.

SAMUEL WILLARD'S * ACCOUNT OF THE STRANGE CASE OF ELIZABETH KNAPP OF GROTON.†

A briefe account of a strange & unusuall Providence of God, befallen to Elizabeth Knap of Groton, per me Sam^u^ Willard.

THIS poore & miserable object about a fortnight before shee was taken, wee observed to carry herself in a strange & unwonted manner. Sometimes shee would give sudden shriekes, & if wee enquired a reason, would alwayes put it off with some excuse, & then would burst forth into iñoderate & extravagant laughter, in such wise, as some times shee fell on to the ground with it: I my selfe observed oftentimes a strange change in her countenance, but could not suspect the true reason, but conceiued shee might bee ill, & therefore divers times enquired how shee did, & shee alwayes answered, well; which made mee wonder: but the tragedye began to unfold itselfe upon Munday, Octob. 30, 71, after this mañer (as I receiued by credible information, being that day my selfe gon from home.) In the evening, a little before shee went to bed, sitting by the fire, shee cryed out, Oh! my legs! & clapt her hand on them, iñediately Oh! my breast, & removed her hands thither, & forthwith, Oh! I am strangled, & put her hands on her throat. Those that observed her could not see what to make of it; whither shee was in earnest or dissembled, & in this mañer they left her (excepting the ꝑson that lay with her) complaining of her breath being stopt. 1671 Oct. 30.

The next day shee was in a strange frame, (as was observed by divers,) sometimes weeping, sometimes laughing, & many foolish & apish gestures. In the evening, going into the cellar, shee shrieked suddenly, & being enquired of the cause, shee answered, that shee saw 2 ꝑsons in the cellar; where upon some went downe with her to search, but found none; shee also looking with them; at last shee turned her head, & looking one way stedfastly, used the exp^r^ssion, What cheere, old man? which they that Oct. 31.

* Rev. Samuel Willard [H.C. 1659] was first settled at Groton, and afterward installed at the Old South in Boston, March 31, 1678. He was Pro-Præses of the College from 1701 to 1707.

† Cotton Mather briefly refers to her case in the "Magnalia," Book vi. chap. 7, p. 67.

were with her tooke for a fansye, & soe ceased; afterwards (the same evening,) the rest of the family being in bed, shee was (as one lying in the room saw, & shee herselfe also afterwards related) suddenly throwne downe into the midst of the floore with violence, & taken with a violent fit, whereupon the whole family was raised, & with much adoe was shee kept out of the fire from destroying herselfe. After which time she was followed with fits from thence till the Sabbath day; in which shee was violent in bodily motions, leapings, strainings & strange agitations, scarce to bee held in bound by the strength of 3 or 4: violent alsoe in roarings & screamings, representing a darke resemblance of hellish torm^{ts} & frequently using in these fits, divers words, sometimes crying out money, money, sometimes, sin & misery with
Nov. 1. other words. On Wednesday, being in the time of intermission questioned about the case shee was in, with reference to the cause or occasion of it, shee seemed to impeach one of the neighbo^{r}s, a ꝑson (I doubt not) of sincere uprightnesse before God, as though either shee, or the devill in her likenesse & habit, ꝑticularly her riding hood, had come downe the chimney, stricken her that night. Shee was first taken violently, which was the occasion of her being cast into the floore; whereupon those about her sent to request the ꝑson to come to her, who coming unwittingly, was at the first assaulted by her strangelye, for though her eyes were (as it were) sealed up (as they were alwayes, or for the most ꝑt, in those fits, & soe continue in them all to this day) shee yet knew her very touch from any other, though no voice were uttered, & discovered it evidently by her gestures, soe powerfull were Satans suggestions in her, yet afterward God was pleased to vindicate the case & justify the iñocent, even to remove jealousyes from the spirits of the ꝑty concerned, & satisfaction of the by standers; for after shee had gon to prayer with her, shee confessed that she beleeved Satane had deluded her, & hath never since complained of any such apparition or disturbance from the ꝑson. These fits continuing, (though with intermission) divers, (when they had opportunity) p^{r}ssed upon her to declare what might bee the true & real occasion of these amazing fits. Shee used many tergiversations & excuses, p^{r}tending shee would to this & that young ꝑson, who coming,
Nov. 2. she put it off to another, till at the last, on Thurdsday night, shee

brake forth into a large confession in the p^{r}sence of many, the substance wherof amounted to thus much: That the devill had ỏftentimes appeared to her, p^{r}senting the treaty of a Covenant, and ꝑffering largely to her, viz. such things as suited her youthfull fancye, money, silkes, fine cloaths, ease from lăbo^{r}, to show her the whole world, &c. That it had been then 3 yeers since his first appearance, occasioned by her discontent. That at first his apparitions had bin more rare, but lately more frequent; yea, those few weekes that shee had dwelt with us almost constant, that she seldome went out of one roome into another, but hee appeared to her urging of her, & that hee had presented her a booke, written with blood of covenants made by others with him, & told her such & such (of some wherof we hope better things) had a name there; that he urged upon her constant temptations to murder her ꝑents, her neighbo^{r}s, our children, especially the youngest, tempting her to throw it into the fire on the hearth, into the oven, & that once hee put a bill hooke into her hand, to murder my selfe, ꝑsuading her I was asleep, but coming about it, shee met me on the staires, at which shee was affrighted. The time I remember well, & observd a strange frame in her countenance & saw shee endeav^{r}ed to hide something, but I knew not what, neither did I at all suspect any such matter; & that often he ꝑsuaded her to make away with herselfe, & once she was going to drowne herselfe in the well, for, looking into it, shee saw such sights as allured her, & was gotten within the curbe, & was by God's providence prevented. Many other like things shee related, too tedious to recollect; but being p^{r}ssed to declare whither she had not consented to a covenant with the devill, shee with solemne assertions denyed it, yea, asserted that shee had neuer soe much as consented to disco^{r}se with him, nor had ever but once before that night used the exp^{r}ssion, What cheere, old man? & this argum^{t} she used, that the providence of God had ordered it soe, that all his apparitions had bin frightfull to her; yet this shee acknowledged, (which seemed contradictorye, viz:) that when shee came to our house to schoole, before such time as shee dwelt with us, shee delayed her going home in the evening, till it was darke which wee observed) upon his ꝑsuasion to have his company home, & that shee could not, when hee appeared, but goe to him; one evident testimony wherof wee can say somthing to, viz. The night

before the Thanksgiving, Octob. 19, shee was with another maid that boarded in the house, where both of them saw the appearance of a mans head & shoulders, with a great white neckcloath, looking in at the window, at which they came up affrighted, both into the chamber, where the rest of us were; they declaring the case, one of us went downe to see who it might bee, but shee ran immediately out of the doore before him, which shee hath since confessed, was the Devill coming to her; shee also acknowledged the reason of her former sudden shriekings, was from a sudden apparition, & that the devill put those excuses into her mouth & bid her soe to say, and hurried her into those violent (but shee saith feigned & forced) laughters: shee then also complained against herselfe of many sins, disobedience to ꝑents, neglect of attendance upon ordinances; attempts to murder herselfe & others: but this ꝑticular (of a covenant) shee utterly disclaimed; which relation seemed faire, especially in that it was attended with bitter teares, selfe condemnations, good counsells given to all about her, especially the youth then present; & an earnest desire of prayers. Shee sent to Lancaster for Mr Rowlandson, who came & prayed with her, & gave her serious counsells; but shee was still followed, all this notwithstanding, with these fits, & in this state
Nov. 3. (coming home on Fryday) I found her; but could get nothing from her, whenever I came in pʳsence shee fell into those fits; concerning which fits, I find this noteworthy. Shee knew & understood what was spoken to her, but could not answer, nor use any other words but the forementioned, money, &c., as long as the fit continued, for when shee came out of it, shee could give a relation of all that had been spoken to her: shee was demanded a reason why shee used those words in her fits, & signifyed that the Devill pʳsented her with such things, to tempt her, & with sin & misery to terrifye her. Shee also declared that shee had seene the Devills, in their hellish shapes, & more Devills than any one there ever saw men in the world. Many of these things I heard her declare on Saturday at night. On the Sabbath the Physitian came, who judged a maine ꝑt of her distemper to be naturall, arising from the foulnesse of her stomacke & corruptnesse of her blood, occasioning fumes in her braine, & strange fansyes; whereupon (in order to further tryall & administration) shee was removed home, & the succeeding weeke shee tooke

physicke, & was not in such violence handled in her fits as before; but enjoyed an intermission, & gave some hopes of recovery; in which intermission shee was altogether sencelesse (as to our discoverye) of her state, held under securitye & hardnesse of heart, ꝑfessing shee had no trouble upon her spirits, shee cryed Satan had left her. A solemne day was kept with her, yet it had then, (as I apprehend,) little efficacy upon her: Shee that day again expʳssed hopes that the devill had left her, but there was little ground to thinke soe, because she remained under such extreame sencelessenesse of her owne estate, & thus shee continued, being exercised with some moderate fits, in which shee used none of the former expʳssions, but sometimes fainted away, sometimes used some struglings, yet not with extremitye, till the Wednesday following, which day was spent in prayer with her, when her fits somthing more encreased, & her tongue was for many houres together drawne into a semicircle up to the roofe of her mouth, & not to be remooved, for some tryed with the fingers to doe it. From thence till the sabbath seuen night following: she continued alike, only shee added to former confessions of her twise consenting to travell with the Devill in her company, between Groton & Lancaster, who accompanied her in forme of a blacke dog, with eyes in his backe: sometimes stopping her horse, somctimes leaping up behind, & kecping her (when she came home with company) 40 rod[s] at least behind, leading her out of the way into a swampe, &c., but still no conference would shee owne, but urged that the devill's quarell with her was because shee would not seale a covenaᵗ with him & that this was the ground of her first being taken. Besides this nothing observable came from her; only one morning shee said God is a Father, the next morning, God is my Father, which words (it is to be feared) were words of pʳsumption, put into her mouth by the adversary. I suspecting the truth of her former storye, pressed, whether shec never verbally promised to covenant with him, which shee stoutly denyed; only acknowledged that shee had had some thoughts soe to doe: but on the forenamed Nov. 26, shee was again with violence & extremity seized by her fits, in such wise that 6 ꝑsons could hardly hold her, but shee leaped & skipped about the house ꝑforce roaring & yelling extreamly, & fetching deadly sighs, as if her heartstrings would have broken, & looking with a frightfull

Nov. 8.

Nov. 15

Nov. 26.

aspect, to the amazem^{t} & astonishm^{t} of all the beholders, of which I was an eye witnesse. The Physitian being then agen with her, consented that the distemper was Diabolicall, refused further to administer, advised to extraordinary fasting; whereupon some of God's ministers were sent for. Shee meanewhile continued extreamly tormented night & day, till Tuesday about noon; having this added on Munday & Tuesday morning, that shee barked like a dog, & bleated like a calfe, in which her organs were visibly made use of: yea, (as was carefully observed) on Munday night & Tuesday morning, when ever any came neere the house, though they within heard nothing at all, yet would shee
Nov. 28. barke till they were come into the house. On Tuesday, about 12 of the clocke, shee came out of the fit, which had held her from Sabbath day about the same time, at least 48 howers, with little or no intermission, & then her speech was restored to her, & shee exp^{r}ssed a great seeming sence of her state: many bitter teares, sighings, sobbings, complainings shee uttered; bewailing of many sins fore mentioned, begging prayers, & in the houre of prayer expressing much affection. I then p^{r}ssed her if there were any thing behind in reference to the dealings between her & Satan, when she agen ꝓfessed that shee had related all, & declared that in those fits the devill had assaulted her many wayes, that hee came downe the chimney, & shee essayed to escape him, but was siezed upon by him, that hee sat upon her breast, & used many arg^{ts} with her, & that he urged her at one time with persuasions and promises of ease & great matters, told her that shee had done enough in what shee had already confessed, shee might henceforth serve him more securely; anon told her her time was past, & there was no hopes unlesse shee would serve him: & it was observed in the time of her extremity, once when a little moments respite was granted her of speech, shee advised others to make their peace with God & use their time better than shee had done. The ꝓty advised her also to bethinke herselfe of
Nov. 29. making her peace. Shee replyed, It is too late for me. The next day was solemnized, when we had the presence of M^{r} Bulkley, M^{r} Rowlandson, & M^{r} Estabrooke, whither coming, we found her returned to a sottish & stupid kind of frame, much was prest upon her, but no affection at all discovered; though shee was little or nothing exercised with any fits, & her speech also con-

tinued; though a day or two after, shee was melancholye; & being enquired of a reason, shee complained that shee was grieved that so much pains was taken with her, & did her no good, but this held her not long: & thus shee remained till Munday, when Dec. 4. to some neighbo^{rs} there present shee related something more of her converse with the devill, viz. That it had bin 5 yeers or therabouts, since shee first saw him, & declared methodically the sundry apparitions from time to time, till shee was thus dreadfully assaulted, in which the principall was, that after many assaults, shee had resolved to seale a covenant with Satan, thinking shee had better doe it then be thus followed by him, that once, when shee lived at Lancaster, hee p^{r}sented himselfe & desired of her blood, & shee would have done it, but wanted a knife. In the parley shee was prevented by the providence of God interposing my father: A 2^{d} time in the house hee met her, & presented her a knife, & as she was going about it my father stept in agen, & p^{r}vented, that when shee sought & enquired for the knife, it was not to bee found, & that afterward shee saw it sticking in the top of the barne; & some other like passages. Shee agen owned an observable passage which shee also had confessed in her first declaration, but is not there inserted, viz., y^{t} the devill had often ꝑffered her his service, but shee accepted not; & once in ꝑtic: to bring her in chips for the fire, shee refused, but when shee came in shee saw them lye by the fire side, & was affraid, & this I remarke; I sitting by the fire spake to her to lay them on, & she turned away in an unwonted manner. Shee then also declared against herself, her unꝑfitable life she had led, & how justly God had thus permitted Satan to handle her, telling them, they little knew what a sad case shee was in. I after asked her concerning these passages, & shee owned the truth of them; & declared that now shee hoped the devill had left her, but being prest, whither there were not a covenant, she earnestly ꝑfessed, that by God's goodnesse shee had been p^{r}vented from doing that which shee, of herselfe, had bin ready enough to assent to, & shee thanked God there was no such thing. The same day shee was agen taken with a new kind of unwonted fitt, in which, after shee had bin awhile exercised with violence shee got her a sheet [?] & went up & downe, thrusting & pushing, here & there, & anon looking out at a window, & cryed

out of a witch, appearing in a strange mañer in forme of a dog downward, wth a womans head, & declared the person other whiles, that shee appeard in her whole likenesse, & described her shape & habit: signifyed that shee went up the chimney & went her way, what impression wee re[d] in the clay of the chimney, in similitude of a dog's paw, by the operation of Satan, & in the scar [?] of a dog's going in the same place she tould of. I shall not conclude, though something there was, as I myselfe saw in the chimney in the same place where shee declared the foot was set to goe up. In this mañer was shee handled that night, & the 2 next dayes, using strange gestures, complaining by signes, when shee could not speak, explaining that shee was sometimes in the chamber, somet. in the chimney, & anon assaults her; sometimes scratching her breast, beating her sides, strangling her throat, & she did oftentimes seeme to our app[r]hension as if shee would forthwith bee strangled: She declared that if the ꝑty were app[r]hended shee should forth-
Dec. 7. with be well, but never till then. Whereupon her father went & ꝑcured the coming of the woman impeached by her, who came downe to her on Thurdsday night, where (being desired to be ꝑsent) I observed that she was violently handled, & lamentably tormented by the adversarye, & uttered unusual shriekes at the instant of the ꝑsons coming in, though her eyes were fast closed; but having experience of such former actings, wee made nothing of it, but waited the issue. God therefore was sought to, to signifye something, whereby the innocent might bee acquitted, or the guilty discovered, & hee Answered our prayers; for by 2 evident & cleere mistakes, she was cleered, & then all p[r]judices ceased, & she never more to this day hath impeached her of any apparition: In the forementioned allegation of the ꝑson, shee also signifyed that somet. the devil alsoe in the likenesse of a little boy appeared
Dec. 8. together with the ꝑson. Fryday was a sad day with her, for shee was sorely handled with fits, which some ꝑceiving pressed that there was something yet behind not discovered by her, & shee after a violent fit, holding her betweene two & 3 houres, did first to one & afterwards to many, acknowledge that shee had given of her blood to the Devill, & made a covenant with him; whereupon I was sent for to her; & understanding how things had passed, I found that there was no roome for privacye, in another alredy

made by her soe publicke, I therefore examined her concerning the matter, & found her not soe forward to confesse, as shee had bin to others, yet thus much I gathered from her confession.

That after shee came to dwell with us, one day as shee was alone, in a lower roome, all the rest of us being in the chamber, she looked out at the window, & saw the devill in the habit of a old man, coming over a great meadow lying neere the house, & suspecting his designe, shee had thoughts to have gon away, yet at length resolved to tarry it out, & heare what hee had to say to her. When hee came, he demanded of her some of her blood, which shee forthwith consented to, & with a knife cut her finger, Hee caught the blood in his hand, & then told her she must write her name in his booke. Shee answered shee could not write, but hee told her he would direct her hand; & then took a little sharpened stieke, and dipt in the blood, & put it into her hand, & guided it; & shee wrote her name with his helpe. What was the matter shee set her hand to I could not learne from her; but thus much shee confessed, that the terme of time agreed upon with him was for 7 yeers; one yeere shee was to be faithfull in his service, & then the other six hee would serve her & make her a witch. Shee also related, that the ground of contest between her & the devill which was the occasion of this sad providence, was this, y^{t} after her covenant made the devill showed her hell & the damned, & told her, if shee were not faithfull to him, shee should goe thither & bee tormented there. Shee desired of him to show her heaven: but hee told her that heaven was an ougly place, & that none went thither but a company of base roagues whom he hated, but if she would obey him it should bee well with her; but afterward shee considered with herselfe, that the term of her coven^{t} was but short, & would soone bee at an end, & shee doubted (for all the devills ꝑmises) shee must at last come to the place hee had showne her, & withall feared, if shee were a witch, shee should bee discovered & brought to a shamefull end; which was many times a trouble on her spirits; This the Devill ꝑceiving, urged upon her to give him more of her blood, & set her hand agen to his booke, which shee refused to doe, but ꝑtly through promises, ꝑtly by threatnings, hee brought her at last to a promise that shee would sometime doe it: after which hee left not incessantly to urge her to the ꝑformance

of it. Once hee met her on the staires, & often elsewhere pressing her with vehemencye, but shee still put it off, till the first night shee was taken, when the devill came to her & told her he would not tarry any longer. Shee told him shee would not doe it; hee Answered shee had done it already, & what further damage would it bee to doe it agen, for shee was his sure enough. She rejoyned, shee had done it already, & if shee were his sure enough what need hee to desire any more of her; whereupon he strucke her the first night, and agen more violently the 2d as is above exp^rst^. This is the sume of the Relation I then had from her, which at that time seemed to bee methodicall. These things she uttered with great affection, overflowing of teares & seeming bitternesse. I asked of the Reason of her weeping & bitternesse, shee complained of her sinns, & some in ꝑticular, profanation of the sabbath, &c. but nothing of this sin of renouncing the goverm^t^ of God and giving herselfe up to the devill. I therfore (as God helped) applied it to her, & asked her whether shee desired not prayers with & for her. Shee assented with earnestnesse, & in prayer seemed to bewaile the sin as God helped, then in the aggravation of it, & afterward declared a desire to rely on the power & mercy of God in Christ: Shee then also declared, that the Devill had deceived her concerning those ꝑsons impeached by her: that hee had in their likenesse or resemblance tormented her, ꝑsuading her that it was they: that they bare her a spleen; but he loved her, & would free her from them, & pressed on her to endeavo^r^ to bring them forth to the censure of the law. In this case I left her, but (not being satisfied in some things) I promised to visit her agen the next day, which accordingly I did; but coming to her I found her (though her speech still remained) in a case sad enough; her teares dryed up & sences stupifyed, & (as was observed) when I could get nothing from her, & therfore applyed myselfe in counsell to her; shee regarded it not, but fixed her eye steadfastly upon a place, as shee was wont when the Devill p^r^sented himselfe to her, which was a griefe to her parents, & brought mee to a
Dec. 10. stand; in this condition I left her. The next day, being the sabbath, whither upon any hint given her, or any advantage Satan tooke by it upon her, shee sent for mee in hast at noone. Coming to her, shee imediately with teares told me that shee had belied the Devill, in saying shee had given him of her blood, &c.

professed that the most of the apparitions shee had spoken of were but fansyes, as images repʳsented in a dreame, earnestly entreated me to beleeve her, called God to witnesse to her assertions. I told her I would willingly hope the best, & beleeve what I had any good grounds to appʳhend. If therefore shee would tell a more methodicall relation than the former, it would be well, but if otherwise, she must bee content that every one should censure according to their appʳhension. Shee promised soe to doe, & expressed a desire that all that would might heare her; that as they had heard soe many lyes & untruths, they might now heare the truth, & engaged that in the evening shee would doe it. I then repaired to her, & divers more then went. Shee then declared thus much. That the Devill had sometimes appeared to her; that the occasion of it was her discontent, that her condition displeased her, her laboʳ was burdensome to her. Shee was neither content to be at home nor abroad, & had oftentime strong ꝑsuasions to practice in witchcraft, had often wished the Devill would come to her at such & such times, & resolved that if hee would, shee would giue herselfe up to him soul & body; but (though hee had oft times appeared to her, yet) at such times hee had not discovered himselfe, & therfore shee had been pʳserved from such a thing. I declared a suspicion of the truth of the relation, & gave her some Reasons; but by Reason of the company did not say much, neither could any thing further be gotten from her; but the next day I went to her, & opened my mind to her alone, & left it with her, declared (among other things) that shee had used preposterous courses, & therfore it was no marvell that shee had bin led into such contradictions, & tendered her all the helpe I could, if shee would make use of me, & more privately relate any weighty & serious case of Conscience to me. Shee promised me shee would if shee knew any thing, but said that then shee knew nothing at all: but stood to the story shee had told the foregoing evening: & indeed what to make of these things I at pʳsent know not, but am waiting till God (if hee see meet) wind up the story, & make a more cleere discovery. It was not many dayes ere shee was hurried agen into violent fits after a different manner, being taken agen speechless, & using all endeavoʳs to make away with herselfe, & doe mischiefe unto others; striking those that held her; spitting in their faces; & if at any time, shee

had done any harme or frightned them, shee would laugh iñe-diately; which fits held her sometimes longer, sometimes shorter. Few occasions shee had of speech, as when shee could speake, shee complained of a hard heart, counselled some to beware of sin, for that had brought her to this, bewailed that soe many prayers had bin put up for her, & shee still so hard hearted & no more good wrought upon her; but being asked whither shee were willing to repent, shaked her head, & said nothing. Thus shee continued
Dec. 17. till the next sabbath in the afternoone; on which day in the morning, being somthing better then at other times, shee had but little company tarryed with her in the afternoon, when the Devill began to make more full discoverye of himselfe. It had bin a question before, whither shee might ꝑperly bee called a Demoniacke, or ꝑson possessed of the Devill: but it was then put out of Question. Shee began (as the ꝑsons with her testifye) by drawing her tongue out of her mouth most frightfully, to an extraordinary length & greatnesse, & many amazing postures of her bodye, & then by speaking, vocally in her, whereupon her father & another neighboʳ were called from the meeting, on whom, (as soon as they came in,) he railed, calling them roagues, charging them for folly in going to hear a blacke roague, who told them nothing but a ꝑcell of lyes, & deceived them, & many like expʳssions. After exercise I was called, but understood not the occasion, till I came & heard the same voice, a grum, low, yet audible voice it was. The first salutation I had was, Oh! you are a great roague. I was at the first somthing daunted & amazed, & many reluctanees I had upon my spirits, which brought mee to a silence & amazement in my spirits, till at last God heard my groanes & gave me both refreshment in Christ, & coʳage. I then called for a light, to see whither it might not appeare a counterfiet, & observed not any of her organs to moove; the voice was hollow, as if it issued out of her throat. Hee then agen called me great blacke roague. I challenged him to make it appear; but all the Answer was, you tell the people a company of lyes. I reflected on myselfe, & could not but magnifye the goodnesse of God, not to suffer Satan to bespatter the names of his ꝑple with those sins which hee himselfe hath ꝑdoned in the blood of Christ. I Answered, Satan, thou art a lyar & a deceiver, & God will vindicate his owne truth one day. Hee Answered nothing directly, but said, I am not Satan, I am a pretty blacke

boy, this is my pretty girle. I have bin here a great while. I sat still and Answered nothing to these expressions; but when hee directed himselfe to mee agen; Oh! you blacke roague, I do not love you, I replyed through God's grace, I hate thee; hee rejoyned, but you had better love mee. These manner of exp^{r}s-sions filled some of the company there p^{r}sent with great consternation, others put on boldnesse to speake to him, at which I was displeased, & advised them to see their call cleere, fearing least by his policye & many apish exp^{r}ssions hee used, hee might insinuate himselfe, & raise in them a fearlessenessc of spirit of him. I no sooner turned my backe to goe to the fire, but he called out agen, Where is that blacke roague gone? I seeing little good to bee done by disco^{r}se, & questioning many things in my mind concerning it, I desired the company to joyne in prayer unto God; when wee went about that duty, & were kneeled downe, with a voice louder then before something, hee cryed out, hold your tongue, hold your tongue, get you gon you blacke roague. What are you going to doe, you have nothing to doe with me, &c., but through God's goodnesse was silenced, & shee lay quiet during the time of prayer, but as soone as it was ended, began afresh, using the former exp^{r}ssions, at which some ventured to speake to him. Though I thinke imprudently, one told him, God had him in chaines; hee replyed, For all my chaine I can knocke thee on the head when I please: hee said hee would carry her away that night. Another Answered, but God is stronger than thou. He presently rejoyned, that's a ly, I am stronger then God: at which blasphemy I agen advised them to bee wary of speaking, counselled them to get serious persons to watch with her, & left her, co$\tilde{\text{m}}$ending her to God; On Tucsday following shee confessed that the Devill Dec. 19. entred into her the 2d night after her first taking, that when shee was going to bed, he entred in (as shee conceived) at her mouth, & had bin in her ever since, & professed, that if there were ever a Devill in the world there was one in her, but in what manner he spake in her she could not tell. On Wednesday night, shee must Dec. 20. forthwith be carried downe to the bay in all hast, shee should never be well, till an assembly of ministers was met together to pray with & for her, & in ꝑticular M^{r} Cobbet: her friends advised with me about it. I signifyed to them, that I app^{r}hended Satan never made any good motion, but it was out of season, & that it

was not a thing now fiezable, the season being then extreame cold, & the snow deepe, that if shee had bin taken in the woods with
Dec. 22. her fits shee must needs ꝑish. On Fryday in the evening shee was taken agen violently, & then the former voice (for the sound) was heard in her agen, not speaking, but imitating the crowing of a cocke, accompanied with many other gestures, some violent, some ridiculous, which occasioned my going to her, where by signes she signifyed that the Devill threatned to carry her away that night. God was agen then sought for her, & when in prayer, that expression was used, that God had prooved Satan a liar, in preserving her once when hee had threatned to carry her away that night, & was entreated soe to doe agen, the same voice, which had ceased 2 dayes before, was agen heard by the by-standers 5 times distinctly to cry out, Oh, you are a roague, and then ceased: but the whole time of prayer, sometimes by violence of fits, sometimes by noises shee made, shee drouned her owne hearing from receiving our petition, as she afterwards confessed. Since that time shee hath continued for the most ꝑt speechlesse; her fits coming upon her sometimes often, sometimes with greater intermission, & with great varietyes in the manner of them, sometimes by violence, sometimes by making her sicke, but (through God's goodnesse) soe abated in violence that now one ꝑson can as well rule her, as formerly 4 or 5. She is observed alwayes to fall into her fits when any strangers goe to visit her, & the more goe the more violent are her fits. As to the frame of her spirits, shee hath bin more averse lately to good counsell then heretofore, yet sometime shee signifyes a desire of the companye of ministers. On
1671-2 Jan. 11. Thursday last, in the evening, shee came a season to her speech, & (as I received from them with her) agen disouned a Coven^{t} with the Devill, disouned that relation about the knife fore mentioned, declared the occasion of her fits to bee discontent, owned the temptations to murder; declared that though the devill had power of her body, shee hoped hee should not of her soule, that she had rather continue soe speechlesse than have her speech, & make no better use of it than formerly shee had; expressed that shee was sometimes disposed to doe mischiefe, & was as if some had laid hold of her to enforce her to it, & had double strength to her owne. That shee knew not whither the devill were in her or no: if hee were, shee knew not when or how he entered. That

when shee was taken speechlesse, she fayned (?) as if a string was tyed about the roots of her tongue & reached downe into her vitalls, & pulled her tongue downe, & then most when shee strove Jan. 12. to speake. On Fryday, in the evening shee was taken with a passion of weeping & sighing, which held her till late in the night; at length she sent for me, but the unseasonablenesse of the weather & my owne bodily indisposednesse p^{r}vented. I went the next morning, when shee strove to speake somthing she could not, but was taken with her fits, which held her as long as I tarried, which was more than an houre, & I left her in them; & thus she continues speechlesse to this instant, Jan. 15, & followed with fits; concerning which state of hers I shall suspend my owne Judgment, & willingly leave it to the censure of those that are more learned, aged, & Judicious: only I shall leave my thoughts in resp. of 2 or 3 questions which have risen about her: viz. 1. Whither her distemper be reale or counterfiet: I shall say no more to that but this. The great strength appearing in them, & great weaknesse after them will disclaime the contrary opinion: for thõ a person may counterfiet much, yet such a strength is beyond the force of dissimulation: 2: Whither her distemp bee naturall or Diabolicall. I suppose the p^{r}mises will strongly enough conclude the latter, yet I will adde these 2 further argum^{ts}, — 1. The actings of convulsion, which these come nearest to, are (as ꝑsons acquainted with them observe) in many, yea the most essentiall ꝑts of them quite contrary to these actings: 2. Shee hath no wayes wasted in body, or strength by all these fits, though soe dreadfulle, but gathered flesh exceedinglye, & hath her naturall strength when her fits are off, for the most ꝑt: 3. Whither the Devill did really speake in her. To that point which some have much doubted of, thus much I will say to countermand this app^{r}hension. 1. The manner of exp^{r}ssion I diligently observed, & could not ꝑceive any organ, any instrument of speech (which the philosopher makes mention of) to have any motion at all. Yea, her mouth was sometimes shut, without opening, sometimes open without shutting, or moving; & then both I & others saw her tongue (as it used to bee when shee was in some fits, when speechlesse) turned up circularly to the roofe of her mouth. 2. The labial letters, divers of which were used by her, viz. B. M. P. which cañot bee naturally exp^{r}ssed without motion of the lips,

which must needs come within our ken, if observed, were uttered without any such motion, if shee had used only Lingualls, Gutturalls. &c: the matter might have bin more suspicious: 3. The reviling termes then used were such as shee never used before nor since, in all this time of her being thus taken: yea, hath bin alwayes observed to speake respectively concerning mee. 4. They were exp^{r}ssions which the devill (by her confession) aspersed mee, & others withall, in the houre of temptation, ꝑticularly shee had freely acknowledged that the Devill was wont to appear to her in the house of God & divert her mind, & charge her shee should not give eare to what that Blacke coated roage spake. 5. Wee observed when the voice spake, her throat was swelled formidably, as big at least as ones fist. These argum^{ts} I shall leave to the censure of the Judicious. 4. Whither shee have covenanted with the Devill or noe, I thinke this is a case unanswerable, her declarations have been soe contradictorye, one to another, that wee know not what to make of them, & her condition is such as administers many doubts; charity would hope the best, love would alsoe feare the worst; but thus much is cleare, shee is an object of pitye, & I desire that all that heare of her would compassionate her forlorne state. Shee is (I question not) a subject of hope, & therfore, all meanes ought to bee used for her recoverye. Shee is a monum^{t} of divine severitye, & the Lord grant that all that see or heare, may feare & tremble: Amen. S. W.

SAMUEL WILLARD TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Rever^{d} M^{r}. Increase Mather, in London, dd.

Boston, July 10, 1688.

Rever^{D} S^{R}, — I hope, (in answer to wishes & prayers) these lines will meet you safely arrived in England. What is the state of affairs among us since your sailing hence, you will receive from other hands. What in ꝑticular I desired might be recom̃ended to your consideration I have com̃unicated to your son, who will acquaint you with it. If God shall see meet to improve

you there for better service I shall rejoyce; but I am sure there is need of your presence here, & still the more since we are very dubious about Mr Moodey's tarriance among us; I was desired by Mr Sergeant* to prsent his respects to you & signify, that he hath given order to Mr Jño. Ive, Merchant, of London, to pay you ten pounds, in case you see occasion at any time to call for it. Wee have lost good Mr Brock,† who died June 17th, & it is to be feared there will be difficulties attending the settlement of another in his place. Discoragmts upon the hearts of the ministers increase by reason that a licentious people take the advantage of a liberty to withold maintenance from them; & it is to be feared N. E. is now with her own hands putting away the Gospel which before shee had despised & forfieted; *Deus* [*avertat*] *omen*. Sr, I shall rejoyce to hear from you, & meanwhile shall not cease to implore heaven's protection & prosperity to attend you. Leaving you in those everlasting arms, I am, Sr, Your unworthy brõ & fellow servt in the work of Christ, S. Willard.

MARY HOAR‡ TO BRIDGET HOAR.§

To her Esteemed Sister Mrs. Bridget Hoare at Cambridg[*e*] *In* [*N.E.*]

Loving Sister Hoare, — I cannot but congratulate your safe arrivall at New England,‖ and God's goodness soe greatly extended to my dear brothers and your good selu:[?] which God grant in mercy to continue to you. I perceive our sonn John is left in the hands of a stranger, which may be of some evel consequence if not timely prevented, and therefore I doe look upon my

* Probably Peter Sargent, merchant of Boston, a strong opposer of Andros, and member of the Committee of Safety; also of the Council under the new charter.

† Rev. John Brock [H.C. 1646] taught school and preached at the Isles of Shoals. He was settled at Reading, Nov. 13, 1662. His death took place, according to Mr. Savage, June 18, but according to Mr. Willard, 17, 1688.

‡ Mary Hoar was probably the wife of Daniel, brother of President Hoar. The letter is dated from Hull in England.

§ Bridget Hoar was wife of Rev. Leonard Hoar, President of Harvard College, and daughter of John Lisle, the Regicide.

‖ She came over with her husband, in July, 1672.

sclf as conserned (soe farr as I am capable to deserne the evill at such a distance) to make it my request to you to pr[evail] with my Bro^{r} to receive him into your owne own famuly, that he may be under his own ey, and to goe to school in the same towne, where you cannot doubtless be destitute of a good school master, which would be of singular benefitt to the child, which shall be owned as a singular testimony of your kindness to my husband (who I know will cherefully pay my Bro^{r}; yea more freer then to a stranger) to his child, and to her that is

Your Loving Sister, MARY HOARE.

HULL, April 9, 1673.

SAMUEL NOWELL* TO JONATHAN BULL.†

For his worthy friend M^{r}. Jonathan Bull of Hartford.

Sept: 25th, 76.

HON^{d} S^{r}, — The day before the arrivall of this bearer, M^{r}. Bull, I had written a letter to my worthy friend M^{r}. Whyting, & it was for your sake, in regard I did not know how to direct a few lines to you; & we have but little of news materiall stirring amongst us; there being no ship arrived lately from Engl^{d}. Some rumours there are, as if there were likely to be a breach between France & us, by reason of some insolencys of their men of war in plundering some of our merchants; but I suppose our great men do well understand one another, that it will come to no breach. Poor Holland is basely betraid by that young Prince, but they know not how to be rid of him. Now de Ruiter is dead the Commonwealth faction is but low. The Dane doth p^{r}vaile wonderfully against the Sweed, having foiled him both by Sea and Land. In the last fight the Sweedish Admirall was overset in the fight, & about 800 men lost in her. The manner of it thus. As they came up with the Danish fleet, the Admirall bid the seamen unlash all the guns on one side, to give the enemy a broadside, & after the guns

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* [H.C. 1653]. See notes on pp. 496 and 526, and Appendix.

† Son of Thomas Bull of Hartford Captain in 1690. Savage's Geneal. Dict.

were loose, he, forgetting it, did call upon them suddainly to make a tack for some further advantage, which they did, & all the guns being loose, ran over to the other side, with which the ship overset. She had in her 120 guns. Some other ships falling fowle one upon another were set on fire by the enemy; so that the Sweeds had a great losse. As for ourselves in New Engld, we are fearing a Generall Governour. How God will deale with us in our p^r^sent buisinesse is uncertaine. I suppose you will judge it convenient to remove, if any such thing should happen, as that a Governour should be sent; allthough if this man live who is Governour at Boston,* I believe the country will oppose, but if his head be once laid I do question, whether he that shall come next will have spirit enough, or interest enough, to withstand the Authority of Old Engld. I shall endeavour to give you as timely notice as I can from thence of whatsoever shall happen. I resolve to see your relations, & so at p^r^sent leave you under that Shaddow where you have been safe hithertoo. So desiring your prayers, I rest

Yo^r^ very humble serv^t^, SAM^LL^ NOWELL.

THOMAS THORNTON† TO INCREASE MATHER.

Thes To the Reu^d^. Mr Mather, Teacher in the Second Church in Boston. I pray take spetiall care in the deliuery of it. Boston.

REVEREND SIR, — Thes few lines ar to give you and humble salute, whom I cannot but say that I do highly reuerence and esteem in the Lord for your worke sake, haueing had a sweet tast by what I haue heard from you and read in thos tokens of love you bestowed on me. Truely Sir, the present age is to full of compliment without substance, yet I would not be taken to be such an one; for I delight not in being ouer busie in giving tittles vnto

* John Leverett.

† Rev. Thomas Thornton was of Yarmouth from 1663 to 1677 when he removed to Boston and joined the Second Church.

any: Yet at this time I pray let me be excused in what I now writ: I trust the Spirit of the Lord hath made way in mine heart to entertaine you ther with indeared Affections: on thing wherby you haue gained much rom in my heart is from the faithfullnes I find in your minestry and in your writing, in so much that you bend your studdys to strike at the sins of thes backsliding tims.

An other thing which others with myself taketh notice of that you do endeauor to be exemplary unto other in your conversation and in the habite of your wife and children. I speak it to this end that God may haue the glory, and you encoriged in your way of well doing: for I see that in some ministers of the gospel that doth not well become ther so holy a calling: whose wifes and childeren ar in habit more like courtyers then to be of such a family as thay ar: in spetial in some of the yonger sort of minesters: As the Spirit of the Lord hath moued on you, dear Sir, so I trust the same spirit will still Abid on you, wherby you will be inabled to lift up your voyce like a trumpet in crying down the sins of the tims. I trust God will not withdraw his holy Sperit from you, but that he will enable you to perseuire and hold out unto the end against all opposissions: And as for Gods ffatherly chastiseing rod by the late fire that broke out, I dout not but you will in experince find God's promise made good to you and yours, that all things shal work together for good.

And as for your lost of your Synagogue or meeting place, I trust the Lord will moue so on the hearts of some of his people, that ther will [be] ere long, another bult.

Sir, I haue her inclosed sent my son Theophilus,* a letter of dismission by the apointment of the Church of Christ in Yarmouth. Thought I know I speak to on that is tender of souls: Yet fatherly affections will be working: By a letter I did lately receiue from my son Theophilus, I persaue that he is deiected in spirit, therfor, dear Sir, let me beseech you to take the more care of him: I blesse God so long as he wase with us, he wase well beloued of the most choyce bretheren.

Reuerend Sir, no more at present but my best respects, with my wife's, presented to your self and your dear consort, leauing you to

* Theophilus Thornton was of Malden in 1674, and the preceding year was one of a party of pioneers for settling at Worcester. Savage's Geneal. Dict.

the protection and direction of our euerliueing, emortale, vnchangable good God, in Jesus Christ our Sauiour,

Yours to serue in the bond of the gospel, THO: THORNTON.

[YAR]MOUTH, March 6: 1676:77.

RICHARD CHISWELL* TO INCREASE MATHER.

LONDON, Feb. 16, 167$\frac{6}{7}$.

S^{R}, — I rec^{d} yours of July 19th, & have in M^{r} Vsher's Cask p^{r} Anderson, in the Ship Blessing, sent you all the books you wrote for, & have returned 8 of your Principles, which I cannot sell, & having charged myself with them at 12^{d} ꝑ book in my last accompt stated, I have discounted for them at the same rate in this.

I have added a few new things of good note which I hope you will be pleased with, the first of them is an answer to a Pamphlet I sent you in the last ꝑcell, & which makes no small stir here at present. Hales of Eaton, & Stillingfleet are very famous. Walker of Baptism is said to be very learned & exceedingly well done. The two books of Contemplations were writ by the Lord Cheif Justice Hales, a person who for all kind of learning, Philosophy, Physick, Mathematicks, &c., as well as Law, (his proper profession,) and for most exemplary piety & untainted integrity & uprightness, has not le[ft] his fellow, nor was there, as tis beleived, ever his fellow in our English Cou[rts] of Judicature before him, the whole nation mournes for the loss of him.† That Great audit or Good Steward's account, in the first vollume, is a most lively & exact character of his life & practice to his dying day, & so great an honour & esteem doe all good men here beare to his memory, that I know not any two books have come forth these 20 yeares, that have sold so great a number in so short a time, as

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* Richard Chiswell, a noted bookseller in St. Paul's Churchyard, London, was born Jan. 4, 1639, and died May 3, 1711. His epitaph, in St. Botolph's, Aldgate, commends him as "a man worthy of great praise." Dunton, in his "Life and Errors," p. 280, styles him the "Metropolitan Bookseller of England, if not of all the World."

† Sir Matthew Hale died Dec. 25, 1676.

these two vollumes of his, though published without his consent, the one a little before he died, the other printing when he died, & I doubt not but when you have read them you will like them also.

Sr, I received the two coppies of your history of the Warrs in New Engld, for which I heartily thank you, & two also for your Brother, which I sent last week away for Dublin, but before these came to my hands (at least a month before) a friend of mine by accident met with the very first of them that came over to England, & brought it to me, & caused it to be printed, but some people here made it too much their business to cry it downe, & sayd a better narrative was comeing, which did very much disappoint me, so that I never sold 5 hundred of them; yet as a token of my thankfullness to you for your respects, I have sent you two dozen of them: That they are without the Exhortation mentioned in the title is because the Coppy I received from my friend had it not, & there was not then another coppy come.

Sr, I rejoyce with you for that the Lord has been pleased so far to vanquish your enemies: Poore soules, Oh that their eyes were opened & they convinced how they resist their owne mercies, even the everlasting gospell, which the Lord has brought into their Land, & a people that wish & pray for their eternall happiness; sure the time will come that they shall be called, the Lord have compassion upon them, & hasten the accomplishment of those gracious promises that concern it. The God of Israel keep you, is the hearty prayer of

Your ffriend & servant, Ric. Chiswell.

I have sent a few books to Mr Vsher without order, which I put in to fill up the Cask. You may see them at his shop, & I hope may help some of them off his hands, by recomending them to your publick Library, especially the new ones, which cannot be there already, ptieularly Dr Caves Lives of the Fathers, & Dr Cary's Chronologieall account of ancient time, which are both exceeding well esteemed by the most learned & ingenious men here.

A Coppy.

	£	s.	d.
Postage of 2 Pacquett wherein Letters for your Brothers.	0.	1.	0
Dr Tuckneys Sermons, 4º	0.	8.	0
Straight gate to heaven, 12º bound,	0.	0.	8
Hotchkis reformation or ruine, 8º	0.	2.	0
Discovery of Pigmies, 8º	0.	1.	0
Horologicall Dialogues, 8º	0.	1.	0
Hornes Cause of Infants maintained, 4º	0.	1.	0
Whiston on Baptism, all 3 parts, 8º	0.	5.	6.
State of Northampton, 4º	0.	0.	3
Tozer's Directions to a godly life, 12º	0.	1.	0
Barbets Chirurgery, 8º	0.	6.	0
Leybournes Dialling, 4º	0.	3.	0
Hook's Motion of the Earth, 4º	0.	1.	0
Stephenson's mathemat. compendium, 12º	0.	2.	6
8 First principles of New England, 4º returnd	0.	8.	0
ADDED. —			
Pacquet of advices to the men of Shaftsbury, 4º	0.	1.	6
King & Ld Chancellor's Speeches.	0.	0.	6
Dr Stillingfleet's Letter to a Deist, 8º	0.	2.	6
Mr Hales (of Eaton) his Tracts, 8º	0.	2.	6
Hornecks Law of Consideration, 8º	0.	3.	6
Walker of Baptism, 12º	0.	3.	6
Rules of Health, 12º	0.	1.	0
Family Physitian, 12º	0.	1.	0
Judge Hale's Contemplations, 2 Vol. 8º	0.	10.	0
24 Warrs of New England, 4º	—	—	—
Catalogue No. 7. 8. 9. 10, fol.	—	—	—
	3.	7.	5

JOHN WESTGATE* TO INCREASE MATHER.

For his Honrd friend, Mr Increase Mather, Teacher of a Church of Christ in Boston in New England.

DEARE SR, — The sad condition of N.E. (where sometimes I lived some years) have been much upon our hearts, we have had many solemne dayes of humiliation, & the 25 of Janûy last we had a solemne day of thanksgiving for the great deliverances we heard the Lord had given you. This was very general among

* John Westgate was of the Artillery Company in 1641, and afterwards went back to England.

all the congregationall churches in City & countrey round about, we sending one to another, & agreeing of the day before hand, which was also kept by many of the Baptist congregations; In which day, (understanding your deliverance was not perfected) we not onely blessed God for the mercy you had received, but pleaded with God to perfect your deliverance, & help you to a through reformation both in Church & comonwealth. I thank you heartily for the History of the warrs you sent to M^r^ Petto for me, & am exceeding glad that therein I see you are pressing after a generall reformation, which if it be accomplished, you are like to be a flourshing happie people, but if you faile in this, I fear (as you have declared in your book) God have yet other Judgem^ts^ for N.E. though the sword should be removed; one sad one I hear already you have met with in your Town of Boston by fire, burning down your meeting house, & a matter of 50 dwelling houses: In which rod of the Lord he speaks in particular to Boston (whom the Enemy could not reach with fire & sword) & calls you to a through reformation in your Town, you being set up as a Beacon upon the top of a mountain, being as it were a City in comparison to all other Towns, & have three distinct churches furnished with officers, in which respect your lights in your candlsticks should give light to all the neighbour Towns & Churches round about you: But when they see your famous Town abound with drunkennesse, swearing, excesse in apparrel, etc. what encouragem^t^ is there for Towns round about you to follow your example, & so you contract the guilt of their sins upon you. Your Town is the seat of Justice, from whence Laws to other Towns proceed, what need have you therefore to take heed to make none but wholsome Laws, agreeing with the word of truth, such as you may be sure you can answer before God another day? In order to which you are to observe the golden rule of Jesus Christ, as you would that men should do to you even so do ye to them, & to observe the direction of the Apostle, together with his caution Gala. 5. 14, 15, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thy self. But if ye bite & devour one another, take heed ye be not consumed one of another. Dear S^r^, I pray be not offended at my plainnesse; your Fathers with much hazard, diffeculty & danger went to that wildernesse (even when it was a meer wildernesse) to set up the pure worship of God, & to enjoy the libertie of their con-

science; you had need therefore to be certain in the knowledg of this one thing, viz. how far liberty of conscience extend, & to what persons, before you go about to execute Law's for the suppressing of them. I dare not be an advocate to plead for the cursed Generation of Quakers, who have much distirbed the peace of your coñon-wealth; If they be of the same principle with them amongst us, they neither own the Scripturs of truth, nor Christs dying for sinners, but set up a Christ within them; to say no more of them, I look upon their religion here amongst us to be no religion at all, but a heape of confusion: yet let me tell you N.E. suffers much in this country for imprisoning many of them, & feeding them with bread & water, & not suffering their relations to minister to them, & putting others of them to death: Though I am apt to conclude their offence was more heighnous, then they make it in their books wherein they reproach you, & that they did not onely disturb the churches, but made a breach in the peace of the coñon-wealth, yet I could heartily wish, you had printed a narrative of your ꝓceedure with them together with the grounds thereof: And also in a due testimony to be borne against them, (as your book hint[s] the magistrats would have done) which I conceive is intended by making a law, due care would be taken to have such bounds & limitations, that such as have estates among you, & live peacably (if any such there be) may not suffer so deeply as the perverse obstinate ones. But least you may think I say too much about this sort of people, I shall leave them, & desire to speak a few words about or in behalf of the Baptists (coñonly called anabaptists) who have formerly suffered imprisonm^{t} in your Town, &, if I be not misinformed, banishment from amongst you also: now why you should be so offended with these people, if it be meerly for their difference from you in Judgement & practice, I cannot yet understand: But I know not what your baptists are with you, & how they carry themselves. I finde we have in England three sorts of them, some, especially in London, that strain the principle of baptisme so high that they look upon all of us as unbaptized persons, & little better then heathens, & will not joyne in prayer with the most eminent of our congregationall ministers, though they be providentially cast into a family together. Others amongst us are sober, moderate men, & manifest the power of Godlinesse in their conversations, & these upon our occasionall meetings,

we joyn hand & heart with, & call some of them out to pray with us, & they do the like by us, & we would not have the difference in Judgem^t^ between us make the least breach in affection; for many of these we look upon to be eminent pretious holy men. We have a third sort (but they are not many, & most of them at London) that take into fellowship those that are Godly & desire to joyne with them, though they come not up to be baptized, & walk lovingly together, making no difference between the one & the other. Now if you should make a Law against these baptists (who otherwise are sober & quiet men) you had need be well advised what you do, & had need be sure your way of Governem^t^ is exactly right both in substance & circomstance, when none must disent from you but they must be in danger of suffering by your laws; for let me tell you (though I am not of their Judgem^t^) they have expresse scripturs for the baptizing of beleivers, & if they should put you upon it to show one expresse scripture for the baptizing of Infants, I fear you would be forsed to say with eminent Mr. Daniel Rogers in his practicall Catechisme, I must confesse there is no expresse scripture for the baptizeing of Infants, &c: But you will tell them you can prove it by consequences drawn from scripture; & what if they tell you they cannot see with your eyes, nor finde so much in your consequences as you seem to do, & that Cht being more faithfull over his house then Moses, they therefore expect that every gospel ordinance should have its gospel Institution, & they can finde in the Scripture no Institution but to such as appear visibly to be beleivers, & that upon the profession of their faith; may they not, if they live peacably among you, injoy the liberty of their consciences without disturbance? I am afraid I may be accounted too bold in proposing these things, but considering God hath not made men nor christians all of one size, nor given all a like measure of light, & that all the Saints though of different Judgem^ts^, are all of the family of heaven & shall injoy sweet comunion together to all eternity, I could wish they might live quietly & lovingly here on earth.

As for the State of things amongst us it is bad, & like to be worse, a particular account whereof I shall leave to a better pen, I having already outrun my intended bounds. For mine own part, if the troubls of Gods people rise higher, it is no more then I have been perswaded of for many years, in order to the Saints deliver-

ance & advancment: & for the bearing up our hearts in the day of our trouble, we have ground to beleive that in the evening time it shall be light. As you have not, & I hope shall not mis of our prayers for you, so I question not but we have & shall have your prayers for us, that our tossed State may enjoy a quiet harbour. My best respects presented to your self & your dear yokefellow, whom I understand was one of pretious Mr Cottons daughters (with whom I sometimes lived) whom I knew of a child, with the rest, & am exceedingly rejoiced to hear that Mr Seaborne & Mr John inherit so much of their Fathers spirit. Thus comending you to God & the word of his grace, I rest

Yours to love & serve in our Lord Jesus,

JOHN WESTGATE.

HARLESTONE (in Norff.) the 8 of the 3 mo: 1677.

Sr Before the sealing of my letter a friend came to my house that told me there was a narrative printed about your acting with the Quakers, which he hath pmised to lend me.

Indorsed, — "Rd 15 7m 1677."

JAMES FORBES* TO INCREASE MATHER.

For the Reverend Mr Increase Mather, Teacher of a church in Boston, These.

CHAR. FRAT., — Your Amicable Epistle, together with your narrative of the warr and 2 sermons, came safe to my hands, for which I return you heartie thanks, and I do interprete it as an expression of your friendlie respects to me, at so great a distance, and after so long a silence. The advantage [that] redounds to you by your kind token is, that it was an excitement unto me to magnify the Adorable Grace of God, for saving your land from the sword of such a savage Adversarie, and for following yourself with such a series of favourable providences, and my prayers are not wanting that he that hath begun the good work may perform it untill the day of Jesus X. In regard you desire to know some-

* Rev. James Forbes was educated at Aberdeen, where he received the degree of A.M., and was admitted at Oxford, *ad eundem*. He preached at Gloucester Cathedral, was ejected for non-conformity, confined in Chepstow Castle in consequence of Packinton's plot, and subsequently imprisoned several times. He was finally recalled, and ministered to his own people till his death, having served at Gloucester about fifty-eight years.

w^t^ of the state of our affairs in this place, be pleased to take this short account thereof. After my suffering a 12 months imprisonment, I was constreined by a violent hand to remove from hence for some time, and assoon as the heat of persecution was over, I returned upon the first encouraging providentiall call, and so have continued now for severall years, carrying on the work you saw here, as well as the times give us leave, we are from time to time highlie threatned, but to the Astonishment of all that know us, we are marvelouslie preserved, and a publick table spread for us in the face of our enemies. The bearer having bin nigh six month under my min^r^ie, is able to give you a more satisfying and full Account of particulars than my time at present will permit, for I had but short warning of his going, and I am going out of Town upon bussines, and knew not of this opportunitie, but did intend to write to you more largelie, the first time I went to London. I have heard nothing of yours, *de 2° Messie adventu*, if by your next you would have me enquire after it, I will most readilie serve you therin. I shall be glad to see what you have on the anvill relating to your young generation, but without charge to yourself. It is to be feared manie of them do degenerate from their godlie Ancestors in practice, manie here wish none of you may degenerate from them in principles, if you lay not too much stresse upon externall Church priviledges, you are safe. My occasions call me. Cordiall respects to yourself, yours, and all Christians with you that know me, I am

Yours in the best bond, JAMES FORBES.

Glouc^r^, the 28th of 3d Mon. 1677.

Mem. by I. Mather. "R^d^ Sept. 28. 77."

WILLIAM HOOKE* TO INCREASE MATHER.

These For the Rev^d^ M^r^ Increase Mather, P^r^cher of the Gospel at Boston in New England.

REV^D^ S^R^, — I received your letter dated (I think) in May last, in which you acquaint us with the trouble that the Eastern Indians do create you. Thus God is pleased to lengthen out your exercise through a cruell, perfidious & blasphemous generacõn of

* See note affixed to his letter, p. 122.

very bruitish men. I am sorry that you write no more comfortably concerning Reformacõn, & I had lately a letter from Mr Bishop, pastor at Stanfford, who writes concerning it much after the rate that you have done. I have sent you inclosed herein a catalogue of the Ministers that dyed, most of them, in & neer London within these 10 or 12 yeers. This I think is like to be my last letter to you, my stomack fayles me, I have no appetite to any food, or very little, at any time, the keepers of the house begin to tremble, & the strong men to bow themselves, & the grinders ccase because they are few, & the clouds return after the raine, &c., yet Gd is pleased to enable me to prch hitherto, but my spirits are growne weak, & my breath is very short. I hope through the grace of our Ld Jesus Christ to be with him ere long. Mr Ben* is yet alive, & not very long since my wife received a letter from your brother at Dublin. I must conclude; The Father of Mercies, & God of all Consolacõn be with you, & bless your studies & labours in his work; In him I rest

Yours to serve you to the last, WILLIAM HOOK.†

The 7th of the 6th 1677.

The names of the Ministers who dyed of late yeers, in the City of London.

1 Mr Greenhill.
2 Mr Carryll.
3 Mr Mallory.
4 Mr Bridge.
5 Mr Nye.
6 Mr Loader.
7 Mr Venning.
8 Mr Elmes.
9 Mr Blake.
10 Mr Carter.
11 Mr Pearse.
12 Mr Wood.
13 Mr Tukey.
14 Mr Pledger.
15 Mr Wells.
16 Mr Carmichell.
17 Mr Cawton.
18 Mr Calamy.
19 Mr Farnworth.
Dr Wilkinson. 20
Dr Seaman. 21
Dr Tuckney. 22
Mr Wadsworth. 23
Mr Kentish. 24
Mr Fitten. 25
Mr Harrison. 26
Mr Jesse. 27
Mr Janaway. 28
Mr Fowler. 29
Mr Willis. 30
Mr West. 31
Mr Stoneham. 32
Mr Light. 33
Mr Whitaker. 34
Mr Bacheler. 35
Mr Robothom. 36
Mr Spinage. 37
Mr Cob. 38
Mr Lancaster. 39
Mr Haviland. 40

* Rev. William Benn. See note, p. 31.
† Mr. Hooke died March 21, 1677–8.

Mr Bacheler betook himself of late to Hackney, where he dyed. And Dr. Wilkinson dyed at Clapham, but he prched weekly at London. The most of these were men of great worth. And severall dyed of late in the Countrey; These few occurr at prsent,[43] Mr Thompson,[44] Mr Stallam,[45] Mr Nevet,t[46] Mr Fownes,[47] Mr Samēs. We have none to succeed such as these from either Vniversity. And there are severall other Ministers not like to continue long. Mr Moors is now 84 yeers old, and growne unable for his work; Dr Goodwin hath well nigh finished his 77th yeer; I am five moneths short of him; Mr Knowls is now about his 76th yeer. Dr Owen, valetudinarious and crazy, often down, he is now about 60 yeers old, as severall other of our City-ministers are. There are a few that teach Vniversity learning, but the benefit of it appears little as yet. So that one 7 yeers more is like to make a very great change both in City & country. Of late, Dr Annesley hath been recovered from a most dangerous distemper, & Mr Barker hath been very ill, so hath Mr Thankfull Owen, both of them yet but weak. I might also have added to the catalogue, Mr [41] Carter, Sen, and [42] Mr Arthur Jackson.

[The following List is on another piece of paper, attached to this letter:—]

1 Mr Greenhill.
1 Mr Carryll.
1 Mr Mallary.
1 Mr Bridge.
1 Mr Nye.
1 Mr Loader.
1 Mr Venning.
1 Mr Elmes.
1 Mr Blake.
10. 1 Mr Carter.

1 Mr Pierce.
1 Mr Wood.
1 Dr Wilkinson.
1 Dr Seaman.
1 Dr Tuckney.
1 Mr Tukey.
1 Mr Pledger.
1 Mr Wells.
1 Mr Carmichell.
20. 1 Mr Cawton. 10.

1 Mr Wadsworth.
1 Mr Kentish.
* Mr Bacheler.
1 Mr Fitten.
1 Mr Harrison.
1 Mr Jesse.
1 Mr Janaway.
1 Mr Fowler.
1 Mr Willis.
1 Mr West.
1 Mr Stoneham.
1 Mr Light.
33. 1 Mr Whiteaker. 13

These dyed in and neer the city of London within these eight or nyne yeers, & severall others in the countrey.

Since the writing the catalogue above, I have called others to remembrance, viz.

1 Mr Robothom.
1 Mr Spinage.
1 Mr Cob.
Mr Carter, Senr
1 Mr Lancaster.
1 Mr Farnworth.
1 Mr Haviland.
1 Mr Calamy.
Mr Jackson. 9.

All these dyed since the turn of the times.

SAMUEL WAKEMAN* TO INCREASE MATHER.

Theesse ffor the Reurd Mr Iincrease Mather, Teacher of ā ch. of Xt att Bostō, pr Mr John Stone.

FFAIRFIELD, 27th 7th 77.

Reurd Sir, — Be pleased to understand that aboue a yeere since (though in a day of trouble at home) it pleased God to stir up the spirits of some well affected persons amongst us to contribute sō.what to the releife of to the distressed saints (ministers & their children in speciall) in the other England. I had thought to haue improued my bro: Lake or Mr Attwater upon the account of sending it, but God hauing taken them from us (& understanding by my bro: Bishop that he makes use of yours: for the conueiance of his letters to Mr Hooke) I am bold to trouble you upon this occasion, intreating you to superscribe the letter inclosed to the Reurd Mr Williā Hooke, minister. I know not wither to direct it, & together with it to send that small matter of money which together with it I hope will will be safely deliuered to you by . . . according to his receit here in sent to you. Sr, I craue excuse

* Rev. Samuel Wakeman was admitted to Harvard College, but left in 1655. He was ordained at Fairfield, September 30, 1665.

for my being troublesome to you, yet perswading mys: I shall obtaine an easie pardon, it being upon such an Acco^{t}. S^{r}, I kindly thanke you for those books (the fruits of your own wel bestowed paines) which you sent me by my bro: Bishop, as also for that of your own, which you gaue me when last with you. & I would request of you, if you haue any of those by you (I gaue that I had of you to a son of mine who is gone from me) that you would send me one of them. I remember not the title exactly. Some important truths about Conue[r]sion, or somwhat to that purpose. I shall be carefull to send you what you shall signifie to the price of it, by the first opportunity, for I must be bold to desire a line or two from you, of the receit of what I haue now sent. Not more, but that I am

Yours sincerly in our deare Sauiour, Sm^{L} Wakeman.

Indorsed by Increase Mather.—"R^{d} 1^{m} 18^{d} 77."

SOLOMON STODDARD* TO INCREASE MATHER.

Rev^{D} S^{R},—I Received the Booke you sent, which is profitable & of very good use, for which I return you hearty thankes: at present things are still among us; we have yet no news of the Captives; those two men that were travailing towards Canada have their feet frozen & lye lame at Albany: we had news yesterday from Hartford that the Pequod Indians in their hunting have met with & taken 18 enemy Indians in the Nipmug country; & among them one Pacomtuck Indian: these Indians, on condition their lives may be spared, have promised to conduct them to four score more; & Capt: Denison is gone out with two hundred English & Indians: we heare of severall solemn accidents that have fallen out; some murthering themselvs, others attempting it; besides that other solemn passage in Plimoth Coll: there seems to be something more than ordinary in it.

I hear M^{r} Miles † still preaches in Boston: I fear it will be a meanes to fill that Town, which is allready full of unstable per-

* See note on page 83.

† Rev. John Miles, minister of the First Baptist Church.

sons, with error: I looke upon it a great judgment, God seemes therein to lay a stumbling block before men, that such as received not the truth in love might beleive a lye: let all due meanes be used for prevention: my family is in health, through mercy: Mr Wise is come to Hatfeild; my wife presents her love to you, & with me to my sister: thus desiring your prayers, I Rest

Your Loving Brother, SOL: STODDARD.

N. HAMPTON, Nov: 29: 77.

ELIZABETH MOULDER* TO INCREASE MATHER.

Thes ffor the Reuerend and much respected frind Master Mathers, Minister of the Second Church in Boston, thes deliuer.

From LONDON, the 13th of March, 1677.

REUEREND SIR, — My humble and kind respect unto you and your louing wife; and I humbly thank you for all your kindneses, for your lou to me both for soul and body. I hope the Lord will requit you for your lou in shewing kindnes to me in a strang land. I bless the Lord I have found good by your prayers. We did rid upon the wings of your prayers to the Ielawaite [Isle of Wight] in 5 weeks. But in going in there our ship rid upon a rock, and there the Lord was pleased to shew us what He could do to us. The ship did Jogle and beat and shak, that we thought the ship would haue been split in shiuers. But I bless God, He deliver[ed] us saffe of without any damage. Thes be mercies still to ingag us to prase His holy name. I came from thence to my Mother in 3 dayes, but my Brother and others went round about. They ware a Mounth a coming to Grauend [Gravesend]. It was bitter weather, the Temes [Thames] was frosen up. Dear Sir, I hope you doe not forgett me in your prayers, though far from you and out of sight, yett neer in your mind. My mind is with you all, and my prayers shall be to God for you and all thos chosen, elected by gracc unto saluation. The peace be to the brethern, and loue

* There was a family of Quakers in Boston, named Moulder, in 1672. Nicholas, a merchant, was persecuted by Governor Bellingham, and went back to England. Probably the writer of this letter was connected with him.

with faith from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ. Grace be with all them that loue the Lord Jesus Christ in seneerity. Sir, I shall tak a few lines from your hands as great kindnes; if you will be pleased to write, Master Loyde will derict your letter to my cosen for me. Dear Sir, I fear God's Anger will break out against us in this sinfull land, wors then Sodom, becase he hath taken away many of His imbasiders for God, and is about to eall home another servant of his, Master Coton, one that will be dearely mist amongst us, a dear seruant of God, that hath spent his self gaining of souls to God, and I trust he will se the trauel of his soul. Our ministers haue been disturbed mueh, put into prison; but now they are a littel quieter. We bless God, our Minister and our Congregation hath not been disturb[ed] att all. Blessed be God for His mercies. So I resting, praying for your health and priviledges to be continued to you, for there is many enemies abroad, but our God in whom we trust is able to keep your Land in peaee.

Your louing frind, ELIZABETH MOULDER.

My kind lou to your sons and daughters. I should be very glad to here from you all. My kind lou to Mistres Lake and her family, all the rest of our brethern and sisters in Christ. The Lord keep us close to Himself, from sin and Satan, the wors of all euills. I hope to see you all with Joy in the world to com, where we shall never be seperat any more. Sir, If you be pleased to take a littel notiees of the barer, becaus she is a stranger in your land, but . . . a good woman, and I shall be ablidg to you.

THOMAS WATERHOUSE* TO INCREASE MATHER.

W: CREATING, 24th 12m 78. [February, 78–9.]

DEARE SIR, — Novemb: 30th I received my son's letter which mentioned your renewed kindnes, with a token of your love, which

* Rev. Thomas Waterhouse, a graduate of Cambridge University, England, was first a zealous Episcopalian, Curate at Coddenham, and subsequently had a living near Bishop Stortfort; but his zeal for the ceremonies abated. Upon the breaking out of the civil war he came to New England, and taught school at Dorchester. He afterwards went home, and became master of a public school in Colchester. He became a firm non-conformist, and died at Creeting, about 1680. See Calamy.

by delay of the ships coming up & of our wagon I could not receive till the 22th of this 12m; and lest the first ship should passe without my thankfull' acknowledgment, I hasted these to give you many thankes for the kindnes of this & former yeares, for your good labor & paines for the publique good; especially for your pleading with God & men the case of them that least plead for themselves, the Rising Generation. I should be glad to heare that all dissenting brethren among you were satisfied in a point of so great a concerne between the children of the Church of Christ & the heathens. Indeed whilst I perused your book I had many thoughts why the parents in the Question so qualified were not admitted into full cõunion, & so their children baptized without any dispute in your churches, & discoursed with diverse Nonconf: Ministers, of whom some had been in N.E:, & found them of my mind. I wrote to the onely person of N.E. that I knew in London (*i*) (Mr Collins), but never received answer from him. I wrote to' one who had been many y: in N.E:, who returned his answer acording to my thoughts. I likewise sent the Question as stated by you to a friend, (without the least acquainting him vpon what occasion,) to desire his thoughts wither such persons were not to be admitted to the Lords Supper. My friend was in straits of time, yet pretty largely sent me his thoughts. When my son David was to returne to N.E. I was desirous to haue wrote unto you, but upon very strict search I could not find your book, nor any of my papers on that concerne. Very lately, accidentally, I cast my eye upon those my friends letters, on a file among others letters, & hoping they may not be unusefull to you I herewith communicate them, though I assure you I never had the least consent of my friends to communicate their private letters in this matter. I promise myself a candid acceptance & ꝑusall of these when you reveiw that affaire. My prayer shall be unto our gracious God for you & yours, & that by his H: Spirit he would lead his heritage into all truth. Let your prayer be also for me & mine. My onely (surviving) son is with you, directed by me thither, rather then to the Indies for gold, to trade for the pearl of vnvaluable price. God make him the wise merchant to find this & to part with all, self & all, to obtaine this & live answerably. Your favour & help in order hereunto I shall highly prize. Sir, I have called off my thoughts from the public concernes we are all engaged in, to communicate these

into your bosome for yourself. What you may more freely cõmunicate to others concerning the condition of England followes apart by the hands of your assured ffriend, T. W.

THOMAS WATERHOUSE TO INCREASE MATHER.

Dear Sir, — Your love, letter & bookes came very acceptably to my hand & heart; I returne you many thankes for the same, with a breif account of the state that England wintered in, & in which your letters found it. Before these come to your hand, 40 yeares passing since I was in N.E., no ship since or before coming from you found Engl: in such a desperate trembling condition as this last; nor did ever ship from us bring you such astonishing tidings; giving you from Dan to Beersheba so loud a call to hasten you to the Throne of grace with prayers, teares & thanksgivings for the Land of your ffathers' births, & (saying the iñcdeate)* sepulchers, and all that is precious therein. I have writ unto my son David† to show you the large account he hath.

"The Hous of Commons, Octob. the 1, Resolved as followeth. "That upon the Evi[dence] which hath appeared to this Ho., "This Ho. is of opinion that there is & hath been an execrable "& hellish Plot contrived & carried on by the Popish Recusants, "for Assassinating & murdering of the K., & for the subverting "of the Goverment & destroying the Protestant Religion now "by Law established."

Hereupon the Commons impeached the Lords, & they were secured in the Tower. A principal *Conspirator*, in a letter to a Jesuite, Confessor to the ffrench King, from whom it would soon pass to Rome wrote thus. "We have here a mighty work "upon our Hands; no lesse then three Kingdomes; & by that, "phaps, the utter subduing of a Pestilent Heresie which hath

Colman. My son hath it in print.

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* Meaning his father, Richard Mather, whose sepulchre is in New England.

† David Waterhouse, of Boston, was one of the patriots in 1689, and a signer of the demand to Andros to give up his authority and the forts. He also was a member of the Committee of Safety. Mr. Savage does not mention his extraction. It is probable that he is the person referred to in the text.

" domineerd over great part of this Northerne World a long time. " There were never such hopes of success since the Death of our " Queen Mary, as now in our dayes. When God hath given us a " Prince, who is become (may I say a Miracle) zealous of being the " Author & Instrument of so glorious a work."

Meaning his Mr, the D. of Y.

You need no more to discover the damnable gulph into which England was sinking, when you know, that though this wretch, frustrated in all his endeavors & hopes of pardon, was cut in peeces by the hand of Justice, yet so many heads, hearts & handes were engaged in the Plot, that we were in danger least the Massacre which began in the most cruel & barbarous murdering of a worthy Justice of Peace in Somerset House, on the 12th of October should take place, as it did in Ireland 40 y: before; for notwithstanding the Parliament was restles night & day, using mighty endeavors to save the K., Kgdome & Relig:; yet it could not, (so powerfull was the Enemy) obtain the raising the *Posse Regni*, nor the laying downe the militia then in pay, voted needfull to be disbanded for the public safety; but was first on a suddaine prorogued & then dissolved, & a new Parl: summoned to meet at Westm:, March the sixt. In the meane time Engl: great work is to serve the Providence of God in choosing a Parl:, in repenting & turning unto God, whilst our enemies psue their Designe in burning the City, &c. That the first tidings you heard of Engl: this year was not that Engl: was drowned in a deluge of Protestant blood & wholly subjugated to the Power of Rome, is a miracle of Mercy, calling unto you for thankfulnes: that we may not yet be so, calls for the Assistance of your prayers that the *Posse Cœli* may be raised, that the Great & Glorious Name of the Lord our God may not be blasphemed, His Truth & Heritage rooted out, & the Abomination of Desolation restored by Anti-christ.

Sir, I must close, & send away my letters: phaps they may stay at London while the Par: begins, & from thence you may hear of some good beginnings but *quicquid id est timeo*. Our hainous sins cry aloud. The treacherous dealers deal very treacherously & Jesuitically. God grant the ship an early & a safe & speedy passage unto you. *Volet ocyor Euro*, that before the Decree bring forth, before the fierce anger of the Lord come upon us, you may hear & gather yourselves together to seek & obtaine

The French K. is making great preperation for Sea and Land.

mercy as Israel, that N.E. may haue another notable instance of God's hearing their prayers in saving and delivering us, & exalting the Kingdome of our L^d^ Jesus upon the Ruines of Babylon. That God would blesse you & yours, is the prayer of

Your friend and brother, THO: WATERHOUS.

W: CREATING. Feb: 27^th^ 78.[9.]

WILLIAM STOUGHTON* TO INCREASE MATHER.

For the Reverend M^r^ Increase Mather, Minister of the Gospel, these in Boston in New England.

March 13^th^ 167$\frac{8}{9}$.

HONOURED & DEAR S^R^, — I am not unsensible of the kindnesse & undeserved respect that your several letters testify, to an unworthy one, & heartyly wish I might enjoy the opportunity of thanking you & all my other good frcinds in person. A successlesse delay & detainment here spun out to so great a length is become very exercising; nor can we yet see to the end of it. But he that hath ordered it all this while can overule it in the best season, for which we are wayting. What changes or troubles we may first see we know not. Things are carryed on *citato cursu*. The wheeles of Divine Providence were never more to bee regarded as awfull in their motions then at this day. Our comfort is that they are full of eyes, & that the spirit of the living creatures is in them. Forreign affairs will discover themselves more, now the spring tyme, and season for action is coming on, & we shall then see what the peace this last winter concluded will prove; & whether it will bee any thing more then a signall opportunity & advantage for the French, & those that depend on them, to pursue some fatal designes against these nations & the Protestant interest. God hath very wonderfully appeared in bringing many hellish contrivances to light in the discovery of the Plot. Some few have been already tryed & executed. More, & those more consider-

* The writer was, at the date of this letter, in England, as Agent of the Colony. See note on page 483.

able we hope may shortly be brought upon the stage of publick justice & receive their due reward. Our eyes are much, under God, upon the present Parliam^t^. But the rub they so soon meet with, & which is not yet removed, as to their choycc of a speaker,* doth occasion many thoughts of heart. Those of New England here, that are at liberty to be returning, doe much please themselves in hastning their despatch hence, & that they may retire so farre off from what is here feared, & seems so near to come upon the nation. But the Lord alone knowes what your condition may also prove, & whether that cup which hath of late been put into your hand to drinkc of, have not yet the bitterest part behind in it. When I read your letters & those of some other freinds that are pleased to expresse themselves freely to me, & consider how things are working at present, not only here, against you, but also amongst you, I am not without many anxious thoughts & heartaking fears. The state of the colledge doth more peculiarly trouble me, & the more because I see not what way things will be redressed. It is hard to find & procure a man to goe over from hence that may be generally acceptable. There have been two considerable legacies left by two worthy persons, of late deceased, that will much conduce to the good of that Society, the one a legacy of a 1000^l^ in mony; the other a good & very considerable Library of Bookes, which I was instrumental to prevaile with a freind of myne to bestow. But if the Goverment of the Colledge be such as attain not its end, & so sloth & vice & a heap of disorders be flowing in, all will be lost, which the Lord in mercy prevent, that my eyes may never see so wofull a day. I heartily rejoyce that the Lord hath dealt so favourably with your family; & beg that his mercies to you as well as to the great & sore bereavements of others may be sanctifyed to you, & that you may more & more prosper in your publick worke. That sermon of yours which you sent over finds singular acceptancc, & I hope will bc good seed, springing up apace amongst those that were more neerly concerned in it. I comend your person, family & holy labours to the rich blessing of a gracious God; & begging your fervent praiers, remain S^r^,

Your Affectionate freind & servant, WILLIAM STOUGHTON.

* The king rejected their first choice.

NATHANIEL MORTON* TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Reverend and his much Esteemed ffrind, Mr. Encrease Mather, Teacher of a Church of Christ att Boston. These p^r^sent.

Reuerend Sir, —It is a great favor to this land that the Lord is pleased to preserve youer life, and the lives of divers others of your fellow labourers in the mincstrey, att such a time, when hee is pleased to take away soe many vsefull Instruments, both in Church and State; soe few remaining whoe really aime att doeing service for His Holy name and interest in this wildernes; many others, minding theire owne interests more then the Great Concernes of the Lord Jesus; the consideration wherof, with other symptomes of the Lord's displeasure against His people in this land, minnestreth cause to the godly to fearc that New England hath seen its best dayes. Dear Sir, when I would a little looke back & consider what some of our Churches were in theire first beginings, and compare them with theirc p^r^scnt estate, I must in some sort close with the antients, whoe mixed their joy with lamentations att the Reedification of the Temple of God of old, and although wee must not discontentedly now in any wise controle the providence of God as to say why is it that the former dayes were better then these; yett wee may in an humble and bewailing way, say, Why is it soe? and in some sort comply with our Englis[h] Poett, George Withers; (saith hee) Alas that I was borne soe late, or else soe soone; to see soe cleare, soe bright a morne, soe darke an afternoone. Notwithstanding I humbly conceive it good for vs, in all the darkest dispensations of God towards vs, to have one eye (as it were) ffixed on the Justice of God, soe the other on the Mercye of God towards us. The Church of God useth this meathod in the lamentations of Jeremiah, althoe they remembered theire affliction, the wormwood and the gall; theire soule haueing them in remembrance, and was humbled in them; yett they imediately say it is the Lord's Mercye they werc not consumed, because His

* Nathaniel Morton came with his father George, in the "Ann," in 1623. He was Secretary of Plymouth Colony from 1645 till his death, in 1685. He was the compiler of the "Memorial," having had the benefit of the manuscript of his uncle, Gov. Bradford. Savage's Geneal. Dict.

compassions fayled not; they are renewed every morning: great is his faithfulnes. It is a great mercye that wee have yett some Godly Majestrates left vs, and some holy, learned, faithfull despencers of the word of God left us; and some names in each church whoe walk closly with God, and are oftens in prayer before God for mercye for the Remnant that is left; and frequently conversant in other holy exercyse; soe as the life of Grace is in some competent measure vpheld amongst them; with many other specialties of God's mercye, both Civill and Sacred, continued vnto vs. I humbly propose, alsoe, that it would be nessesary withall, seriously to look forward to what is or may be before vs, or coming towards vs. It may be that the Lord will p^rmitt other Lords to Rule over us, and lord it over our consiences, and that the case may be soe sad with vs, soe as wee may not haue a prophett left vs to tell us how longe the time may be; according to God's dispensation of old to his people, ere wee may expect deliverance. The frequent contrivances of adversaries abroad against vs, and the mischeivous Indeauors att home against vs, soe audaciously attemping to fier our Magasine in the eye of the countrye, doth bespeake great troubles towards vs, if the Lord prevent not. Hee hath hetherto graciously vouchsafed deliverance, which calls for great and solleme thankefulnes, throughout the whole land. Beloved Sir, I crave p^rdon for my boldnes, which I would not haue expressed, saue that I am p^rswaded that you are one of those few that, I may soe say, which naturally takes care for the concernes of New England. I doe not mension these thinges to Informe you in any thinge, but rather hope wee have obtained a mutuall motiue by this comunication, to be much att the Throne of Grace, with the more faith and feruer, to find grace to healp in these needfull times. Deare Sir, a ꝑticular or two more I would propose vnto you, which is, that you would please, (if you shall see matture cause and reason) to be Instrumentall to sett on foot and put forward a Generall History of New England; if this may be thought by the Judicious, (youerselfe and others) to be the time. I freely acknowlidge that the times are full of trouble; but I suppose it may be soe managed, as may preuent trouble and yet retaine faithfulnes therin. Sir, I feare most of the ancient Intelligent men are departed and marching apace of the stage of this world, in each Collonie, and soe a great oppertunitie wilbe lost,

and there are another Generation ariseing that will (in all likelyhood) have little senee of the Nessesite and benifitt of sueh a worke. If I eould vnderstand from youerselfe that sueh a worke is begun, or likely soe to be, I would eontribute a small matter of Intelligenee omitted in the Memoriall. Finally, Deare Sir, I haue thought it to be a high favor, if I might obtaine a stoeke of prayers goeing for mee, and I hope I haue from some of the saints, with whome I haue had speeiall acquaintanee. Might I obtaine the like of you, beloued Sir, I should willingly aeknowlidge my selfe to lye vnder yett a Greater obligation to you. I have Great Need of healpe from God to guid mee through this sinfull, sorrowfull world, into His everlasting kingdom. Now, Deare Sir, I humbly take my leaue of you; beseeehing God to lead and guide you through all youer troubles, eomfort you alwaies in all your Diseonsolations, and eontinew you to be a faithfull and wise Steward of the Misterys of the Gospell, and that the Lord Iesus when hee eometh to you may find you soe doeing; whieh I trust shalbe, Beloved Sir, the prayer of youers in the proffession of the Gospell of the Lord Jesus Christ;

NATHANIEL MORTON.

From PLYMOUTH IN NEW ENGLAND, the 8th of the sixt month, 1679.

Beloued Sir, I desire to be remembred vnto youer good son, Mr Cotton Mather, vnto whom I doe by these prsents prsent my loue, and due respeets.

ABRAHAM KICK* TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Reverend Increase Mather, Pastor of a Church of Christ at Boston in New England. p Mr John Clarke. Q. D. G.†

AMSTERDM: 15th Decemb. 1679.

REVEREND SIR, — I doubt not but you have by Mr Richard Wharton & Mr John Usher, heard of the death of our late Pastor,

* There is a letter from Mr. Kick, who is styled "the Eminent," dated "Hague, the First of February, 1689, S. N., To her Royal Highness the Princess of Orange, &c.," in a

† May this be "*Que Dieu Garde*"? The emigration of French Protestants to Holland had begun before this time, and French phrases might have become current.

Reverend Mr James Will[iams]. The good Lord teach us to heare the Rodd, & whoe hath appoynted it. He dyed in September last; & haveing appoynted myselfe as one of his Executors of his Will & Testament, did open your letter to him, dated the 26th August last, in which doe observe you had formerlie sent him a treatise to publish for you. I suppose Mr Williams did write you about sayd concerne, by Mr William Harris, whoe departed from hence the beginning of Septem[ber] last, & hope is arrived with you ere this.

We are sorrie to heare the sad newes of the late dreadfull fire in Boston. The Lord sancti[fy] the dispensation to all that are more neerlie concerned, & teach us all to profitt thereby. If the inhabitants of the earth will learne righteousnes when God's judgements are abroad, howe much more should His people learne righteousnes thereby. The Scriptures intimates to us, that as sinnes of the latter dayes will be the greatest, soe the judgements of the latter dayes will also be the greatest. God doubles & trebles His stroaks when He begins to deale with Nations & Peoples, in our dayes.

When He sometime since dealt with the Land of our Nativitie, He contended with them by a terrible Warr, a sweeping Plague, & a dreadfull Fire, one treading upon the heele of another. Soe when He latelie dealt with these United Provinces, He sent them a ruinous & destructive Warr, a verry great hurricane, that did exceeding much damage to many Citties & Townes; & a verry great and terrible inundation of water, that was judged to doe as much d[amage] & spoyle, as was done by all the ffrench Warr, & all these al[soe one] upon the heele of another. And as here with us, soe with [you] alsoe in Newe England. You have had Warr, Small-Pox, & [Fire,] & these alsoe, one upon the heele of another. Surelie howe . . . be, we may say, that the Lord is holy in all His wayes, & righ[teous] in all His workes, & that He afflicts

pamphlet entitled "A Brief Relation of the State of New England, from the Beginning of that Plantation to this Present Year, 1689." The pamphlet has been republished in Force's "Collection of Historical Tracts," vol. iv. No. 11. In this letter Mr. Kick pleads earnestly on behalf of "the people and Church of God in New England," and prays that "the heart of her Highness may be moved to take the first opportunity to help them to the Restoration of their Antient Patent, Priviledges and Liberties." Mr Kick is the person at whose house it is stated (in the letter on page 105, imputed to Increase Mather) that the Earl of Shaftshury died.

lesse then our sinns deserve. Is there not in the land of our nativitie, in these Provinces & in [New] England, a groweing lukewarme, & loosing first love? I begg your excuse for my thus inlargeing about these things. G[od] grant we may make a right improovement of them.

Our Church here have given their call to Mr Robert ffergusson to the office of Pastor. He is eminent in partes & grace. Thinges looke with a verry ill face in England. The Lord finde out some way to compose the mindes of the people there, that are now full of distractions & feares. I shall not further enlarge, but committing you to the protection of the Allmightie, doe take leave & abide Reverend Sir, your friend & Serv[t]

ABRAHAM KICK.

If upon the advice you may have received from Mr Williams, you finde that I can doe any thing about the busines of your Booke that is to be published, you may freelie lay your comands on me.

ABRAHAM KICK TO INCREASE MATHER.

AMSTERDAM, 5th August, 1683.

MR. INCREASE MATHER.

REVEREND SIR,—I hope the bookes sent by Mr. John Pecke came safe to your hand, although I have had noe advice from you thereof. The bearer hereof is my sonn John, who hath a long time sollicited me, for leave to goe to New England, not having had his health here for many yeares, & is of opinion (from the information he hath had of your place) that it may be of advantage to his health, insomuch that at last I have consented to his request. I earnestlie request that you will please to favour me with your counsell & advice to him in the best thinges, as opertunitie offers. The dispensations of God are verry wonderfull. The Turkes have made an incursion into Europe, with a considerable Army, & have besiedged Vienna, & are like to take it. The Emperour was forced to flee in hast, without baggage, to Lintz. The Protestant Earle Tekley [Tekeli]

hath an Army of about 60 thousand men marching towardes Poland, joyned with the Turkes. The People in Vienna are inraged against the Jesuites, as the cause of their misserie in prompting the Emperour to prosecute the Protestants in Hungarie. The Protestants in Ffrance have petioned the King there about their priveledges, & are about 4000 in Armes. What the issue will be, God knowes. In England things are verry darke. The great Jehovah will turne all these wheles to the carrying on his owne designs, for his owne glorie. I have not time to enlarge, only the tender of all due respects, & abide

Your friend & Serv^{t}, ABRAHAM KICK.

That which is due to me, you may please to pay my sonn, [for the books.*]

SETH FLETCHER† TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Reverend M^{r} Increase Mather, these.

ELIZABETH TOWNE, March 25, 1681.

M^{r} INCREASE MATHER.

REVEREND SIR, — You may please to call to mind that since I saw you in March (or Aprill) the yeare past, I wrott a Lett^{r} to you beareing date May 28, 1680, & another before that, May 10, 1680., that upon May 10. (especially) being about M^{r} Gershom Hobarts 16*ss.* 6*d.*, which he is indebted to mee, & M^{r} Trapps Exposition from Romans to the end of the bible (in Quarto). I never heard from you since what hath been donc in it. I am now more remote, & so the more to seeke of Cash, New York being not such a place for the production of money as Boston is. Be pleased therefore to acquaint M^{r} Bateman at the drawbridge foote, what you have done, or like to

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* *Torn.* These words added by Prince.

† Rev. Seth Fletcher first preached at Wells as early as 1655, and afterwards, at different times, in Saco, from 1662 to 1675; subsequently at Southampton, L.I., and in Elizabethtown, N.J. He married Mrs. Mary Pierson, of Southampton, the marriage contract being dated May 30, 1681. He died in August of the following year. His name is erroneously given as "John Fletcher" in the "Collections of the New Jersey Historical Society," vol. i., p. 168. This letter has been printed in Folsom's "History of Saco," p. 134, but from an incorrect copy.

doe, or are inclined to do about it. I have been much mollested with Quakers here since I came, New ones comeing in one after another. Vpon Feb. 15. last past, upon the motion of two of that Sect, one of which two is a Schoolem[r] to some children in the Towne, by Nation a Scott, by name John Vsquehart, by former profession (as fame makes known to mee) a Popish preist. A scholler he doth professe himselfe to be, & I find that he hath the Latine tongue. The buisinesse of that day was, for mee to maintaine an Assertion, viz., That a Quaker, liveing & dying as a Quaker (without repentanee), must find out a New gospell, which might aford them hopes of salvation, for what God had revealed in his holy word, there was no salvation for them in their impenitent condition. I opened the termes, Explicated by way of distinction of Seducers & Seduced, & so their sinnes, & likewise what repentance God expected from the one & the other sort, which being done (although there were four or five more Quakers in the throng, yet none appearing in the cause to oppose, but the Scholler afores[d] & a Chirurgion), I demaunded of them what they had to say against my Explanation: Instead of speakeing pertinently, the scholler (whom I understood had been at the Vniversity foure or five yeares) beginns to tell the people a story of Moses, Ezra, & Habbacuck, their being Quakers. Whereupon haveing given the people an acc[o] of the buisines of the day, I proceeded to six severall Argum[ts] by which to make good my Assertion, viz., That a Quaker liveing & dying as a Quaker (without repentanee) according to what God hath revealed in his word, he could not be saved. I in every argument demaunded what part of the argument they would deny, but in stead of an answer, there was raileing, threateneing mee that my destruction was nigh at hand. To prove the Minor, I continually produced their own Authors, & severall things out of their Rabbies bookes, which so exceedingly ganled them that then they set themselves to Hum̃ing, singing & reeleing their heads & bodies (Antique [antic] like) whereby both to disturb mee, & to take of the people from attending to what I had to say, for the maintaineing of the Assertion. Since that (I heare) I must ere long be proved to be no Minister of Christ, & they haue attempted to raise as great a party at Road Iland & Delleway bay against mee, as they can. Nay more, then so England & their freinds there shall heare of it, & in speciall Will: Penn, whom I

mentioned once (& but once) & that but in my fourth Argm^{t}, Namely his denyall of Xts being a distinct person without us, from his booke intitled Counterfeit Christian, p. 77. As for newes about Cōmonwealth affaires, I saw a proclamation of the old Governo^{rs}, forbideing upon perill the graunting any Obedience to those in present power, promiseing open Courts shortly: One Proclamation was put up here (at our meeting house, upon Sab: morn, March 6: 80–1. but before morning exercise taken down, & the day after sent to York.* What the issue wilbe, God (in time) will discover. Sir, no farther to enlarge, I take leave, cōmitting you to the Keeper of Israel, remaineing, Yours to serve you in Love,

S. Fletcher.

I saw M^{r} Abraham Person † in health, upon Thursday morning, March 9, at his own house; the next day M^{r} Allen (in health also) gave mee a visit at my house.

ABRAHAM PIERSON‡ TO INCREASE MATHER.

For the Reuerend Increase Mather, Teacher of a church in Boston in New England, these.

Reuerend Sir, — My seruice and cordial respects to yourselfe and Mrs. Mathar premised, we haue heard the sorrowfull tydings of your great sicknesse, and the danger of your remouall thereby from an unthanckfull world: but since, to our refreshment, of the

* See Hildreth's "History of the United States," ii. 51, *et seq.*; Collections of the New Jersey Historical Society, vol. i.

† See note to his letter next following.

‡ Rev. Abraham Pierson [H.C. 1668], son of Rev. Abraham, successively minister of Lynn, Southampton, L.I., Branford, and Newark, N.J., was settled as colleague with his father at the latter place, March 4, 1672, and at Killingworth, Conn., in 1694. He was the first Rector of Yale College, and died May 5, 1707. While these sheets are going through the press, we notice in a contemporary journal the following paragraph: —

College Memorial. — Graduates and students of Yale College, and the officers and members of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, propose making an excursion to "Old Killingworth," now Clinton, on Wednesday next, [June 17, 1868,] for the purpose of placing a memorial stone near the residence of the first Rector of Yale College, — the site where the earliest Senior Class of the College were taught. The occasion selected for this ceremony is the meeting of the General Association of Congregational Ministers of Connecticut at Clinton, two hundred years after the formation of the church in that place. It is expected that the stone will be placed by President Woolsey.

Lord's [me]rcy in your hopefull recouery: The Lord perfec[t] . . . upon that account, and goe on to shew for[th] . . . further continuance. Sir, more then a . . . made bold to giue you further trouble . . . ing a question I before wrote to you about, in [a l]etter I sent by Mr. Samuell Walker of Boston, who tould me he deliuered it with his owne hand.* I haue not yet receiued any answer from you; the reason whereof, I have apprehended, might be your long sicknesse. I do againe earnistly request your answer thereunto, if it may be, by the bearer hereof, Mr John Allin, son to Mr Allin of Deadham diseeased, whom the Lord in great pity and merey sent ouer from England the last summer, to our neighbours att Woodbridge, in this Prouince, who sent to England for supply. The Lord hath graciously looked on the condition of that people, and sent a man to them who doth industriously seek their eternal welfare. He is, according to the experience we haue had of him, such a one as of whom we haue reason to say, he is a faithfull man, and one that feareth God aboue many; able also to teach others. He is now intending a voyage into your parts upon bussinesse. I hope he will find encouragement among you, in his returne to the poor people to which he belongeth. Not further att present, but desiring your feruent prayers to God for me, for his mercy, presence, blessing and Assistance; my difficulties being greatly increased, I take leaue and subscribe, Sir,

Your unworthy brother, ABRAHAM PIERSON.

NEWORK in New-Jarsey, May 24: 1681:

THOMAS SHEPARD† TO INCREASE MATHER.

For the R^d M^r Increase Mather, Past^r to the Ch. in Bostō.

[1681. — PRINCE.]
July: 21:

R^D S^R, — With the enclosed I have made bold to send to you the accomt of the pres^t dang^r of Hartford Colony, as I rec^d it very

* There is in the collection of "Mather Papers" a long letter in the handwriting of Pierson, but without signature, "respecting the true interpretation of Dan: 12," which is probably the paper referred to. It has not been thought expedient to print it in this volume.

† Rev. Thomas Shepard [H.C. 1676], son of Rev. Thomas, of Charlestown, was ordained successor to his father, May 5, 1680.

lately from a Minist^r of theirs of note, which is as follows, viz^t "The gentlemen here have advice from England, of wrath impending over ourselves. We are informed that the D. of Hamilton had a Patent, bearing date 1631, for 60 miles square on the E. side of Counecticot Riv^r. The Duke's son, viz^t the E. of Arran, has lately sold the Patent to one S^r Francis V^rnon, for a farthing an acre, which some here have cast up to amount to 2500^lb: & S^r Francis is pursuing the matt^r at Court. We are afraid we shall quickly heare from the Court conc^rning it." *

I have not had time to transcribe the enclosed for you, which makes me transmitt the originall, but my kinsman tells me he will do it: So I am

Yours to s^rve, in all I may, THO: SHEP^D.

THOMAS SHEPARD TO INCREASE MATHER.

For the R^d M^r. Increase Mather, Past^r to a Ch. in Bostō.

CHARLSTOWN: Dec: 20, 82.

R^D S^R, — I have searchd some of my Fath^r's paps for the Comet in 1667, but find no mention of any then, but March, 1668, I find this account. 1^day in the evening after sunset, about seven of the clock, I saw the stream of a Comet whose head was allready set, or at least wise, by reason of the duskyness about the Horizon, not disc^rnable: the extremity of its stream was extended as far as the 11th bright star of Eridanus, next from the bright star of Orion's left foot: it was very clear, & large almost as that comet in 1664 & 1665 was, as to the stream thereof when biggest.

3^day, I saw the stream ridcing over that 11th bright star afores^d, but the cloudiness of the skie hindred an exact observation thereof.

4^d at about ¾ of an houre past 7, I apprehend I saw the head of the comet, & that it was even setting at that time, but the haziness about the horizon left it at some unc^rtainty. The stream was extended unto the middle between the bright star of Orion's left foot, & the bright star of his right thigh, but lay under the same,

* See Palfrey's "History of New England," iii. 439.

crossing through Lepus his cares: it did ride a little above that 11th star in flu: Eridanus afores^{d}: it was fully as broad (in the widest pt of the stream) as a line which the 3 bright stars of Orion's belt make in length.

5th. The stream seemed to be exactly in all respects as last night.

6th. as the last night; excepting that the stream in its direction, seemed (were it but continued so far) to make a more acute angle with neer toward the bright star of Orion's right thigh.

8th. as on the 6th day at night, except that it was directed to that bright star in Orion's thigh afores^{d}, almost making an Angle at that star, if it were drawn out to meet with a line centring therein, but not much of the stream could be discᵉned (how far it extended) because of the light of the moon. Not seen after this night by reason of the increase of the moons light, or clouds. This being so near to the time you spake of, I have made bold to trouble you with it in answer to your desire: So I remain

Your most assᵉd sᵉvitᵉ in what I may, TH: SHEPᴰ.

HANNAH JONES* TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Revᵈ Mr. Increase Mather Pastor of the North Church at Boston, these pᵉsent.

REVEᴿᴱᴺᵀ Sᴿ, — I am bold to present a few lynes to your worthy self, being in distres of spirit. I beseach you remember how the prophet caried to the Shnamite woman, who caught him by the feat. Some scriptnrs haue bin mouing in my hart; the widows mite, allso, cast in the net, allso, my goodnes extendeth not to thee, but to the sants, the exselent ones. I remember allso it is writin, the Lord accepts the will if we doe the best we can. Now the conserns of sants & sinners, together with the conserns of my one pore soule & my pore children is of great wayt to me.

* Hannah Jones, youngest daughter of Governor Theophilus Eaton, was born in the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn, London, and came over with her husband, William Jones. See note to his letters.

The work of thrusting a fathfull laborer into this vinyard is the Lords one work. He holds the stars in His hand. I am looking vp with some hopefull exspectasion, tho hope be mixed with fear. Somtimes I feel myself so under the pres of unbeleav that it makes me ery, mournfully, More fath, more fath. O that the Lord would moue your hart & the harts of the rest of the desipells to intreat the Lord for me & many more, erying hard after him upon this acount, that when he hath answered in that matter of fath which is plesing to God, allso puerifieth the hart; he allso will say, Be it unto you euen as you will. A man after the Lord's one hart, to be set over this congregasion will fullfill our desirs, that building, strengthening, conuerting work may goe on among us. Now, S^r^, has the Lord given you a son so hopefull; has the Lord sanctyfyed him from the wombe & fitted him in his tender age for his seruis. It may be we have stayed till Shelay was grown. Who knowes but the Lord may now eaule you as it wear to ofer up your Isaack to the seruis of God in this laungushing, dieing church; & if that be the ease, God will perswad Japhet to dwell in the tents of Shem, he will perswad yourself & him & that church to yeald him up. What tho ther may be many dificultyes that may seem very heuye to one so young & tender, yet the apostell sath, what doe you, weeping & breaking my hart. I am not onely ready to be bound but to dye for the name of Chr[ist]; whose yoke is esye & burthen light. I can speak it from experiene. What tho he be young; the promis is sure. He shall not be tempted aboue what he is abell. Now, S^r^, tho I am a worm, not worthy to be regarded by God or by men, yet sene it is put into my heart to ventur to give you the trubell of these serales, exorsise pasience so far as to read them, & if you can desern any thing of the sperit of God, I beleau you will not rejeet it, tho it come from a child, and couer my weaknes; tho I now make bold to tell you how I haue bin observing God in His prouidences. The Lord has seemed to eaule me to fowlow him in the dark for more then 7 years, but hath layd on some incorregments by His word & by His prophets. That word in the 42 of Isayah, ve^s^ 16; allso Isaiah 35, verses 3, 4, 5, and 6, together with many others. Allso the Lord sent one of our neaybor Elders who preached out of those words; I know my thoughts conserning you are thoughts of peas to give an exspected end. Another, out of those words, After too dayes

he will bind us up, & the third day we shall liue in His sight. I could menshon diuers more, but this may sufise to let you know my hopes are grounded on the Lord's word. I allso obserued, when I was last at Boston I went into a shop, just ouer aganst my lodging, or very near, intending to stay no longer then I chose a pare of speektaculs, having no acquantanee, but in that time eame in your son, who I neuer saw before. The Lord knowes my hart was full, so that I marueled I shuld so fix my eyes upon one I did not know; it being so unusiall with me who haue bin a great traueler; but I could not forbear asking him if he wear not a Mather. I was indeed so taken with his behauor, being so grane & becoming in my aprehensians, that I haue often spok & thought of it senee, but not onse imagened that he shuld be the person our eyes shuld so far fix upon; but when our brethrn & mesengers wear sent to look out for us, my pore erys, sobs & tears, together with many others were layd at the feat of our dear Redeemer & Interseser for pardon, pity and compasian to us in our low estate, & that he would grant them fauour in the eyes of His seruants, & send them bac with an oleaf [olive leaf] in ther mouths, & the Lord answered. The oleaf was the spark of hope conserning your son. O that our Lord would not quench this spark, but increas it & our hopes untell we injoy the substance hoped for. Good S^{r}, be tender of pore sorrowfull weak ones. Sorrow has not onely mayd us stoop but bow down, euen as that daughter of Abraham whom Chr[ist] loosed. I beleau you desire to be in all things conformabell to Chr[ist] your head. He would not break a brused read. Truly S^{r}, I hope God has prepared diuers of us to be tender of your son, if He will bring him to us, as of our one lines and soules. Now S^{r}, I will fors my self to conclude, & desir to make my adres to the Lord who is a God hearing prayers: to Him shall all flesh come. He is a fathfull promiser, & a fathful performing God of truth. To Him I look; on Him I wayt, & desire to be wachfull & sober, & hope in His merey to the end. He will not all way chid, nor keep his anger for euer. Farewell, dear S^{r}. My deu respects & servis to your self & good Mrs. Mather. Allso my harty comendasians to your son. The Lord make him instrumentall to binde up broken harted ones & to refresh the weary. Hear are many redy to imbrace him, if the Lord will send him, with louing harts & armes, & to say,

Blesed is he that comes in the name of the Lord. I beg your excuse for giuing you this trubell. I was intended to have bin so bold as to haue given you a uiset when last at Boston, but was toulde at that time it was not conuenient, & my time was short & ocasions many. The good Lord giude you by His prudent counsell till he bringe you to glory & ad many years to your life, yea, crown your life with louing kindness & tender mercy; that your strength may be rencwed like the eagels. So prayes your pore frind & servant, HANNAH JONES.

NEWHAUEN, Desember 12, 1681.

POSTSCRIT. I hearing of one that comes from your parts who sath your son is so dear & presious to your sosiety that it will be a breaking thing to part with him, I am so tender in that case, if that it may not be without so great a wrong to others. O that the Lord would perswad you & them but to leand him to us. Hath not the Lord ned of him in some sencc?

HANNAH JONES TO INCREASE MATHER.

These ffor the Reuerant Mr. Increase Mather, Teacher of the Second Church of Chr. in Boston.

REUR^NT S^R, — I reseaued your louing & grasious letter & tokens, for which I doe return most harty thankes, as allso for the book you sent me the voyeg before. I hartely beg the continuance of your prayers that your indeauoyrs may be blesed by the Lord for the good of my soule. I take it hearin you are conformabill to Chr. your head, who has undertaken to cary the lambs in His bosome, & gently to lead thos which arc with young. I may say, from whenc is this fauoyr, that such a porc, weak, worthles, sheaphardles lamb, as to the creatur, shuld haue any roome or acseptance in your hart. I am not worth minding or looking after. I doe truly take it from free grase, & am euen redyc often to shout, crying grase, grase, from the foundasian to the top ston. Hitherto my harty peticians are, & by grase shall be, that the Lord,

who hath put it into your hart to show such kindnes to me, will allso remember His promis, & not sufer you to loose youre Reward. The Lord knowes I doe not want will to reward you fully, but I want abillety; therfore your reward fals well, falling into sueh a hand.

Conserning your presious son, who has a hie esteem in my hart; I am well satisfyed with the Lord's dispos[l]. I can truly say I finde no repining thought in that mater. I often think of what Danid sade with aplyeasian, 2 Samuell, 2. 24: vers 17. It would have greved me att my very hart if any of my pore indiauoyrs shuld, in the least, haue furthered his sorrow & sufferings. O methinks it's pitty so tender & grasious a plant shuld be put upon shuch hard work as now I think he would haue bin if he had come hither. I haue seen more of that matter then I knew I shuld see, yet I feared then what I haue seen, yet I did beleau if the Lord cauled him hither, He would strengthen him, & no dout a great many hear would haue thought themself bound to tender him as ther liues, & healp to the utmost to eas his burthen; but diuine wisdome saw it not best for him. We wear not prepared for such a merey, no nor yet: its with the Lord both to prepare & bestow. I may say, Lord, what wayt I for? My hope is in Thee alone. I doe firmly beliau what you say is tru indeed, ther are sins not seen nor bewayled as ought, which hinders mereys. We surely have need of prayers for souerane grase. It pleased the Father, that in Chr. Jesus all fullnes shuld dwell. O that we might reseau of His fullnes, & gras for grase. If the Lord healp us not we are undun. O S[r], I am a woman of a sorrowfull spirit. The wanes run over me so fast that I am often crying, in deep waters, Lord, saue or I sink. A weary traueler indeed. Some reliau. A rest remanes. Lord bring me safe to it. I think somtimes of what Job sath, I know Thou wilt bring me to death & to the house apoynted for all liuing. I sometimes find temptasions to wearines, but I doe obhor myself for it. Death is a dark entry. I dare not make ouer much hast into it, least through short spiritednes I be forsed through it without a candle. S[r], I may tell you, such is my present sorrowfull sence of our state, that if tears would make impresion on paper I shuld need no ink. But why am I so cast doun? The Lord liues & blesed be my Rok. O that it might pleas His blesed magesty to let me recouer strength

& see His anger turned away before I goe hence & be seen no more. He can open blinde eyes, and giue Repentance & Remisian of sins. I may not inlarg, for divers resons.

My husband intends to wright to your self, & will giue you some acount of some things which I supose may not be unusefull to you in your good works, but conserning the Ring of Rye, I neuer heard of it. Sure I am inclined to think if so it was not in N. H. but some whear els. Conserning the Lightning my husband has giuen you acount, as allso of an Earthquake,* but with it some intimasian that I may giue some further acount, which is this. Our Reverent deseased Teacher, Mr Street, sade this to me, he allso sade the same to too other graue & solid persons in this town, which told me of it. One was our brother Ephraim How, now at rest; the other Mr Dauis, I supose both known to your self. To me he sade as fowloweth.

As I was in my study I was mayd very sensibill of an earthquak which shaked my study so that I was somwt af[r]aid it would fall; my books wear shaked, & I went presently down stairs, & met my wife coming out of the orchard in at the bac dore. I asked her if she did not take notis of an Earthquake; she sade no. Presently brother Henman came in to me & sayd, Sr, did you not minde an earthquake? I sade yea, I was made sensibill of it. Then he sade, it was so obseruabell that it shaked down the peuter in ther house; but this earthquk was not heard of any whear but in our too houses, onely as a confirmasian of the truth of it in Mr Baches warehouse, at the waterside, some or one took notise of a barrell trunling to & fro. Truly it did take impresian on me, & God has shaken me out of my house, & let them that liue obsearu it. I doe think God may shake Mr H. out of his in His time. Mr. Street was, when he tould me this, remoued out of his house to his sons, & not long after died.

New hauen, [Se]ptember 8, 1682.

Conserning N. P.† it is a tender case with me, because he was my honrd father's sister's son. His father was a godly fathful minister of the gospell, tho greatly aflickted in some of his chil-

* See William Jones's letter, dated . . . 1682.

† Nathaniel Park. See letter of William Jones, p. 612.

dren, & in this son espeshally. I once heard him preach, & I think any obseruant Cristian might truly judg he was brought low by afflicksion. A broken hart apeared. Onst I had some discours with him, for he came to London to uiset me when I was bereued of my worthy brother Hopkenes ;* & his discours was so graue & Cristian like, that I haue often blesed God for his uiset, & somthing he then sade stok by me, namely this: Cousen, you haue pased through many changes, & may pas through many more, but if you chang not towards God, God will not chang towards you, & then you nead fear no changes. A sister of his, lines now in Boston, my cousin Purmont, N. P., & she had one mother but not one father; & I am tender of grieuing her, as it may be if I shuld give an acount conserning him I shuld, if she understand it came from me, but I would prefer the glory of God above any considerasian, if I may but understand what is my duty, therfore I thought it prudence to desire some aduise from you before I did giue any acount of that matter. I doe think I am advantaged to giue a true Relasian of his life & of his death, aboue most liuing upon knowlidg & informasian, but my capaety is as disadnantagous, if yourself upon searious considerasian can or will aduise me, I shall wayt for it & forbear proseeding till I haue it.

S^r^, I canot but admire you shuld onst haue me in your thought as to that Memoriall, it was so far beyond one thout of mine. Indeed I haue often thont I could neuer be sufisently thankfull that the Lord would put an opertunyty into my hands to wash feat or giue a cup of cold water. I take this as onely your loue, I deserued none; sure it was the Lord that put it into your hart, & I am truly thankfull to God in my pore mesure, & to you, but I will asure you I was richly rewarded, for cold water I reseaued many a cordiall of greater value then the world to me. Too of the last wear these. I will tell you Mrs. Jones good news. You are mourning for want of a Pastor. Chr. Jesus will

* Edward Hopkins married a daughter of Gov. Eaton, sister of the writer of this letter. He was a wealthy merchant in London, came over, in 1637, with Davenport and Eaton, and settled at Hartford. He was Assistant in 1639, and afterwards Governor, in alternate years, with John Haynes, till he went back to England in 1652, where he was a member of Cromwell's parliament. He was a munificent benefactor of Harvard College. Quincy's Hist. of Harv. Univ.

be your pastor. The last of all was he sade he had one porsian to leau with me, which was cast into his mind to leau with me as his farewell, the 2 salm, last uers, ading he did beleau the Lord would saue my children & my husbands too. Thus with harty thankes for all your loue & seruis, & due respects to your self & Mrs. Mather & your son; the Lord increas & strengthen both you & him more & more, & grant both may serue your generasians acording to His will. So prayes yours in Chr: H: J:

WILLIAM JONES* TO INCREASE MATHER.

ffor the Rev^rd Mr. Increase Mather, Pastor of the North Church of Ch. at Boston. Theise.

Rev^rd & Worthye S^r, — It was noe smale refreshing to vs, that by the Returne of our Messengers, we had an accompt of the mo̅con they made about your worthy son, which gave som hopes of his being attainable, towards spring: therefore the Church having appointed theire Comittee to prosecute the mo̅con to the vttmost, they have written now againe to yourselfe, & alsoe to your son himselfe. Good S^r, consider our case, & tender the weake of this poore Church, which seems to depend much upon the yssue of this Assay for settlem^t, after above 7 yeares stugle about a p̅son, by a solemn hand of God layd aside, soe that now our supply with a hopefull Instrument is the likelyest way to our future settlem^t in peace, but a disapointm^t or long delay may let in more tempta̅con to furth^r hazard. We doe heare soe much & soe well of your son: that we should count it a gr^t favo^r from God, if we may enjoy his m^nry among vs; & it wold greatly Refresh many poore drooping, but yet p^rcious soules in this place. There are at this tyme 3 hopefull p̅sons of the young^r sort, that stand propounded to the Church, & I know of

* William Jones is said to have come to Boston in the same ship with the Regicides. He was Assistant and Deputy Governor of the Colony of New Haven, and afterwards, in 1678, Assistant of the United Colony of Connecticut. His wife was Hannah, youngest daughter of Gov. Theophilus Eaton. See the preceding letters.

4 or 5 more young ones are looking that way; & I hope among us in this place many oth^rs will follow, if we had a setled M^nry. S^r, that is the thing we aime at, if the Lord incline your son towards us. This at least I wold make bold to p^rsent, that if any thing should fall out to obstruct your son's inclinac̃on towards us in order to settlem^t, which we should be sorry for, yet that we have his p^rsence to help for a tyme, till eith^r that Ch. with yo^w may see cause to recall him, or we be otherwise supplied, in all which we have our eyes, under God, upon yourselfe. I have sent inclosed a few lines from my deare wife. She is willing to cast in her mite. Soe wold many others, but that they are not willing to be troblesom. And that I may not be soe I shall conclude only with due respects to yourselfe & deare son, rest^g, S^r,

Yours in Christ to his power, W^m Jones.

Hartford, 15. 10b^r 1681.

WILLIAM JONES TO INCREASE MATHER.

ffor the Rev^d Mr Increase Mather, Past^r of the Second Church of Christ att Boston, Theise.

[. . . 1682.—Prince.]

Rev^rd & Deare Sir, — Yours of Aug^t 22^th rec̃ed. As concerning the acc^t yo^w desire of Remarkable Providences at N. H., I am very willing to doe what is with me, as tyme will p̃mit. As to the case of Nath^ll Park; my wife & others can give an acc^t of that, it being before my tyme.* As to that gr^t storme of thunder, lightning & raine which was on the 8th of June last; my wife & I were on our journey that day from Norwake to Stamford to give a visit to our good ffrend M^rs Bishop. By that time we were com to a little house in the mid way, set vp about a month before, the storme began: & before we could well get in the furniture of our horses: other company with us; the storme grew to that violence that had we bin but a quarter of a mile from the house we could not have reacht it without gr^t

[See I. Mather's Remarkable Providences, printed in 1684.—Prince.]

* See the letter of Hannah Jones, dated Sept. 8, 1682, near which time this letter must have been written.

hazard of life. But God brought vs to that shelter just in the nick of tyme, where we stayd som houres till the storme was over, hoping it would hold vp: but a little raine we had in the rest of our journey to Stamford; & did observe many vast & great Oakes blowne downe & torne vp by the roots; som in the road, that stopt vp the way. But som dayes after, on our returne we found a dredfull destruccon of trees, all the way from Stamford, from towne to towne, & especially betweene Milford & Newhaven, in one place within about 3 miles of Milford in the rode & neere it, heapes of mighty Oakes turned vp by the roots; but not many afterwards in the rest of the way to N. H. At Norwake sundry Barns blowne downe, a new house vnfinisht at or near ffairfield, and side forst out of its place; & at Milford, barnes & one building much damaged. I heare not of much at N. Haven. That which befell my house was by a dreadfull thunder clap & lightning som tyme, an houre at least, before that storme cam: & thus it was, as I vnd^rstood, & found on my returne. The thunder & lightning struck between 2 gable ends at the west end of the house, broke of a ꝑt of a collar beame that went along atop by the chimney on which the sparrs rested, as if the outside had bin cloven of with beetle & wedges; but to little damage, for the maine of the beame remaines in its place & use. Alsoe it brok & burst in the middle spar with the bredth of about 2 shingles, from bottom to top; as if the roofe had bin slit. One board clapt on since my returne covers the whole. I had lately new shingled most of my house but that gutter, which I intended to doe. But noe ꝑt of the roofe else hurt, & noe signe of damage to the chimney, which might have bin beaten downe.

Now that which was nextly observable was that the thund^r & lightning did noe harme either to the chimney or a little closset just vnder that breach ner to the floore & closset under that, where I had my powder in a bag hanging vp on the wall. I say did noe hurt, not in those two vpper clossets & ffloores, till it cam downe (how, we cannot find) to the lowest closet in our parlo^r. There it broke & burst out a stud into the yard: & blew or rent of the clabboards within & without, drawing the nailes, but not a claboard split or missing, that I can lerne; for the stud was set together, naild in its place, & the claboards within & without naild on before my returne. Alsoe the closset dore out of the parlo^r into it

being wainscot, was throwne open; & being lockt with a padlock the hook was forst out, & lock throwne into the middle of the roome. This is the whole as I vnd^rstand it not. This was mostly remarkable, that but a very little before, one of my daughters was in the closset, but God p^rserved her by His good providence as He did vs in our jorney; as alsoe our whole family: that non had any hurt, nor were they any more sensible of the thunder crack that fell in the other ꝑt of my house where they were, then people abroad were, nor suspected ought that was don till anoth^r [of] my family going into the parlo^r ꝑceived it. Blessed be God for his gr^t goodnes & m̃cy in preserving vs all.

One or two ꝑtic^rs more I shall menc̃on. The 1^st concerning a Monster Calfe seene heere many y^rs sincé, I think since Rev^rd M^r Davenport went hence. I hearing of it, caused it to be brought to my house, viewed it well, & then writ downe as followeth, viz^t

M^n. That on the 23^th of ffeb^r, 166§ (one heere in the writing named) had a cow, which being with calfe, they were forced to draw the calfe from her with a horse, the hind^r ꝑts coming out first; which don it appeared to be a monster, for the calfe had two ꝑfect heads, comely, & well shaped in all ꝑts, but the one head standing to the one side & the other to the other side, neith^r forward. The back ꝑt of the heads downeward almost to theire months joined together, soe that one eye of each head lookt straight foreright, & theire oth^r eyes backward; their cares all 4 vppermost in their ꝑper places in the heads. The haire all over well growne, as of a calfe a month old; the neck joined to the middle betweene both, & excepting the heads, the neck & body in all other ꝑts of it like to other Calvs. Thus much I find I writ.

Alsoe I have bin credibly informed by an ey wittnes & seen as tis said by many, that in a garden in this towne some yeares agoe there grew a cabbage in the ꝑfect forme of a cutlash, which, when people began to talk of & descant upon, was cut downe. Both fell out before our divisions & trobles in N.H. I shall not say what I might thinke the p^rsage was. It is beyond me; nor what an earthquake, som years before our deare & reverend Teacher died, might import, which earthquake non took notice, & were sensible of but his familyes & next neighbo^rs. Tis like my wife may give yo^w a more ꝑtic^r acc^t.

I have had my observations upon more gen[ll] changes, with respect to the whole land, with the Awfull dispensac̃ons of God towards us. Blazing starrs & solemn warnings from H[e]aven of late yeares given vs; but have not tyme to enlarg. There is a small poem and very plaine on intimac̃on of some frends heere, I sent to my Brother Hamon: who sent it to the Rev[d] M[r] Oakes for his considerac̃on: to be either for more publiq̃ use or to be returnd, but M[r] Oakes dying: though I have writ for the returne of it, it is not don. I hav writ to M[r] Cheevers to call for it & send it me. There is an appendix to it, concerning a Xtian in soule conflict & darknes. If yo[w] please to speak or send to either of both, if yo[w] can pick any thing out of it that may suite your publiq̃ sp[t], I am very willing yo[w] [may] have the p̃vsall, but my name in any talk about [it] I desire may not be menc̃oned. And if yo[w] pleas[e] when you have don with it to returne it. I must break off. With due & cordiall resp[ts] to yourselfe & yours, & p̃tic[r]ly your deare & p[r]cious son, whom I highly love & hono[r] in the Lord & could be glad of a l[r̃] now & then from him, were it but once in a yeare.

Good Sir, think of vs for supply. If any hopes that M[r] Daniell Gookin might be attaind, I find a good concurrence wold be about him, & I hope maintenance to his content, Rest[s] S[r],

Yours in Christ ever, [*No signature.*]

My due respects to the Rev[d] Mr. Allin, & M[r] Eliot, &c.

Indorsed by Increase Mather, — "Thunder-storm, in N. Haven Colony; 1682. frō M[r] J."

SAMUEL TORREY* TO INCREASE MATHER.

[Weymouth. — Prince.]

Rev[D] & Dear S[R], — These Brethren, the barers, bring you (together with these) the result of this Chh[es] transaction about

* Rev. Samuel Torrey was brought to New England by his father in his early youth. He was at Harvard College three years, and would have graduated in 1650, but left, with others, it is said by Dr. Eliot, because the term was lengthened to four years. He first preached at Hull, and was afterwards ordained at Weymouth, Feb. 14, 1665. He preached the Election Sermon three times, and was twice chosen President of the College, but declined to accept the appointment. — *Savage's Geneal. Dict. Quincy's History of Harvard University.*

me, in an Address to the Overseers. It is wholy of their own making & managem^t^ without me. Our good old Elder Bate (although under extreme decays of nature), hath laboured with much integritie & ferveney of sp^t^ in it; together with many others, both elder & younger, who would gladly have bin more largely expressive of their hearts. I thinke it is much better spirited than worded, from the most, although I suspect it may be better worded than spirited from some few; you will know somew^t^ better what Judgm^t^ to make of it when you have had L: W: [?] sence of it. Our politicians thought it not soe good manners for the Chh to speake first; but to be silent till they were spoken unto. A very politicke modesty it would haue bin, to haue given the business ꝑgress. I suspect they ꝑswade themselves & others that you have not bin in very good earnest in the motion; & that the labour of an Adress might haue bin spared. Whether It be worth your while to do any thing to ꝑswade them otherwise I leave to your consideration. They objected not in publiq̃, but joined with the chh ffreely (as I am told). I am yet much to seeke of the minde of God, concerning myselfe. I hope I am syncerely willing & desireous to be at His disposall; I wait upon Him for further discouerys of His will by your advice; & therefore depend much upon your wisdome & faythfullness in the managem^t^ of the matter, unto such an issue either way, as may be without dishonor to God, or disadvantage to me. I shall not come up this weeke, but expect some instructions from you by the Returne of the Brethren; of which I pray you not to fayle. Whether it will be best for you to ꝑffer what is sent to the Overseers ꝑ^s^ently, I leave to you to consider. Not else at this time, but my desire of your prayers. I shall ever remaine, S^r^,

Yours intirely, S: T:

14: 12: 81:

[S. Torrey.—Prince.]

ICHABOD CHAUNCY* TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Rev^nd & his estemed ffriend M^r Increase Mather, at his house in Boston, in New England, these, together with a booke.

BRISTOLL, 17° 168$\frac{1}{2}$.

[Suppose Febr. 17. — PRINCE.]

REV^ND S^R, — I rec^d yours of 7^ber 17° 1681, & give you my hearty thanks for your inclosed prints, as alsoe for your Intelligence about N.E. affayres. I doe heartily embrace a yearly correspondence with you, & therefore shall, as breifly as I can, give you an acc^t of our publick affaires. I doubt not but coñon fame hath acquainted you how great a cloud the ꝑtestant Interest is vnder in all Christendome, & more especially in this land: how farre Popish counsells have p^rvailed, & doe daily p^rvaile among us. The Ffrench King (the great Enginc of the Jesuites at this day) and like to be *ffiagellū Europæ*, influencing all the Counsels & Courts of Europe, & more especially in thes Islands; & as an example, ꝑsecutes the ꝑtestants, which which are his owne subjects, to the greatest extremityes, enforcing thousands of them to leave his dominions: to which, by publick ꝑclamations we have shewed ourselues very kind, ꝑmising them great iñunityes, & yet, at the same time (which seemes a great mistery) have thought it necessary to ꝑsecute ꝑtestant dissenters of our owne nation, & of the same ꝑswasion with the Ffrench, to the greatest extremity. I suppose I need not tel you what ꝑgress the D. Y[ork] (who is one in counsels & interest with the Ffrench King) hath made in Scotland; having established his owne succession there by all the strength humane laws can give, the poor dissenters of that Kingdome being brought very low, & all manner of severity vsed towards them. The same man's counsells act all our publick affaires; almost all places of trust & profit being conferred on his devoted friends, favorites & servants. What attempts have been used to baffle the Popish plott & to cast the odium of it upon

* Ichabod Chauncy [H. C. 1651], son of President Chauncy, studied medicine and theology, went back to England, and settled as physician at Bristol, where he was "prosecuted under the 35 Eliz.," and banished. In 1664, he was sent to Newgate for four months, and then removed to Holland. — CALAMY.

the dissenting ptestants among us, the small piece I have sent you will give you a more ptienlar acc^t than I can; which is, indeed, the epitome of the cheifest intregues & transactions that have passed among us since the breaking out of the Popish Plott. Discontents are very great among us, & if we may measure our prognosticks by our Savio^rs p^rdiction (that a nation divided within itself must come to desolation) misery & ruine must needs be very nigh us: for the spirits of men are (especially in this place) boyled up to the height of enmity & rage one against another, that there was never a greater between the Jewes & Samaritaines; coñon conversation being almost destroyed by it; which makes at p^rsent the case of Dissenters in Bristoll worse than in any other place in Engl: for a malignant, ꝑsecuting spirit hath all the power, & is now employed to the utmost to crush the dissenting party in this place, (there being none in power that dare take them by the hand or owne their cause): all lawes are here put in execution against us, nay more than lawes, for men are suffered to act their owne wills to the ruining of us. All our publick meetings are supp^rssed, our publick places ruined; many have been & are imprisoned; many are excoñmunicated; others are indicted upon the Act of 20^li *p^r mensem* for not coming to church, (of these there are about 160 or 170), & all exspect it every day; besides great fines that are severely levied upon those they take at conventicles: soe that (if the Lord interpose not) this will not be a place for any Dissenter very long; unless he will resolve to be ruined or prostitute his conscience; & whither to goe from these troubles is very hard to imagine: tho the case of Ln^o [London?] be at p^rsent somewhat better than ours, I doubt t'wil not be long soe; there being great attempts made upon the charter & liberty; & I doubt N.E. must not fare much better, for we heare they are about to send you over a Governor, & if it be the person we heare named (viz. M^r Cranfield) he is a very base Tory. We know him wel in Bristoll, & owe a good pt of our calamitys to his interest here & at Court. But the caracter I give of him, keep to yourself. As to fforraine affaires, they are not in a much better condition than at home with us. The hand of the Lord hath been very heavy lately upon the Dutch, by a grievous inundation, destroying multitudes of Townes, & people: tis said above 10,000, & hath impouerished them more (as tis supposed) than the late ffrench Warr. Tis supposed,

alsoe, there will speedily be a rupture between them & Ffrance, as alsoe that t'will not be long ere the Ffrench king will overrun Fflanders. But of these things I beleive you are wel informed; therefore lest my pen should outrun itself, Ile break off, tho abruptly, & comend you to Grace, earnestly desiring an interest in your prayers, & rem.

Your assured ffr. & servt, I. Chauncy.

The D. Y. is speedily exspected at Court out of Scotland.*

If you write to me by way of London, be pleased to direct your letters to my Br, Isaac Chauncy, who lives in Blew Boar Court, in ffriday Street, London. He will convey them safely to me. Be pleased to lend the litle book to my brother to [peruse] if he desires it.

ICHABOD CHAUNCY TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Reverend Mr. Increase Mather, Pastor of a Church of Christ in Boston in New England. These.

Revnd Sr, — Eyther through buisiness or inadvertency missing the oportunity of writing to you this year from Bristol; being now in London, I thought necessary to transmit you a few lines, to returne you my hearty thankes for your kind token: (I mean your small book) wherein I perceive you have taken noe small paines; & your proofs seem to me to carry noe smal evidence with them. The good Lord grant us that since wee are under soe many visible tokens of Christ's appearance, that we may give all diligence to be found of him in peace, without spot & blameless: I sent the other to your Br in Ireland, which he alsoe recd. You may exspect possibly an acct how affaires goe among us; but you'l have a farre better account from your worthy agents, which I perceive are returning with all speed: & indeed things are come to that passe that tis hardly safe to write any newes; only in genll things looke very dark not only with us, but all

* Arrives at Newmarket, March 4. 81-2. — Prince.

the professing ptestant part of the world, & we have reason to exspect the greatest sufferings that ever fell upon the Church of God: we in Engl: espec: being like to fall under the lash of a provoked & bloody aduersary. The late plott* is like to prove the greatest advantage to our popish aduersaryes, that ever God's providence put into their hands. They have now obtained the thing they have been indeavouring this many yeares: Tis phable, after some more leading men are taken off upon the occ^{n} of it, a parliam^{t} will be called (which will, in all likelihood be according to the mind of them that call them) which will bring a Test upon us, answerable to what is put upon them in Scotland, which will in all probability rout 4000^{s} among us: but, alas! whither shall we fly from this storm, which is like to be soe vniversal; & when God is shutting up all doores against us? Our case in Bristol is very sad. All our meetings, almost, are broken; all penal lawes put in execution against us, that in a very litle while multitudes must eyther fly, conforme, or be vn-done, but Alas! many, nay most of the p^{r}sbiterian dissenters have chosen thoroughly to conform.

In briefe, our temptations are like to try the strongest of us, & we need your prayers that we may be kept in this houre of temptation. We alsoe tremble bee: of the ark of God in New E: considering what is threatned & begun against them. Surely God is taking away all our props & refuges of lyes. Oh! that we might be therby brought to trust the . . . stedfastly upon the Lord. Thus requesting your constant remembrance before the [Lo]rd, I coñend you to the protection of the Almighty, who reñ:

Your unfeined fr: & Br in our Lord Jes:

[*Signature destroyed.*]

London, Aug: 12^{o}, 82.

WILLIAM PECK TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Revrd Mr Increase Mather, Pastor of the 2^{d} Church of Christ at Boston, Theise.

Revnd & Deare S^{r}, — I reĉed your letter, & did communicat it to the Church. We cannot but look upon it as a humbling

* The Rye-House plot, discovered June 14, 1683.

providence to meet with one disapointment after another, considering the condiĉon we are in, for altho: all seeme to be off from Mr. H. as to M^ary in this place, and the contest about setling him to be at an end, as an yssue of divine Providence. And the Church agreed to look out anoth^r way. Yet what new difficultyes may arise (in case we should be much longer without a supply) we have cause to feare; and therefore pray yo^w to consider it: And if any hope be yet left concerning your worthy son, we desire yo^w wold favo^r our moĉon; for on furth^r consideraĉon we have now writ (the inclosed) to your church. If God make yo^w & them instrum^ts therein, or if that faile, by some other sutable ꝑson to provide for vs: Wee, & ours, yea the Rising Generaĉon among us will have cause to bless God for yo^w. O S^r, think of vs, & speak & doe what yo^w can. Improve your interest with God, & godly ffrends, & specially the Rev^nd Elders, on our behalfe. 'Tis a sad thing soe gr^t a Congregaĉon as this is, should be without setled M^ary soe long. I shall not enlarg, but desire a few lines, by the bearer, B^r Alsop. With due resp^ts p^rsented, Rests, S^r,

Yours in Christ Jesus, WILLIAM PECK.

17 Apr. 82.

POSTSCRIPT. — If our moĉon p^rvailes not, if yo^w please, I pray move on our behalfe to M^r Minor, that we may know his mind, & what to doe, by this returne of our vessell.

WILLIAM LEETE* TO INCREASE MATHER.

These ffor the Rev^d Mr Increase Mather, Pastor of the Second Church at Boston. ꝑ M^r Ben: Davies.

HARTFORD, July 5^th 82.

HON^RD S^R, — By your late kindness receiued of that worthy sermon preacht upon occasion of ꝑsecution in ffrance, you have multiplyed obligations vpon me for thanksgiueing, both to God for

* William Leete, of Guilford, signed the plantation covenant of June 1, 1639; was an Assistant of the New-Haven colony from 1643 to 1657; Deputy Governor in 1658; Governor from 1661 to 1665; on the union of the New-Haven colony with Connecticut, became Assistant till 1669, then Deputy Governor to 1676, and from that time, Governor, till his death at Hartford, April 16, 1683. Savage's Geneal. Dict.

the work & to your selfe for the coppy sent, otherwise to begg ꝑdon for my so seldome & slender gratitude formerly. But yet the sence of the well done in this createth a boldnes to sollicite for further improvement of those gnifts & graces that God hath bestowed vpon you, as Talents for your Master's vse; you haueing both Capacity & opportunity for the presse, aboue most of your brethren ministers. This, I say, makes me to suggest my weake thoughts & Considerations vnto your meditations, about the Causes of so little ꝓgresse made in reformation worke, & turneing to the Lord by sincere Conversion of heart & Change of life; notwithstanding those solemne strokes and divine dispensations we haue beene long vnder. May it not be that a coñon ꝑfession & resting in formalityes & moralityes (which are but outsides of religion) is like to be destructive to the power of it, & to increase the decay of first love in N: E: by gendering a pʳsumptiue fframe in many; accounting of themselues thereby to haue attained to be Abra: seed in pʳveledge; & yet haue not that faith in deed, which he had while he was as yet vncircumcised: doubtlesse, vnlesse we be pinched with the sence of a necessity to make our calling & election sure, by searching markes of examination, & to know that Ch. is in vs of a truth, &c: the fformer is like to make our ꝑfession vaine & saplesse; & so hazard reprobation, & God-forsakeing; but such truths, strongly droue on, & applyed by the Almightyes Arme, might shake & ouerturne the sandy foundations of meer Coñon ꝑfessoʳˢ; & surely it is a duty to be smartly pʳssed by ministers & practised by all hearers, seriously & with much prayer, to awake slumbering virgins & to rowse from a Laodicean temp: But why goe I about to show the seers, or teach my teachers by such hints, which they farr better vnderstand than I, a poore broken vessell: yet this boldnes did arise from my sence of your humility, Condiscension & Charity, to take all in good part, & by thinkeing, that I feele some thing in myselfe, & I haue somewhat obserued in others, of that Tendency: & is not from arroganee or conceit, which God fforbid; & howeuer, let God be honoured, His worke ꝓmoued, & soules ꝑfited, though I be contemptible: And let me haue your prayers for sincerity & vprightnes in this more difficult age, & worke aboue me; yet let me remaine & be appʳhended by your selfe, as indeed I am, & desire to be,

Your Cordiall lo: ffreind & servᵗ, WILLᴹ LEETE:

POSTSCRIPT: I also haueing lately ree^{d} from M^{r} Whiteing's hand another booke & token of respect, viz: *Diatriba de Signo ffilii Hominis:* I know not what further returne to make, but thanks, &c., unlesse to adde some Apology for my owne indesert of a Lattin booke, being growne so rusty in that *lingua*, with wishing it might be reprinted in English for the benefit of N: E: Towards the charge whereof I shall willingly be a subscriber; haueing had a tast of what you so printed about the Calling of the Jewes; which I borrowed & red, tho: I haue it not by me now:

THOMAS HANFORD* TO INCREASE MATHER.

ffor the Revrd M^{r} Increase Mather, Teach^{r} to a Ch^{h} of X^{t} att Boston: these be dd.

REVEREND S^{R}, — *Scribo epistolas rarissimus;* & possibly too seldome, at least to your worthy selfe, to whome I owe hono^{r}, love & respect, & the testimonialls therof upon seu^{r}all aeeounts, all obliging, among which I would not exclude affinityes arising from a broth^{r}hood betweene a Naturall, Reverend & Pious Brother of yours, & my selfe, upon which I rememb once the affinity (*cognationis*) was owned betweene us. which, (if you please) I desire may bee continued; however I heartily desire that Christian Brotherly loue may bee continued, in order whereunto I haue adventured these few lines to you, to signify my desire of a Roome in your heart, (which I doubt not is open to all that truly feare God & loue His name (*quod saltem cupio*) of your Brethren in these remote parts: which I vnd^{r}stand & am confirmed in by your application to our good neighbo^{r}s (the Reverend M^{r} Bishop,† M^{r} Wakeman,‡ &c.) betweene whome I am plaeed. S^{r}, I hint this for your information, that if at any time your heart ineline, & leisure serue to send any few lines or Remembrances of

* Thomas Hanford came from England not later than 1643, taught school in Roxbury, and was afterwards of Norwalk. He sometimes preached, though he never received ordination.

† Rev. John Bishop, of Stamford. See note affixed to his letters.

‡ Rev. Samuel Wakeman, of Fairfield. See note affixed to his letter.

your Loue (to one *tam indigno*) you may know where to find mee. You may p'sume the least epistle from you will bee very aeceptable; & a few words of intelligence to one so disadvantaged by distance may help to excite to the duty of such a day of trouble; & unite hearts & pray^rs in seeking the advance of the g^rat interest of our great Lord Jesus. The dispensations of God are awfull & tremendous all the world ouer. His Judgem^ts are abroad & at home; upon all places & persons for probation or punishm^t. The Lord awaken & prepare His people for His pleasure. There was in our woods, within three miles of the Towne, on June 14^th, a storme of lightning and thund^r, by the influenee of which nine working oxen were strook dead at onee in a small compasse of ground neere lying one to another. The Lord is variously testifying against His people. The last yeere, drought was our Judgem^t, & at p'sent God is threatning us with excessive & unseasonable raine, to p^rvent our harvest. The Lord in merey turne away our sins & His anger from us; & poure out a mighty spirit of peniteney & prayer upon His people. As for my selfe I need & craue an interest in your pray^rs, that the Lord would help an end in that great worke, of which I see dayly cause to say, *πρὸς ταῦτα τις ἱκανος;* & the Lord carry you & all His labo^rrs through His work, & gine successe to His prayse. I salute you with hearty Loue, & good M^rs Mather: & your son, M^r Cotton Mather, rejoycing in your Comfort in such a hopefull sprout. God hath given mee 10 children, 5 sons & 5 daughters; but as yet I see not how to bring up one of them to learning. I am initiating my 2 yongest at home, *quoad possim;* but I know not how farre I shall bee in a Capacity to carry them on. I must (& desire to) leaue the matt^r with God. Good S^r; pardon my boldnes in troubling you with these rude lines, & let mee intreat you (*non semper saltem*) not to leape ouer mee in your leisurable greetings by lines or otherwise, in these parts; but let your ffreind & cousin bee accounted among the Numb^r; though (not of Reverend) yet of Brethren, & one who desires to bee

Yours in the ffaith & ffellowship of the gospell,

THO: HANFORD.

NORWALK: 15^th July: 1682.

Per shipp Alsop of N. H.

THOMAS HANFORD TO INCREASE MATHER.

For the Reverd Mr. Increase Mather, Teacher to a Chh of Xt at Boston, These ddd.

REVREND & MUCH RESPTED SR, — Having so patt an opportunity by Bro: Alsop being in our harbor, preparing for a voyage towards the Bay, I could not forbeare (though somewhat straitned for time through the approach of the sabboth,) to send you a few lines in testimoniall of my loue, & respects to you, for your loving remembrance of mee, so distant & vndeserving, by your loue token, in your booke of practicall truthes, which I receiued from the hand of my good neihbor, good Mr. Bishop. Sr, I should haue returned you littrall thankes soonr, but opportunityes of safe conveyance are seldome at hand; & therefore I was faine to do it by Mr. Wakeman, who was going towards you as I was going to Hart[ford] so that I had not time to write by him. I hope hee did salute you with the rememb[rance] of my hearty loue & respects. However, if hee fayled, or forgott it, I now doe it, & en[treat] your acceptance. I haue nothing of Newes to impart to you. It is a cloudy & darke day [all o]ver the Christian world. I prsume you are deeply sensible of it; & oh that God's fayth-[full] people were more sensible of it, that the praying spt might bee more up; and fayth upon the wing, that wee might say as Athanasius of the Julian storme: *Nubecula est c*[ ] *transibit.* The Witnesses must bee slaine. but they shall quickly arise when slaine. The pray[ers] & cryes of saints (doubtles) shall help usher in their resurrection, when God shall appeare in his glory, to build up Sion, hee will turne to the prayrs of the destitute, & will not despise their prayer. The spirit of the adversary riseth high. Oh! that the spirit of fayth & prayr might get aboue it, & ourcome it. Wee as yet, (through mercy) haue peace, & peaceably enjoy our libertyes, yet it behoues us to rejoyce with trembling, & to prpare for our changes & tryalls, as minding Moses say to Gad & Reuben, Shall your brethren goe to war, & yee sit still? Wee are under the frownes & Rebukes of God's angry Providence. The Lord is breaking in upon us with breach upon breach, & bringing us low for our iniquity. At Spring wee

lost a meek & wise Moses, our honoʳed Goʋnoʳ;* of late God hath taken away a praying Aaron: *sc:* Mr. Newton,† & at present, (as I heard yesterday,) Reverend Mr. Bishop is very sick, of a flux, & feauoʳish withall. The Lord in mercy spare him: (if it bee His pleasure) that wee may not haue sorrow upon sorrow; & grant us this allay of all our affliction; that yet our eyes may see our Teachʳs. Many Congregations & Plantations in our Colony are at present destitute of setled ministry; 3 principall places, Hartford, N. Haven, & Milford, beside Branford, Killingsworth: Windsor ministry not yet settled. The Lord of the Harvest thrust forth laboʳers into his harvest. Good Sʳ, improve your interest in Heauen, & Earth also, (as you are at any time requested & haue occasion administered,) to promoue the good of your neighbour in this behalfe: I may not enlarge: only let mee request a little roome in your heart, & share in your prayers, & a few lines from you, as liesure will serve. My prones & promptnes to writing doth fayle mee much, through the dimnes of my eyes, & therefore I am lesse frequent *in scribendo literas ad amicos.* The God of all grace bee with you. Unto Him I comend you & yours, desiring to share my loue & respᵗˢ amongst all your Relations; & next to yourselfe, to your second selfe, & Reverend Mr. Cotton Mathʳ, & leauing you all with Israells keepʳ, take leaue of you, & Rest,

Your loving ffriend & Brothʳ in Christ,

THO: HANFORD.

NORWALK, 22ᵗʰ June, 1683.

DANIEL GOOKIN‡ TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Reuerend Mr. Increase Mather; To bee comunicated if hee please, to the Corporation of the Colledge. ddd.

REUEREND Sʳˢ, — I was desired by Bro Eliot§ to put you [in] mind of your promise to him to moue the Corporation of the

* William Leete, who died at Hartford, April 16, 1683.

† Rev. Roger Newton, died at Milford, June 7, 1683.

‡ Daniel Gookin, of Cambridge, was born in Kent, England, whence he went to Virginia in 1630. In 1644 he came to Boston. He was Representative in 1649, Assistant from 1652 to the usurpation of Andros in 1686 (except for the year 1676), and Major-General in 1681. He died in 1687, aged seventy-five years. Savage's Geneal. Dict.

§ The "Apostle."

Colledge (w[hich I] vnderstand meets this day) to confer a Scollarship upon John Eli[ot] * an orphan; son to Mr John Eliot † sometimes Pastour of Cambridge village lon[g si]nc deceased. This lad is also grandchild to Mr Eliot & my selfe: ‡ His father left him but smal matters (exept his bookes) of outward things in order to bring him vp to learning, which was his last desire at his death. Therefore I intreat you, let him bee remembred if their be an oppertunity; which wilbe (I hope) a good worke, acceptable to God in Chᵗ, & a kindnes to your freind & seruant, who am not able to doe much for him:

DANIEL GOOKIN, SEN.

September 12th, 1682.

ISRAEL CHAUNCEY TO § INCREASE MATHER.

These ffor the Reverend Mr. Increase Mather, Teacher to a Church of Xt in Boston.

REVᴰ SIR, — Since the receipt of yours I have not had any opportunity to send an answer, eyther by sea or land: till now.

The storme happened upon the tenth day of June; [1682, MATHER.] it began between two and three of the clocke. It continued about two howers. The storme reached Stratford, Milford, Fairfield, N. Haven; and it was very violent in every one of these places, but especially in Milford, where three barnes were blown down by it, and one house new-built, that was fourty foot in length, well enclosed, was moved from the foundation at one corner, near two foot and an halfe: but the greatest strength of the Storme was about six miles above Stratford, as is evident by the dreadful

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* I conclude this is the same John Elliot who took his 1st Degree in 1685. — [PRINCE.] The reference in the letter makes it certain, and not merely conjectural, that he is the person intended. He was "a man of some distinction" at Windsor in Connecticut. — EDS.

† Rev. John Eliot [H.C. 1656], son of the "Apostle," who was ordained at Newton, then Cambridge, July 20, 1684, and died Oct. 13, 1668, at the age of thirty-two.

‡ He was the child of Eliza Gookin, daughter of the writer, the second wife of Rev. John Eliot, of Newton.

§ Rev. Israel Chauncey [H.C. 1661] was the youngest son of President Chauncey, and was ordained at Stratford in 1666.

havock that it there made, for the compasse of halfe a mile in bredth scarce a tree left standing, which is not greatly shaken by the storme. The strongest oakes are torne up by the rootes, some two foot, some three foot and more over. Young saplings that were not so big as a mans middle were broken off in the midst. This storme came out of the west, and the wind did before the end vere somewhat toward the north. It was attended with a violent rain: The very noise of the wind in the woodes was such that those that were in it could not heare the fall of a tree a few rods from them. Great limbs of trees were carryed like feathers in the air, an incredible distance from the trees they were broken off from: Many that were at worke in the woodes were in great danger, [and] had no way to preserve themselves but by running into open planes where there were no trees.

The strength of the storme passed along east and by south over Stratford River, and so between Milford and N. Haven, and there it passed away into the Sound towards Long-Island: Many thousands of trees are blown down, both above and below the place before specifyed, but in the compasse of that halfe mile the greatest strength of the storme was, for here there was almost an universal destruction of all the trees, leaving the place upon hils so naked, that very few trees are found standing:

And this is the description of the storme:

Upon the sixteenth day of Jan: 1682–3, the wife of Moses Dimon of Fairfield was delivered of three children at a birth, viz: two daughters and a son, and they are all living at my present writing: I shall not further divert your thoughts. Intreating an interest in your prayers for me and mine, I rest

Your ever obliged friend and serv^{t}, Is: Chauncey.

Stratford: Feb. 6th 1682–3.

EDWARD TAYLOR* TO INCREASE MATHER.

These ffor Revrd. Mr. Increase Mather, Teacher of the North-Church of Christ in Boston. With care.

WESTFIELD, 22d. 1m: 1682/3.

REVDE SR, — After all due respects, these lines are in answer to a few lines I received before winter from yourselfe inquiring after an Haile Storm. Yours came so upon the closing up of winter, that I have had no opportunity to write, till the sumoning of the late Generall Court, & then I wrote to you, but we could not send then neither, by reason of the weather; & in that Majr. Pynchon hath been down, it was cheifly in attendance upon a private intrest, which he being concerned in, & not accomplishable to his minde, (as report gives forth) at New London, he was necesitated to go from thence to the Bay, & now, being there is some motion to the Bay, I proceed to answer your desire, if you have not had a more full account before this.

26th. 5m. 1682, the Haile Storm was; of which I have nothing down in my diary of any lightning, & therefore with us it was not terrible in that respect. Here it was of no long continuance, & the Hail stones were mostly like musket bullets &.wallnuts; yet many there were like hen's eggs, 3 or 4 inches about, gasht in with hallows: & fell at first like a Company of Stones rapping at distances upon the shingles of the house. Thus here. But at Springfield, in the upper end of the long meadow, it was most dreadfull, where the Haile were, a great deale of it, pieces of ice, some 7, some 9 inches about, falling with such violence as they struck the shingles off of some houses, & holes in the ground that one might put ones hand in, beating down & destroying severall Acres of Wheat, Indian, Mowing grass, &c., laying all down as if timber had been rowled over them. The substance of this account I had of Majr. Pynchon, & some particulars of it of another that saw the Haile there. You inquiring after other things, I proceed.

16th. 6m. 1681: About 2 hours after twilight Mr. Younglove &

* Rev. Edward Taylor [H.C. 1671] was born in Leicestershire, England, in 1642. He went to Westfield to preach, the same year of his graduation at college, but was not settled there until Aug. 27, 1679.

Serg^{t} Norton of Stony-Brook (*alias* Suffield,) saw arise under the North Star, a light in the sky like the broad streamer of the Blazing Star, but paler, which passing southward, had its fore end verging somthing westward, & a hook at it turning Eastward, making it appear just like a sithe, onely the hook had not a proportionable length to the stock or sneath; which they judged to compass a third of the Horizon, & in about 3 quarters of an hour pass over their heads into the South, till the tops of the trees hid it out of their sight. This I had of Mr. Younglove himselfe, at Cousin Glover's.

16th 5^{m} 1681. Saturday, a strong, smoaky, hot, ffainting vapor thickened the Aire, through which the Sun darted its beams, about 9 a'clock in the morn, of various colours at once, as green, blew, tawny, &c:

28th 10^{m} 1681. At Mattatuck, about 16 miles S. W. from ffarmington, about 10 a clock at night, there was seen by about 6 or 7 men, a black streake in the Skie like a Rainbow, passing from S. W: to N. E., & continued about three hours, & then disappear'd. This I had, at p^{r} a second, (yet credible) hand. About this time it was credibly reported with vs that the Quakers vpon Long-Iland were on the Lord's day to have an horse race, & being met together, & the Riders mounted for the Race, were dismounted again by the All Righteous, of an angry, offended Justice, striking them with torturing pains, whereof they both dyed, the one the next day, the other 3 or 4 dayes after. This I write to you as a report. You may inquire into the truth. But I shall not adde.

S^{r}, I am desirous to inquire after your advice & direction concerning the printing a Manuscript of Mr. Daniel Denton's, who settled with the Chch at Stamford, and was Mr. Mitchel's *Pedagogus* or tutor, he having fully prepared a small treatise by his own hand, about 353 pages in 8^{o}, for the Press, before he dyed, stiled a Divine Soliloquy, or, the Mirror of, 1. Created Purity, 2. Contracted Deformity, 3. Restored Beauty, & 4. Celestiall Glory, (all which are Piously, Solidly, Pathetically, & Practically handled in good Language). A Press hath been sought after for it, by his son now with us, but the price Mr: Fforster demanted discouraged the owner, as being aboue his ability. Mr. Sherman & Mr. Higginson, who have perused it, incorage its printing, & also think it will carry itselfe through the Press, & I am perswaded

as much. Wherefore, S^{r}, if you could help in the ease, I would desire the same of you, & shall, if you desire, send you the script to pervse. But I shall not adde, onely desire your prayers.

I remain Your servant, EDWARD TAYLOR.

JOSHUA SCOTTOW* TO INCREASE MATHER.

Narrative of the death of the late Squando, Sagamore of Sacho.

IN the latter end of the last yeare, (82) he left Saeho, & went to Casco, & from thence towards the Ffrench, p^{r}tending his removall was beeause of disorder of drinking among the Indians, which he eould not reforme. In the begining of the last winter news was brought to vs that he had hung himself, being some time before dumpish & melancholique, he having formerly told the Indians, & allso did then tell his wife that God told him if he hung himself, he should the next day liue againe, & never should die more. Which God he said was the Englishman's God, & did appeare to him frequently, soe as he eould see him when he would. He was a man of a grave & ponderous spirit, & much reformed in his eourse in abstinenee from rum, strong drink, tobacco, plurality of wives, & gñally was a man of a courteous & eivill conu^{r}saĉon towards the English (exeept in times of war). He was a strict observer of the Saboth, from even to even, & gñally would not out in that day, & hath told myself & others that this eourse & reformaĉon of his was the effeet of his vision of the English man's God's apping vnto him after a greal fit of sieknes; who came to him as a Minister, in blaeke clothes, & told him if he did soe as above he should be happy & goe upwards, but if he did not, he should goe downeward & be miserable. His death was but a litle after the death of that famous seourge in God's hand, ealled Symon, who being accidentally very dangerously shot by an Indian, & his arme broken by the blow, & was about two yeares

* Joshua Scottow, merchant, of Boston, was an agent for Latour in transactions with our government, and a proprietor at Scarborough after Philip's War. He is well known as the author of two curious tracts relating to the early history of New England. He died Jan. 20, 1698.

kept alive by charming & sucking of his wound, having been carryed to notorious Powaws among the Ffrench, soe that his life was in such misery, as some of the Indians, being enquired of how he did after his wound, replyed that he was worse then dead. Another Arch-Enimy of the English in the war, named Peter, was drowned, allso, as the Indians doe report. One Andrew, another notorious instrum^t of mischeif in the war, with about five or six of theire Cheiftaines, togither with the impudent Mog, who was soe bold to write himself the Indians' Gñall, were slaine before my house at the seige of it in the yeare 1677: Thus you have an Acc^o of the death of Simon, Peter, & Andrew, three of Satan's Emissaries, togither with that of Mog & Squando, who were also very greatly instrumentall in our late troubles. Soe let all thine enimies perish, Oh Lord!

S^r, What I have wrot above, you may credibly report, & pardon my not pforming of my pmise sooner. Surprise of occaõns p^rvented my not doing of it before I went out of towne. I pray p^rsent mine and my wives respects to Mr. Willard, & all freinds & brethren who shall inquire after our wellfare. I subscribe myselfe

Your humble serv^t, JOSH: SCOTTOW.

SACK. POINT 30^th 8^ber 1683.

. . . of the method, ground & reason of our church gathering, if the Lord bring mee to Boston, I shall deliver you it. If he doe not, please to inquire for it in my desk at Sam: Checklies, being a quire of pap stitched togither: pdon my hast. J. S.

THOMAS CULLEN* TO INCREASE MATHER.

For the Reverend Mr. Increase Mather in Boston. p^r a freind, Q.D.C.

Novemb: 7^th 1683. CHOWAN.

REVEREND S^r, — Your manyfold respects to myselfe comands a greater returne than this small scrible, which is due from my promise at my departure.

* We have failed to identify the writer of these letters. There was a James Cullen of Boston, in the time of Philip's war, who may have been a relative.

Wee had, by Providence, a good passage, being but eight days from land to land, but no sooner ariv'd, but the unwellcome news of the death of one of my kinsmen presented itselfe.

This year has been very epidemicall in these parts, as also in Virginia, many proportionable to the number of the people have dy'd. The last Aug: storme has been very fatall to the corne both here & in Virginia, in the last of which there is an act forbidding the importing of any sort of graine, or other provisions, as I am crediebly inform'd, for many are wholly destitute, of graine especially.

Here also, as some say, an act is to be made, to prohibite the carrying out of Indian Corne. This is the 2^{d} day of the Court, how it will be I know not, thô some are very earnest for it.

This year has here been very prejudiciall to wheat, especially as to blasting, insomuch that little good wheat is seen in this Country, neither is there one fifth part made of what was expected.

I also both gather'd & eat ripe mulberys about the 12 Octob: last, then I saw both blosoms & apples on the trees, of a new groth, I mean. This Sum^{r} has been very unseasonable, as many tell me. What Providence means by all these things, I know not; but surely, that very consternation which seems to be upon the minds of all men, sheews that some more than ordionary revolution is happening to, or upon the whole Universe. I could wish for the wings of a Dove, but man is borne to trouble as the sparks fly upwards.

S^{r}, not haveing to enlarge, being hastned by the departure of the vessell, (whose master is Mr. Prout's sonn) I abruptly take leave, (begging pardon for this worthless prolixity, with the tender of my most humble respects & servise to yourselfe) & rest (onely intreating your constant remembrance of me) Yours, S^{r}, to serve in what I may, [*Signature destroyed.*]

My servise to your sonn, desireing excuse for my promise. Reverend S^{r}, a few lines from yourselfe or sonn if opertunity presents, will be very gratefull . . . . . .
This country affords little worth tendering . . . . . .
please to except of six bush^{ll} wheat su . . . . . .
your servise. I have orderd Mr. Joseph Pro . . . . . .

THOMAS CULLEN TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Reverd Mr. Increase Mather, liveing in Boston.

Janu: 30th $168\frac{3}{4}$, Chowan.

Reverend Sr, — The vessell, partly through the winter season, & partly for other reasons, delaying her departure hence, I presume so as to add these, to these inclosed lines, to give you to understand of my (through mercy) well being, as also to tender the most obedient of my respects to your selfe. Sr, we in these parts are much troubled for the late bad accidents in Boston, as to fire & other ways, yet we rejoyce its no worse, thô bad enough. I have of late, p Boston, recd some letters from my father, by which I partly vnderstand the afflictions & the miseries of the innocents. God in his due time, out of his infinite mercys, deliver them, & fitt those for it whome he shall call to it, is, I hope, the prayer of every sincere Christian.

This winter in these parts has proved an extream cold winter. The like has not been known since any English have inhabited here, as all say. I could be glad to heare how affairs goe, & of Mr. Randolph's power & proceedings, (for we hear he is in N.-Engld,) if not too troublesome.

I hope, God willing, to be so happy as to see you in Aprill or May next; one Mr. Lamb, who, for ought I know, may be the bearer of this, haveing lost his vessell in these parts, comes to Boston for another; with whom, at his returne, I think, God willing, to come.

I shall weary you no longer with these my troublesome lines, but am, Sr, & shall be (yours in any Christian office) to comand,

Thomas Cullen.

My servise to your sonn; by the next vessell I think to be as good as my promise to himselfe.

BENJAMIN TOMPSON* TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Reverend Mr. Increase Mather, at Boston. dd.

Rever^D^ M^R^ Mather, — Most humble and kind salutations premised to yourselfe and yours.

It is not so much an ambition of Honour, as of a full imployment, and its comfortable attendants, which have moved mee to try what interest a branch of an auncient Lancashire Christian, and your most precious and renowned friend and fellow sufferer may find, with your Christian selfe, who influence so many others. I had by my brother a copie of New Laws, one wherof being for multiplying Schooles, in observance wherof I thought you would not bee backward, or in any other designe of publiq̃ good. My yeare being up in the place where I am, I am bold to present my service to you, as your parishioner & Schoolemaster. It being the first time of offering myselfe in like case. Whether the place bee open for mee or not, I begge that no forreigner or stranger may have it, if those of our owne Countrey and acquaintance may fitt the same. And though I sit unimployed,

> My Loyalty is still the same,
> Whither I win or loose the game,
> True as a Dial to the Sun,
> Althô It bee not shin'd upon.

If you have an *hora vacua* in the long winter nights, vouchsafe a minute in a line to, and the rest in prayers for

S^r^, your hearty and humble friend & serv^t^,

Benj. Tompson.

25, 9, 83.

S^r^, the Cold apologizeth for the scrawles.

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* Benjamin Tompson [H.C. 1662] was son of Rev. William Tompson, of Braintree; was a physician, schoolmaster, and poet. He was teacher of the Boston Grammar School, and, in the year 1700, of the Grammar School in Roxbury.

ACCOUNT OF TRANSACTIONS IN EUROPE, 1683.

London 10th December, '83.

Sir, — The relation that Coll: Sidney, when upon the Scaffold, tooke leave of a Minister as one of his ffriends, was a mistake, for upon further enquiry I find that if he bowed to any of that Function, it was in genll, as he stood amongst other company, the said Mr. Sidney alltogether neglecting the assistance of any divine, and when one of the Church of England payd him a Christian visit, some dayes before his execution, he, in a slighting manner told him they were all alike, and he had no occasion for them: that having made his peace with God, he should have nothing further to say to Man when he came upon the Scaffold.

Neither did he make any kind of speech, more then hapned on the delivering of his paper to Mr. Sherriffe, which he desired might be communicated to the people, and that upon some answer made him by Mr. Sherriffe, or proposall that it might then be read, that he hoped there was nothing in it against the Govermt, or such like expressions; it is by some that were neare affirmed that Mr. Sydney resolutely replyed, he would not stay so long as till it was read, and that if he did not like it, give it him againe, and he would teare it in pieces.

It is reported, that the said paper is full of reflections against the Ld: Howard of Estriche [Escrick], and also stufft with expressions savouring of Republican principles.

It is further reported of him that some time between his being Convicted and Executed, he did jocosely say, a fitter man then himselfe could not be pickt out to be executed; first, because he was aged, and in course of nature could not have lived long; secondly, for that he had no wife and children to cry after him, or suffer by his death.

Concerning his Body this further is observable, as soon as his head had been held up round the scaffold, and declared to be the head of a Traytor, the Head & Body were wrapt into a scarlett cloth, putt into a coffin, and in a hearse drawn with six horses carryed to Joyners Hall, where the Head being washed and sewed on to the Body, was afterwards putt into a richer coffin, reported to be excessive costly, and is since carryed downe into Kent, or

some place neare Tunbridge, to be interred amongst the Ancestors of his Family.

Concerning the D. of Monmouth, I knowe not well what to write, or, if I did, would not medle therewith any further then that it is reported an Eclipse is hapned to his great favour at Court, and being dismist therefrom, is said to be gone to keepe his Christmass at More Parke.

Various discourses have been concerning one Johnson, and most of them untrue. What I heare of it is as followes, (viz.)

That as his Ma^tie^ was going through St. James's Parke on Thursday last with his customary Attendants and Guards, one Johnson, habited like some country gent; cryed out he did not care who knewe he had fought against the King, and if any were offended thereat, they might come out and fight him, laying his hand upon his sword, upon which he was seized, carryed first to Horse Guards, & afterwards committed, but behaved himselfe either as a reall or counterfitt mad man, and some say he hath been formerly taken as such.

Of Forreign newes wee have but little, this day's Gazett having given an acc^t^ of a Warr proclaimed by the Spaniard against the French.

The Latine Gazett publisht at Cologne give[s] some further acc^t^ of the dammage done by the Turkes then hath here been publique.

That during the siege at Vienna, and before they had left the Enemies Countrey, they had taken away prisoners out of Hungaria, Austria, and other adjacent parts, 6000 old Men, 11215 of Ancient, 14092 young Women, the eldest of the young Women not exceeding 26 yeares of age. That they also tooke 56093 Children of both sexes, all under five yeares of age, and not contented therewith burnt downe and layd in ashes 14933 Castles, Townes and villages, &c.

French Commissions are dayly given out for raising more souldiers, and as to sea affaires there, orders are likewise given that Mounsier D. Quesne [Duquesne] take care and have six Men of Warr more equipped against March, to adde to the former Fleet.

TIMOTHY WOODBRIDGE* TO COTTON MATHER.

To His much respected friend Mr. Cotton Mather, in Boston.

HARTFORD, Aprill 14. 1684.

WORTHY S^{R}, — My debt has lyen like a burning coal in my breast, which till now I have not been able to give myselfe relief. Methinks I made very bold with you, but truly I never found boldnesse better encouraged. It makes me think that this is the *quadam confidentia* that is avertive, for I find that of open face I can thanke you for the effects of my boldnesse, but did I say, effects of that? No, surely, I looke upon it the communication of your goodnesse, & should derogate from the truth, should I say otherwise. Truly in it with a little pains can I gather the fruits of some sommers heats, & take the sweetnesse of that hive that is the product of your time & industry. From it may others learn that N: E: does not want its God, nor its providences. No, nor yet wittnesses to both. When I read the remarkeable changes of the compasse, methought the reason offered seemed very likely, yet left this doubt in me, if, thro heat, the polarity is changed. *ex adverso*, & that only as in the experiment of the Load stone, whence arises the western site of the lily as in one of them. But seing I have begun, You shall have more. The excuse (in my opinion) of the remarks of Norwich, was very timely. They seem to be of that degree of which, if all were written, there would be more volumes then Readers of them in the world. Here is little newes. Mr. Whiting & his relations here have lately entered suit for a very considerable parcell of land formerly belonging to his father, sold by his mother after his father's decease, & possessed near 30 year without any molestation, & has recovered the first Judgement of Court, but the defendants, (according to the custome here) have entered a Review, so execution is stopt. It has joggd all the attoms of the whole ant heap, & almost every body seemes some wayes to be concerned in it. He is going on the morrow to ordain Mr. Nath: Chaney at Hatfield. By the beginnings, it is feared we may have a sickly summer this year. *Deus avertat omen.*

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* Rev. Timothy Woodbridge [H.C. 1675] was minister of Hartford, but not ordained till Nov. 18, 1685.

We hear here that my couz: J: Cotton has an invitation to N: London. It is a place of convenient situation & healthy. I could be well satisfyed in his neighbourhood, & if he has a designe of setling (all conveniencyes considered) the invitations are promising, but every one thinks himselfe in best state when best pleased. S^r^, I dare beg no more books, but if you have any newes, you may have a pasport for it at Mr. B: Davises, which will highly engage him who is, Worthy S^r^,

Yours aboundantly, T. W.

JOSHUA CHURCHILL* TO INCREASE MATHER.

For his Reverend Friend Mr. Increase Mather, Teacher of a Church of Christ in Boston in New England.

Reverend & Hon^rd^ Sir, — This day Mrs. Loder shewed me a letter from her son, who writes that you were dangerously ill, but they were not without hopes of your recovery. This put me to a great stand, being betwixt feare and hope. At length my hope overcame my feare, so I put pen to paper, to write to my living friend, & yet whether I write to a dead or living friend, I know not.

Yours of May 1^st^ & 17., with 3 bookes I receaved, for which I heartily thank you. I have often wondered when letters & bookes have been sent to my brethren, I could not be favoured with any. I think I had as great respects for you as some others, but sattisfied myself with this, that I deserved not so much respect as they, for who and what am I? If so choice a vessell as the Apł. Paul said, he was nothing, much more may I, and indeed I desire to be vile in mine own eys, as I am so in myself. If I am known of Christ, its of meere grace, and this supports me under all my sense of unworthynes. Blessed be God for Rom: 5; 20, 21.

Your lines were sweet to me, tho: short, the former & later,

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* Rev. Joshua Churchill was Assistant of Rev. William Benn, at Dorchester, England.

but the shortnes I impute to your great worke & busines, which calls for all time, labour, thoughts, and all little enough, tho: that you may live many days & yeares to serve our deare Lord Jesus and his people, under your oversight, for Jesus' sake, is, & shall be, while you & I live, my earnest prayer. I cannot flatter, but this I shall say, that I heartily rejoice in the character that is given of you, and in the grace of God in you; & this I pray, that you increase more & more.

The bookes you sent, I have eaten, & they are sweet unto me. I rejoice to heare of so sweet an harmony between Moses & Aaron, and such joint pursuit after reformation as I perceive by Mr. Fitch, whose spirit, judgm^t & ability I am exceedingly pleased to behold. May the Lord thrust forth more such labourers into his harvest. Tho: I never saw his face, yet I highly honour him. Pray give him my high respects & loves. As for your own bookes, though I could, yet I will not comend them, becaus they are yours, & because it is to you I write. They are such as are exceeding acceptable to me, especially the latter, because it agrees with my own sentiments, tho I never digested them into that method, as you have done. In some notions, I cannot go with you, in most, I do. I am sure our Ld will come, and I desire & pray for it heartily, but I think before that day, he will come first to me. O that I may, Good Sir, pray that I may be found doing, & so doing as my Lord may own & receave me.

It is but little that I can do, not throug age, for I am but in my eight & fiftieth yeare, but from the time & circumstances that attend us.

O how glad should I be, if I were but a Dore-keeper in the house of the Lord, & in a capacity of free exercise of my ministry, without the cloggs that attend it here. Conformity is to me insuperable, and Non-conformity ruining, although I desire to dissent with all peaceablenes. If I could tread upon N. E. ground, I have often thought I should fall down & kiss it, and were I at liberty to serve the Lord there, I think I should be thankfull, tho: it were but with bread & water. But the Lord shall choose for me, and by him I desire to be determined.

The Lord overrule all revolutions & rotations at this day, for the bringing forth the good of his chosen, and advancem^t & enlargem^t of the Kingdom of Christ. I earnestly pray for the

continuance of your peace & liberty, sacred & civil: your order & fellowship: with the course of the word for the conversion of many of the Heathen to Jesus Christ.

I greatly rejoice with you in your comfort from your son & daughter. Blessed be God for a 2d birth to us or ours. The Lord bless you & your offspring with you. I am affraid I am tedious & troublesome. I beseech you, Sir, while you & [I] live, let us keep up a correspondence this way. Any thing from Mr. Mather, my dear friend, letters or books, & both will be welcome, very welcome to me.

I cannot say, such & such give you their service; they would have done it, had they known of my writeing, or could I walk abroad, (which I doe not, warrants being in severall hands for my apprehending, upon the Corporation Act;) but this I can say, I & my wife give you our great & due respects & loves, as also to good Mrs. Mather, whom I honour bec: your wife, & ever to be remembred Mr. Cotton's daughter. This I say, too, I pray for you without ceaseing, & I beg your fervent prayers for me & this people. The Allmighty be with you. The Mighty God of Jacob defend you. The Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit. Amen.

Yours in our dear Ld Jesus, JOSHUA CHURCHIL.

DORCHESTER IN DORSET, Aug 25, 84.

My service to Mr. Loder, my coûtryman.

SAMUEL CRADOCK* TO INCREASE MATHER.

For the Reverend my Worthy Friend Mr. Increase Mather, Pastor of a Church in Boston in New England.

[ffrom Mr Sa[muel] Cradock: living [at] Wickam brook. *Note by an unknown hand.*]

WICKAM-BROOK, Sept. 23: 84.

REVEREND & WORTHY SIR, — I received your very obliging letter by my good freind Mr. Eps, & therewith several worthy

* Rev. Samuel Cradock, Follow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, nephew of Governor Matthew Cradock, became heir to Walter Cradock, of Wickhambrook, where he preached gratuitously, and taught "young gentlemen of note" for the University and the ministry.

Treatises, which I highly value, & return you my most hearty thanks for them. Sir, I have a great honour & respect for N.E., & that *non uno nomine*. My unkle, Mr. Mathew Cradock, was one of the first & most most considerable Planters there, & the first Governor therof constituted by Patent, & had things bin carried as he designed in his last will & testament, I had had, I suppose, at this p^{r}sent, a considerable interest among you. But the Lord hath, by his wise providence, otherwise disposed of that affaire, & otherwise provided for me; blessed be His name! But, S^{r}, there is another consideration, far greater than these, which works in me a very great kindnes, & high valuation of N.E. You are rep^{r}-sented to us to be a people that walk so religiously, & so agreably to the rule of the word, that there are not so many thousand people together anywhere upon the globe of the earth, (that we know of) that for the generality, live more Christianly, soberly, & righteously then ('tis reported) you do. May the God of heaven be your Protector still, and secure your religious & civil rights & libertyes. As for us, you will better understand our condition by some passengers then from me. Newes is here a prohibited com̃-odity, yet I think I may venture to tell you that some at London have lately bin fined for not taking the oath *ex officio;* &, if I mistake not, that oath was one great occasion of peopling, with Englishmen, the American strand.* S^{r}, I am glad to understand that you there have kept a solemn Fast for the poor distressed Protestants in France. I hope you do not forget some other nations, that need your prayers also. As for the affaires of Europe, the K. of France hath lately made a Truce for 20 yeares, with Spain, the United Provinces, Emperor & Princes of Germany. What the design of it is, is not certainly known, but variously conjectured. The Imperial Army, under the Duke of Lorrain, is beseiging Buda in Hungary. If they carry that city, & beate the Turkish forces that are thereabout, (as we are given to understand

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He was afterwards settled at North Cadbury. He was ejected for non-conformity, and lost above 1300*l.* by his fidelity to his conscience. There is a portrait of him in Calamy, who gives him the highest praise for learning, piety, and charity. He published many books, among which is that referred to at the close of this letter. Wood, in his "Athenæ Oxonienses," says he took his degree of M.A. at Oxon, Oct. 20, 1649.

* This passage recalls George Herbert's couplet,—

"Religion stands a tiptoe in our land,
Ready to pass to *the American strand.*"

they are like to do) the Turks, in all likelyhood, will be driven quite out of all Hungary. The last year, about this time, the Turks beseiged Vienna with a most vast & formidable army, & people generally thought they would take that city, & overrun all Germany. But the Lord of Hosts soon defeated that vast army by the Polanders & German forces, & since that time the Ottoman interest hath declined daily. However things go in the world, our comfort is, The Lord God Omnipotent reigneth.

S^r^, for a small requital of your worthy Treatises, I am bold to p^r^sent you with a poor book of myne, that hath made shift to creep into the world in this troublesome age, viz. my history of the N. T. methodiz'd. I hope Mr. Eps will take care to conveigh it to you. I shall be glad of correspondence with you, & if you please to favour me with any letters from you, you may please to direct them to be left for me with Dr. Palmes (a Physitian, my son-in-law,) who lives in Dyer's Court, in Alderman-bury, London. S^r^, I ernestly . . . your prayers, & so with my hearty respects, & service to yourself, desiring the Lord to prosper all your pious endeavours for the . . . his chureh, I remain, S^r^,

Your most faithfull freind & servant, SA: CRADOCK.

SAMUEL CRADOCK TO INCREASE MATHER.

For the Reverend M^r^ Increase Mather, at M^r^ Whiting's in Copt Hall Court in Throgmorton Street, London.

March 21, 88.

REVEREND SIR, — I received your kinde letter, wherin you were pleased to answer my objections concerning N.E. I am very glad they are so flourishing a Plantation, & I hope & pray that the Lord may be pleased to restore them their former Privilcdges.

As to what I wrot concerning the street of the great City,* I perceive the Frcneh are apt to beleive their eountry to be that street. And they think the dreadfull perseeution in their country

* Rev. xi. 8.

to be eminently the Slaying of the Witnesses. But if they date that slaying from the Annulling the Ediet of Nants, I am afraid they will finde themselves mistaken, the three years & an half frõ that time being (I think) neare expired. But Sr, as to your conjeeture that Britain is that street, & that those that suffered in 83 about the Presbyterian Plot (as they ealled it) were the Witnesses eharaeterized in the 11 of the Revelation, I eannot so fully agree. For those Witnesses were slayn with a witness, & are never like to rise again till the Resurrection.

But there was a great eivil slaughter, both of Magistrates & Ministers, at one blow in the year 62, whieh some looked upon as indeed the slaying of the Witnesses. But unto that slaughter & the resurreetion that was to follow it, they eannot well aeeoñodate three years & an half. But in these diffieult things every pious man, seeking direetion frõ God, must eonjeeture as well as he ean. Sr, I am fully of your minde that Mr Durieu in his Interpretation of the Vials is greatly mistaken. But I heare of a book, newly printed, upon the Revelation, written by a learned man, that lives not far frõ henee, viz., Dr. Christner, whieh I long to see. I heare also, that the Bp of Asaph hath some elueubrations upon that book, whieh he intended to publish, but whither he hath don it or no, I eannot tell.

Sr, I hope, with the Lord's leave, to see you ere long, intending (God willing) to be in London about the beginning of April. I shall adde no more at prsent, but that I am, Sir,

Your assured freind & servant, Sa: Cradock.

Sr, I hear this prsent Parliament is making an Aet to restore the magistrates that were outed about the year 62, & if they would also please, in the same Aet (whieh they might do in a few lines) to restore the ministers who were then ejeeted (whieh methinks would be a peiee of piety & national Justiee) we might then, I suppose, in a true sense, eall it a *Resurrection of the Witnesses*, but whither it would be *that* intended in the Revelation, I mueh doubt.

MICHAEL WIGGLESWORTH* TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Rev^rd and hon^rd Mr. Increase Mather Past^or of the North-Church in Boston. At his house. With care.

Rev^D Sir, — I received your loving lines, and having seriously considered the contents thereof, as I find great cause to thank you and other worthy friends, for your & their good will & good opinion of me, yet as to myself, I cannot think my bodily health and strength competent to undertake or manage such a weighty work as you mention, if it were desired, nor have I reason to judge myself in any measure fit upon other accounts. Wherefore I hope the Colledge & Overseers will think of and apply themselves to a fitter person, and that they may speed well in so doing, is and shall be my prayer, who am, Sir, ever

Yours heartily to hono^r and serve you,

Michael Wigglesworth.

Maldon, Octob. 27. 1684.

MICHAEL WIGGLESWORTH TO INCREASE MATHER.†

Rev^D & Dear S^r, — I am right well assured that both your self, your son & the rest of our Bretheren with you in Boston have a deep sence upon your spirits of the awfull symptoms of divine displeasure that we lie under at this Day, both in respect of this long and so oft renewed warr, that hath been so chargeable & distructive to us, and also now in this sore drought which hath already brought a famine upon our Catle, and is like to bring a greater upon our selves, unless God appear spedily for us: I

* Rev. Michael Wigglesworth [H.C. 1651] was ordained at Malden in 1654. After preaching eight or nine years, he was forced to relinquish the care of his pulpit for more than twenty years. During this period he practised as a physician till his health was so far restored as to enable him to resume his ministerial labors. He was a Fellow of the college; preached the Election Sermon in 1686; and wrote the "Day of Doom." See note on page 94.

† This letter is from a miscellaneous collection of papers in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

doubt not but you are all endeavouring to find out and discover to the people the eauses of Gods Controversy, and how they are to be removed, to help forward this diffieult and neeessary work, give me leave to impart some of my serious & solemn thoughts. I fear (amongst our many other provoeations) that God hath a Controversy with us about what was done in the time of the Witeheraft. I fear that innoeent blood hath been shed; & that many have had their hands defiled therwith. I believe our Godly Judges did aet Conscientiously, according to what they did apprehend then to be sufficient Proof: But since that, have not the Devils impostures appeared? & that most of the Complainers & Aeusers were aeted by him in giving their testimonies. Be it then that it it was done ignorantly. Paul, a Pharisee, perseeuted the chu[r]ch of God, shed the blood of Gods saints, & yet obtained mercy, because he did it in ignorance; but how doth he bewaill it; and shame him self for it before God and men afterwards. 1. Tim: 1: 13. 16. I think and am verily perswaded God expeets that we do the like, in order to our obtaining his pardon: I mean by a Publiek and solemn aeknowledgment of it, and humiliation for it, & the more particularly & personaly it is done by all that have been aetors; the more pleasing it will be to God, and more effeetual to turn away his Judgments from the Land, and to prevent his Wrath from falling upon the persons and families of such as have been most Conecrned.

I know this is a *Noli Me tangere*, but what shall we do? must we pine away in our iniquities, rather than boldly declare the Counsel of God, who tells us, Isaia: 1: 15, When you make many prayers I will not hear you, your hands are full of blood? Therefore God Commands you and me & all our fellow Labourers in the Ministry, Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet. Isai. 58, 1.

Moreover, if it be truc as I have been often informed, that the families of such as were Condemned for supposed witcheraft, have been ruined by taking away and making havoke of their estates, & Leaving them nothing for their releiff, I believe the whole Country lies under a Curse to this day, and will do, till some effeetual eourse be taken by our honored Governour & Generall Court to make them some amends and reparations. If it be objected, our eharges are exeding great and heavy already, and we eannot add

to them. But what if this verry thing be none of the least of those evill things that have brought us under these sorrowfull eireumstanees; and that they cannot be removed till we have put away this evill? If the thing were agreed upon, time might be taken for the performanee of it Gradualy, as God shall enable us: and I am perswaded God would soon make us able, if we were but willing. Sir, I desire you would Communieate these my thoughts to the Rev^{d} Mr. Willard and the rest of our Bretheren in the ministry, as you shall have oportunity, and if they do Coneurr in their apprehensions, that then it might be humbly spread before his Excelleney; and, if he see Cause, before the General Assembly at their next sessions. I have, with a weak body, and trembling hand, endeavored to leave my testimony before I leave the world; and having left it with you (my Rev^{d} bretheren) I hope I shall leave this life with more peaee, when God seeth meet to call me henee.*

I remain your Faithful friend & fellow Watehman in the Lord,

MICHAEL WIGGLESWORTH.

MALDON, 5 month, 22 day, 1704.

Indorsed, — "Michael Wigglesworth's Letter."

JOHN BUTTERWORTH AND WILLIAM INGRAHAM TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Reuerend Mr. Increase Mather, Teacher to a Church of Christ in Boston, these p^{r}sent.

SWANZEY, March: 3: 168$\frac{5}{6}$.

M^{r} INCREASE MATHER, — Reuerend & mueh Esteemed. Our vnfained Love & respeets presented to you, heartily wishing your welfare. Sir, we make bould with you to request a fauou^{r} of you, knowing your affections to the soule coneerns of peopel in distresse. Our request is, that wheras that worthy Instrum^{t} of Christ, Mr. James Browne, † hath been with us, & we haue had som tast of his abillitys, and hope if please God to moue his

* The writer died June 10, 1705.

† James Brown was at Swanzey an Assistant in 1666. Mr. Savage says he was perhaps the preacher, put by Mather in his *third Classis*, at Swanzey. The person mentioned in the letter was probably younger than the above-named, who had a son James; of whom we know nothing except that he died at Barrington in 1725.

hearte to com & abid with us, it will be much to God's Glory & the good of many soules with whom we have been intence to preuaile with, & humbely & earneastly request you to stand our friend to mediate for vs. We haue heard from his own mouth the high estimation he hath of you^r^ selfe & your aduice, together with the Consideration of your affeetions and pitty to peopel under Bereauement of the Gospel, which makes vs make thus bould with you to intreate you to improue your Interest in Reuerend M^r^ James Browne on our behalfe. It is matter of encouragm^t^ to him that there are so greate a number in this Towne that doe earneastly desire his comin to settel amongst us, & some of the opposite party that haue heard him, declare themselves well sattisfied with his ministery. And alsoe the Inhabitants of our neighbouring Towns take a good liking of him, & heartily desier his settelm^t^ amongst vs. A further Argument is the Consideration of our own Condition, if there should be a failer in the accomplishm^t^ of his settelm^t^ with vs, it will not only be a diseouragm^t^ of them that haue been intence for the obtaining a Gospel Ministery amongst vs; but it will mueh encourage them that are enemies to gospel ministers & the ministery, Wee humbelly and earneastly request you seriously to consid^r^ our present condition, vnder the seuerall circumstances, & to doe your Indeauou^rs^ for vs, & wee pray God requite your labou^r^ of loue, espessially your labou^rs^ to turne many to Righteousnes, that you may be crowned with the aecomplishm^t^ of that promise to shine as the starrs for euer, which is our prayer to God for you; & so take leaue at p^r^sent, but remaine

Yours in all love, JOHN BUTTERWORTH.
WILL: INGRAHAM.

RICHARD LOBB* TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Reverend M^r^ Increase Mather in Boston.

LONDON, 8^th^ Aprill, 1686.

REVEREND S^R^, — I wrote you at large not long since by the ship Carpenter, which brought me your letter, with the severall

* Richard Lobb, a merchant of London, married the widow of the Rev. John Thompson, of Bristol, Eng., who died in prison, March 4, 1675-6. She was daughter of Rev. William Benn, D.D., and sister of the wife of Nathaniel Mather. See pp. 31, 59, 61, and 65.

parcells of bookes you then sent, to which I refer you, & I would pray you to favour me with an Answer thereunto. The true state of affaires with us you will understand by Mr Morton,* in whose company the bearer, Mr Penhallow,† comes. It is the same person in whose behalfe our bro: Mather wrote you the last year,‡ and I would earnestly request you to assist him in getting a place in your Vniversity. He hath earnest desires to be a scholler, and very willing to devote himselfe to worke of the ministry, and a pious yong man; but his freinds cannot allow him sufficient for his whole mentainence, therfore if any help can be procured for him, I would pray you to endeavour to get it for him.

Sr, I would pray you to advise me in what circumstances the Church of Christ is with you, and what grounds you have to hope for the continuance of your Gosple Priviledges; and how matters stand relating to your Charter. Also, I pray give me your thoughts, whither an honest Godly man might advantage him selfe in your Towne by selling all sorts of wooling drapery, with all such things as belong to men's appearell, and if a man may have a mind to come into your Country, what goods may be most proper to bring with him, that may turne best to accompt. Concerning these things you may take advice of some of your Trading acquaintance. Some understanding in these things may be very necessary; for though Professors here may have no inclinations to leave their native country out of choice, yet they may be driven thence by force, or by the severitys of the enemys of Godlines.

I received a parcell of bookes about a fortnight since by on Mr Harrys, directed to our Bro: Mather, which I have sent him. I have not recd any letter from my Bro: Mather for 8 moneths past; yet I hear by others that he is in health; but I wrote by a friend who went to Dublin about a moneth since, by whome I expect a letter from him. I shall not enlarge any further at p'sent. Tendring you [my] dear Respects, I rest

Your most affectionate freind, RICHARD LOBB.

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* Rev. Charles Morton. See note on p. 59.

† Samuel Penhallow arrived at Charlestown in 1686, went to Portsmouth, was Counsellor, Secretary and Treasurer of the Province, Judge of the Supreme Court, and historian of the later Indian Wars. Savage's Geneal. Dict.

‡ See the letter of Nathaniel Mather, dated Dec. 31, 1684, pp. 58–61.

RICHARD LOBB TO INCREASE MATHER.

London, 7th March, 1686.

Revered S^r^, — I rec^d^ your Booke by the hands of M^r^ Bolt, and kindly thank you for it, also some other bookes for my Bro: Mather, which I shall take care to send to him. S^r^, I suppose that you are willing to understand the affaires of the Chureh with us: all prosecutions of dissenters in this Citty are prohibited by His Majesty's speciall directions to the Magestrates, and we doe speedily expect a proclamation coneerning it; but our N.C.M. are very backward to make use of the liberty graunted them, pretending fearcs of ill eonsequents. But I suppose the good of the conversion, but of one soul, will greatly overballance all the ill eonsequents that can be imagined; and the same God that inclined his Majesty to graunt us the liberty, is able enough to proteet us from ill consequents. Our greatest safety is to be found in the way of our duty. They doe not say tis unlawfull to preach publickly, but very inexpedient, for that the liberty is not graunted us out of good will, but to carry on some evill designe. But God may graunt it out of good will, to promote the good of souls for the effeetuall calling of some of His Elect by His word & spirit: and the designe of God shall be accomplished, let men designe what they will: Some Baptists appear in their publiek meeting-houses, yea, sneh as preach up the Arminian principles, and great Multitudes quietly attend on their ministry: if the Orthodoxe Ministers will not now appear to preach the Gosple as publickly as they, how many young people will be seduced to embraee their Errors. There is only M^r^ ffaldo* of the Congregationall perswasion, that preacheth publickly in M^r^ Slater's Meeting house in Rope-Maker Ally, and hath almost 2000 people attending on him every saboth, and I hope with good success; the hearers giveing very great attention; but his bretheren are greatly displeased with him for it; but indeed all their arguments ag^st^ public preaching savour nothing but of flesh & blood. When we ofer to put the hopes [and] probabilitys of the conversion & [*sic*] souls into the scale with their arguments, they are silent. Thus you see how things stand

* Rev. John Faldo was pastor of a congregation in London, at Plaisterer's Hall, and was silenced for non-conformity.

with us. Pray wrestle with G. to give us hearts to improve the oportunity that God hath put into our hands. The dissenters have their liberty already by proclamation, in Scotland; a coppy of which I here inclosed send you. Last post I rec^{d} a letter from Bro. Mather, which gives a full account of the affaires of Ireland, therfore I inclosed send it you.* Our Conformist ministers frett exceedingly at our liberty. The Bishop of London hath petitioned for His Majesty's favour, but cannot yet obtayne it. My Bro: † that was in trouble hath gotten his pardon, under the brode seale, and preacheth againe to his owne Congregation. I shall not inlarge any farther. Tendring you my most affectionate respects, I rest

Y^{rs}, R: L:

JOHN WALLEY‡ TO JAMES ALLEN, INCREASE MATHER, AND SAMUEL WILLARD.

To the Reuer^{d} M^{r} James Allen, M^{r} Increase Mather, and M^{r} Samuel Willard, in Boston.

BRISTOL, the 11th May, 1686.

GENTLEMEN, — There is a few lines subscribed by myselfe & some others that I suppose you will have the perusal of, & though there is not oppertunity fully to lay things before you, yet I know not but without comcing to perticulers you may see reason not to encourage Mr. Woodbridg§ staying with us. I am well satisfyed that he is not like to have a quiet & peaceable settlement; nay, those that are estimated by him to be his greatest freinds & most

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* See the letter dated Feb. 26, 1686–7, on p. 65.

† Probably Stephen Lobb (son of Richard), a preacher of note, a sketch of whose life may be found in Wilson's "History of Dissenting Churches," vol. iii. See also Macaulay's "History of England," chap. vii.

‡ John Walley, born in England, was of Boston, of the Artillery Company in 1671, and captain in the militia in 1679; removed to Barnstable in 1683, was engaged in the settlement of Bristol, Assistant of Plymouth Colony in 1684, and one of the Council of Andros in 1686. He was chief military officer in the expedition against Quebec in 1690. Savage's Geneal. Dict.

§ Rev. Benjamin Woodbridge, son of Rev. John, of Andover, was born in England; probably came over in 1663; preached some years at Bristol, and afterwards at Kittery.

desire his settling, yet they own they doe not see any probabillity of it. You may here somewhat of our motions by Mr Byfeild,* but there is more to be said that probable he will mind, but if put upon proofs by Mr Woodbridge's not owning or denying, wee must desire time, not exspecting this would be the manner or the season of Issueing, but rather an oppertunity of adviseing, That I may a little give you the [sta]te of some things with vs please to consider

That here are in this Town 14 [or 15 †] men that have been members of other churches, Mr Woodbrid[ge] instead of getting more Interest in these hath brought it to that now that but 3 that I can perceive can act for his settling.

Among them that are the Proprietors, soe called, being about 18 in number, though they are not willing to vote him out of Town, yet I cannot perceive, as things are circumstanced, that ther is above 5 or 6 that act for his settling.

Take the Town as a Town, & I know not whether it will not be good to see who they be, & how many that are for recalling & further encourageing him, both which I perceive he exspects. For Mr Woodbridg's first call, which he hath built vpon ever since, was when, indeed, wee were not a Town, & were not a Third soe many concerned as now are.

Our designe in the paper wee have some of vs subscribed & sent, is not to give an account of how many in the Town are dissatisfyed, but that you may see that many of them who are principally exspected to act in church matters are not satisfyed, & though there be but 7 of the 14 I mention above have subscribed, yet I can make out what I there write to be true.

It is exspected there should be a Town meeting, though those Mr Woodbridg reckoned when he went away should promote it, have been cold in it since, but they have rec[d] a note from Mr Woodbridg that surely will put them that are desirous of his returning, to be vpon action, & it will be with lesse offence for them that are for him to appeare, then for others that are not satisfyed to act against him. It hath been a great wrong to Mr Wood-

* Nathaniel Byfield, born in England, was a proprietor and one of the first settlers of Bristol, for which he was a Representative in 1691, and, after the charter of 1692, Speaker of the House, Judge of Probate and of Common Pleas for the new county of Bristol, and also of his Majesty's Council. Savage's Geneal. Dict.

† Erased.

bridg, he hath allways reckoned his Interest greater then it is. Some there are that are sincerely for him, no doubt but if he will make it his own act to leave vs, I doubt not but matters with vs would quickly be quieted, more then the charge of makeing Mr Woodbridg satisfaction for what he hath laid out: if he demand it will render the thing greivious to some. But if wee part, I am for doeing all things wee are capable of that can rationally be required of vs. For my own perticuler I can truely say I never have managed any perticular controversie with him. I endeavored his settlement & promoted his Interest, & boare with many discouragements as long as I thought I ought or could doe with a good conscience. It was allways my vnhappiness, that whatever I managed, really designing his benefit, other constructions were made of it by him; but that I easyly gott over, & thought he should act for himself, or they for him that he thought could doe it more to his satisfaction. I have slited or took little notice of many affronts I have mett with, but some word he hath said of late that I have heard him speake, some own others, & that I beleive I can make out the rest, that I must needs say I take not well from him. How farr of late he hath been guilty in spreading a false report of me in matters that have been much to my damidg & discredit might be made out if need were. That he should charge me with haveing designs as deep as the bottomlesse pitt; That he should charge mee not onely that my designs tended to it, but that my design was to ruin this town, whereas on the contrary it sufficiently appears I have rather adventured the undoeing of myselfe for the good of the Town; That he should charge mee that because I was sometimes ready to iustyfie my sincerity in all our late motions respecting him, & that I had peace in my conscience, lett others charge mee how they would, That he beleived I had some secret inward guilt lay on mee that made me speak soe much of my peace in these matters; & then that at a Town Meeting, when there was a peaceable issue in ade of some affairs of the Town, which it is said he is troubled at, that he should say he questioned whether I had any thing to doe to voat there. These & other such charges & reflextions I never deserved from him, or had he reason for, but these are things that I have not had account of, or heard but a little while, & therefore not in the least to be reckoned as any part of the ground of my former vnsatisfyednesse with him. To goe about to give an account of the occasions & reasons of my

dissatisfaction, & by what degrees it came to that heighth that now it is, would be a larger taske then I can now goe about; but if what Mr Byfeild hath to offer be no ground, I doubt not but I shall be able to say that & more when there is oppertunity. These lines are writt in hast. Be pleased to put a candid construction thereon. I thanke God I hope I can truely say I would be found doeing of that which is my duty, could easyly passe by personal injurys. It is not the matter of maintenance or any thing of any such nature, but an assured, & I thinke well grounded confidence that his settling here is not like to be with love & peace & any competent satisfaction to those that are principally aimed at for carrying on church affairs. If he come againe there is no hopes of settling church affairs that I foresee; if it be, it will be in some strang & vnvsnall way, & if there be not a settlement of those matters according to the practice of other Churches, what sober men that are among us that can, will endeavour to remove from vs, & wee exspect no sober man to come to vs, & our place indeed will be vndone. I have mett with several losses & disapointments of late, & unexspected dealings from some men, but I reckon this not among the least of my troubles. I hope God will doe mee good by all. I should earnestly desire & gladly accept a few lines from you, to advise me in any thing you thinke necessary. Shall not add but my service & hearty respects to each of you, desireing your prayers for mee, that I may be kept in this hour of temptation, & that I may be directed in my duty & found doeing those things that may be for the glory of God & the best good of this place. Your ffreind & servt, JOHN WALLEY.

JOHN WALLEY AND OTHERS TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Reuerend Mr Increase Mather Teacher of the Second Church of Christ in Boston. To be Communicated to the Church.

HONOURED, REUEREND & BELOUED IN OUR LORD JESUS, — It is, we doubt not, by the Churches, and faithfull in Christ sadly observed, that there are verie uncomfortable disagreements among us in this Place, which haue an Euill & perillous tendency.*

* See Dr. Stiles's account of the gathering of the church at Bristol, in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1864-65, p. 219; and Baylies's "History of New Plymouth," vol. ii. part iv., pp. 49-62.

And (with grief we speake it) of such a Nature they are, and such an influence they haue, that our peace is much impaired, the worke of Christ Obstructed, our quiet settlement in a way of Church order and Gospell fellowship for the present wholly hindered, and the Name of God much dishonoured.

And although some of us (of God's abundant Grace, and not for any worth in us) have sometime tasted the Good of Communion with God in His ordinances, which if our hearts deceiue us not, Leaues such an impression vpon our Spirits, that we would be willing to Deny our selues to the uttermost, Rather then become Guiltye of not doing what God Requiers of vs, to our seuerall abillityes & in our seuerall Capacityes for the Enjoyement thereof, and the settleing of a gospel Church and Ministrie here in a way of peace and order: yet soe it hath pleased God to denye His presence and Blessing with our Endeauors for some yeares past, that our Essayes hitherto haue bin sucksesles, and our Condition at this time is very deplorable. We do therefore Earnestly Request your selues in our present difficultie to affoard us your helpe, by your Elders and Messengers, vpon the third Wednesday of July next, that being here at that time Assemb[led,] they may fully hear & Consider our Case, and giue us ther Counsell [&] Aduice in the Lord, who, we hope will open our hearts To Receiu[e] it; in order whereunto we intreate your prayers, that we may see, and be humbled for our sins which haue bin a prouocation to God, & that the Lord will Graciously be Reconciled to us, & accept us in the Lord Jesus, in whom we are

Your Assured friends to serue you,

BRISTOLL, June 28th, 1686.

JOHN WALLEY
NATHA[L] BYFIELD:
NATHANILL REYNELLS*
NATHANIELL BOSWORTH
JOHN CARY†
HUGH WOODBERY‡

For our selues & in the behalfe of sundry others.

* Nathaniel Reynolds was of the Artillery Company in 1658, and probably a captain in Philip's War. He was for a time at Bristol, but is on the Boston tax-list of 1695. Savage's Geneal. Dict.

† John Cary was from London, Eng., one of the early settlers of Bristol.

‡ Hugh Woodberry was one of the founders of the church in Beverly. Mr. Savage appears to have been, as usual, right in his conjecture that he was the same man who was afterwards near Taunton. His name appears among the first settlers of Bristol.

JOHN COTTON* TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Reverend Mr Increase Mather, President of Harvard Colledge.

Reverend & Honoured Sr, — I was this morning wth Majr Dudley,† who had then concluded (as accordingly he did) this morning to wait on you wth his son,‡ (examined & approved by Mr Leveret§ & myself) to ask your advice, & if you saw good, his sons admission. Your letter & the import of it was acceptable to him, what there is not of answer to it in his to yourself, he will supply when you shall give him opportunity of discourse. He will be found at Mr Pages or Mr Whartons, & will meet with yourself where you shall please to give notice. I mentioned to him the matter of the Countrey's benevolence, which he thinks may be obtaind if presently voted, &c. I wish, Sr, that may be throughly prosecuted, & as to the Comencemt, that advice taken which has so diligently bin sought by

Sr, Your Servt, J. Cotton.

Cambridge, May 17, 86.

Mr Leverett discoursed his uncle Cook as to the premises, & he thought it most proper (& that which was expected) for yourself to move it.

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* Rev. John Cotton [H.C. 1678], son of Rev. Seaborn, and grandson of Rev. John, of Boston, was Librarian of Harvard College at the date of this letter. He was also a Fellow of the College. He was ordained at Hampton as successor of his father, Nov. 19, 1696, and died March 27, 1710.

† Joseph Dudley, of Roxbury, President of the Colonies of Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

‡ Paul Dudley [H.C. 1690], afterwards Tutor and Librarian of the College, and Chief Justice of the Province of Massachusetts.

§ John Leverett [H.C. 1680], afterwards President, and at the date of this letter a Tutor, of the College.

DANIEL HEMINGWAY* TO INCREASE MATHER.

ffor Mr Increase Mather, Preacher of the Word of God in Boston in New England. I pray deliver with Ca[re.]

BOLTON, June the 4th, 1686.

DEARE COUZEN, — These lines cometh greeting you, having such an opertunity of handing them by a good neighbour whome coms to be an inhabites in your contrey, which Lines are to aquaint you how nearly my wife is related vnto you, vidz. her grandmother on the mother side was Abigal Holt, and sisster vnto your mother,† and by mariage changed her name to Isherwood, and by that Husband had two Daughters, whereof Ann, the elder Daughter Married John Holme of Bolton, and had by him 3 sons and one Daughter, which Daughter, through Providence, is my wife. She was the Widow of one Saũ Mather when I Married her, and by him had 6 Daughters; all Living when I Married, wherof 5 are but living now. The anccsstours of her first Husband come from Winnick. It is now allmost nine yeer since I was Married, and have had by my wife 6 chilldren allso, wherof 3 sons and one Daughter is Living, so that mine and wife's Children are nine, all very heallthfull and comely. My wife hath 2 Brothers, both living in Dublin, and members of your Brother's Congregation. This Accompt may serve to satisfy you of the Relation betwixt my Wife and you, which is Truth.

And now Coz, I desire you to Read these few proposals vnderriten and give me your Answer vnto them by the first; and in so doing you will Lay a very great obligation upon me, vidz.

1. Whether your church disipline be such as is Reported, that is, free from Cerimonies or Humane inventions, as is imposed upon Churches Elswhere.

2. Whether the Constitution of your Contry be Agreeable with persons that come from hence, about 37 and 43 years old, also children born here, whether your Contrey Agree with them.

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* Daniel Hemingway, a mercer and draper in Bolton, Lancashire, was connected with the Mather family, as stated in this letter.

† Rev. Richard Mather's first wife was Catherine, daughter of Edmund Holt, Esq., of Bury in Lancashire.

3. Whether a Tradsman, as in my way, which is a mercer and woolen draper, may live in your Contrey, of such a calling and maintain a considerable familly as mine is, Bringing over 2 or 3 Hundred pound.

4. Whether a person Brought up in the Trade of Roling Tobacco and cutting and ordering it after the London way, may live and maintaine a familly with you, Bringing over the value as above writen.

5. Lastly, Whether imployment for Weavers and such Like Handy crafts may be had with you if the come.

Cozen, may it please you to returne som Answer to these few proposals by the very first, with what further Adition is meet for discovering the nature and Benifits of your Contrey vnto vs; for the Encoragement of som Honest & Industrious famillys to com vnto you. You may think it a litle strange that we make these Enquires, wherby wee seem weary of our native contrey, which hath been Reported a Land flowing with milk and Honey, but the (reasons herof) I willingly omitt; onely this, that old England hath siñed away Abundance of merey, and is now cut short of its former priviledges. The gospel seems to be withdrawing from vs; great Revolutions both in Church and State Affairs. But I forbear, not knowing whose hands These Lines may fall into before they com to yours.

But Cozen, in one word, if it please the Lord to give me any Encoragement by your letter, Then doe I fully purpose to dispose and pak away my Concerns here, and I and my Whole familly will Cast ourselvs upon Providence, if so it may please the Lord to Condukt us saife over vnto you. Then I hope we may be helpfull and Comforts one unto Another. Cozen; that which doth chiefly induce me is mine and wife's Large posterity, and how wee may place in a land where the gospell is purely preached without Coruption or Humane inventions of Teachers, and where Religion is thus Holden forth both in Life and Doekterin. There is my Hart's desire to place my Chilldren; That they may have a share of such soule Advantages and spiritual priviledges: That they may be vsefull in their generations, and Answer the End of their Creation, To shew forth somthing of the praise and glory of God. Cozen; I am very Bold and Large in my Epistle. I Beseech you pardon me. I cannot yet forbear,

but further Aquaint you, that the prayers of the faithfull servants of God in Old England (is for the peace, wellfare and prosperity of your New England. That the Lord would multiply his Blessings, both Spiritual & Temporal vpon you) and give you peace Round About from the Heathens, and Enimys of his Church, is the prayer of him who is, Dear Cozen,

Your Loving Kinsman, Though vnknown,

DANIEL HEMINGWAY.

Cozen. Your Letters to me, direkt it for me, to be Left at Mr Nathaniel Hullton's Warehous, at the Bear & ffountain in Lothbery, London, and to be sent to me by the post to Bolton in Lancashire.

DANIEL HEMINGWAY TO INCREASE MATHER.

To Mr. Increase Mather, Teacher of a Church att Boston in New England. These dd.

BOLTON, Oct, 12, 1687.

DEAR COZEN,—Your letter dated May last I recd in the latter end of July. The Booke you mention is not yet com to my hands. Cozen, I thank you for your tokens. And now it hath pleased God to proclaime a full and free Liberty of the Gospell in our England. Blessed be God. We are hearty sory that things are so with you: our prayers is for your enlargment. The Lord grant it. Your nerest relation here is laitly Decd. A daughter of Abigal Holts. Her wifes name was Ellen Holme. She livd and died in this town: a good woman.* The beẽr is Rich. Prokters Brother, whome is with you in Boston. I would not omitt such an opertunity of sending a line to you. Pray do me the like favour when such oppertunites offers, that I may hear of your wellfare as often as may be. Captain Sedden is in good health: was at our Meeting-House in Bolton last Friday at an Excercise. My wife and whole familly is in good health; blessed be God. Your health and wellfare is heartily desired, by him who is, Dear Cozen, Your most Afektionate Kinsman,

DAN. HEMINGWAY.

* See the preceding letter.

JEREMIAH PECK* TO INCREASE MATHER.

For the reverend Mr. Increase Mather, Pastor to the Church of Christ in Boston, These. per amicum. Captain Selleck.

Reverend & Louing Sir, — I wrote to youself more largely the other day, but not so largely as I would, fearing the vessells speedy sayling: & now haue I not time to cnlarge, my eldest sonn being taken very sick, & hauing beeu so from about the time I wrote my other letter to yourself: also the next fourth day is appointed in our Colonie for a day of humiliation, publiquely, so that I request your pardon of my brevity. Sir, the occasion of the addition of these few lines is to request your favour towards the Son of Captain Jonathan Selleck † of Stanford. The Captain himself is a well wisher to good men, & a courteous Gentleman, especially to Ministers, a friend to learning; a man of a good estate, & therefore the better advantaged to carry on such a designe as he hath in part undertaken, that is, the good education of his second Son,‡ in the colledge: there are few set apart for that in these times, especially in our western parts, wherefore, Sir, I make bold to request that encourage[ment] may be giuē what may be. The young man hath dwelt in my family a consider[able] time, & I, instead of a better, helped him in his initiation into the Latine tonguc: but he hath been frō me for severall years partly with Mr Watson§ of Hartford, & partly with Mr Harriman‖ of N. H. I hope, Sir, he hath made so good a progress that admission to his fellows in the Coll. may be granted to him. I doe not know nor haue I heard that the young man is giuen to any vice: but I take him to be of a good naturall temper: & seems to

* Rev. Jeremiah Peck is marked by Mather, says Mr. Savage, of H.C., bnt without confirmation in the Catalogne. He taught school in Guilford from 1656 to 1660, and afterwards at New Haven. He preached at Saybrook, Newark, and Elizabethtown, N.J., then at Greenwich, and last at Waterbury.

† Jonathan Selleck was a merchant, Innholder, Mayor, and a Representative in 1670 and 1675.

‡ John Selleck [H.C. 1690].

§ Caleb Watson [H.C. 1661] was schoolmaster at Hadley, and for many years at Hartford.

‖ John Harriman [H.C. 1667] taught school and preached at New Haven, and was settled at Elizabethtown in 1690. Savage's Geneal. Dict.

haue a good affection for learning: I hope, Sir, through your care & influence he may be well disposed of. So desiring that the God of all grace may be with you, & yours, & bless your labours to many souls; I subscribe myself

Yrs in wt I may, JEREMIAH PECK.

From GREENWICH, Anno. 86. June 21.

Sir, I suppose the Reverend Mr Bishop now writes to you, therefore am I silent concerning him.

JEREMIAH HOBART* TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Reverend Mr. Encreas Mather, Minister in Boston. These pr sent. pr amicū. Q. D. C.

REUERENDE Se, — After due salutations to yõrselfe & wife, wisheing you accumulation of divine blessings, & all other prosperousnes in health & weal of body, etc.

These are to prsent my owne & wife's hearty respects to yourself & all yours, withall intimating, that not any want of loue & goodwill hath stopped my pen since I saw your face, from aduiseing you in this kinde; but Sr, I considr my owne tenuity & inconsiderablenes amongst men in riseing times, haue been the rather willing to submitt to a poor low degree, & bear divine indignation therein.

Sr I am glad to hear of your prosperity, & that God carryes you on in His great work, & that you have vacancy to read, study, write, not impeded by the vrgent & emergent necessary cares of providing for your family.

It is not so with us. We labor & study what we may, but our encouragement is small. God is trying & exerciseing us with lax-

* Rev. Jeremiah Hobart [H.C. 1650], son of Rev. Peter Hobart, of Hingham, was first ordained at Topsfield, Oct. 2, 1672; dismissed in 1680, he went to Hempstead, L.I., was settled there in 1682; and again dismissed, went to Haddam, and was installed Nov. 14, 1700. Savage's Geneal. Dict.

nes in all orders civill. We had good agreem^ts, & some good lawes, but our Don: appearing *omnia in possum iere:* & our justices of the peace & mnd^r officers *sunt ejusdem farinæ.*

Worthy S^r, I write not to complayne, but as I haue a Sympathy as to your mutations, so hope you are not without bowells as to ours. The truth is, its a day of Jacob's fears & troubles. The passiõs of the Gospell are great, the Churches billows high, our feares are come upon us, & it is the howre of tentation. God Allmighty grant we may keep, & that N. E. may keep the word of his patience, that will proue our safest conduct.

Dear S^r, I hope you will accept my short & poor lines, haueing by reason of the shortnes of the opportunity no leisure to study adornement. I haue a childe, (my son, & all the sons I haue) in Boston; I should rejoyce you would shew him some respect, & giue him counsell. Hee is now a freeman. I pray God he may be the Lord's freeman. I hear well of him, & hope you may take an occasion in loue to aduise him.

Sir, here is a yong man, one Elkana Pembrook,* the bearer hereof, a persecuted Stranger, who I veryly hope is godly, & respected much by christians both here & at Huntington. You may do well to shew respect to him. He is by trad a Weauer, & is willing to lab^r & work. I hope you may kindly aduise him.

Thus, Reverend S^r, craueing excuse for my impertinencys in any thing mentioned, & begging earnestly your remembrances at the throne of grace, for me & mine, for diuine blessings in Christ Jesus. I coñend you to God & the word of His grace, praying the Lord to blesse & water all your holy Labours, to the glory of His name, & the good of His church, & your good account. I take leaue, euer remaineing

Sir, Yours in the Chief Shepheard, JER: HOBART.

HEMPST^D, Long-Island, August 23, 1686.

I pray S^r, let my most kinde loue be giuen to your good Son, my Couzin Cotton Mather. *Deus benedicat ei.*

* He was afterwards one of the founders of Brattle-street Church in Boston.

BENJAMIN BULLIVANT* TO SAMUEL GREENE.†

Mr Greene, — I am comanded by Mr Secretary Randolph to give you notice that you doe not proceed to print any Almanack whatever, without haveing his approbation for the same.

Yors Ben: Bullivant.

Boston: 29 Novembr 1686.

JOHN EMERSON‡ TO INCREASE MATHER.

These For the Reverend Mr Increase Mather, Teacher of the North Church at Boston.

Reverend Sir, — Having heard from you since I writt my last Letter unto you, concerning my Son, § I make bold to trouble you agayne with these few lines, to intreat you that it may not be offensive unto you, that I put my son to Mr Mortons; & also to intreat your favour so farr, as to give your approbation for his going thither. I should have been very glad if I could have prevayled with your selfe upon that account, (as you may remember I then told you) to have him under your speciall & peculiar watch, and since that, have beene indeavouring to prevayle with some others; & now that I have prevayled with Mr Morton, pray, Sir, be not offended, but please to favour me & him in the matter, and if it lyes in my power, I hope I shall be willing to requite your kindnesse, and in the meane time, leave it and your selfe to him (who hath sayd that such a kindnesse as a Cup of Cold Water given to any of his shall not loose its reward) to reward you for

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* See note on letter of Joseph Dudley, p. 483.

† Samuel Greene, born in England, came over with his father, Bartholomew, in 1632. He was town clerk of Cambridge, captain of the town militia, and a printer fifty years. He was employed in connection with Marmaduke Johnson (sent over by the Society for Propagating the Gospel) in printing the Indian Bible.

‡ Rev. John Emerson, of Gloucester. See letters of Increase Mather and others, and note on p. 111.

§ Rev. John Emerson [H.C. 1689], afterwards of Manchester, Newcastle, and Portsmouth.

any kindnesse that you either have, or shall shew to mee, or any of mine.

And after all due Respects to your selfe & Mrs Mather take leave, and Remayne, Sir,

Yours unfeinedly, JOHN EMERSON.

GLOCEST. Decem: 31. 1686.

RICHARD HENCHMAN* TO COTTON MATHER.

For the Reverend Mr. Cotton Mather at Boston, These.

YARMOUTH, Febru: 1686.

REVEREND SR, — Your ever readines to favour my requests is that which alone emboldens me to runn upon the score, which I am as farr from being able to quitt, as your self is from desireing I should. To a truly kind spirit, in things especialy which are not burthensom to perform, a squemishly insinuateing an excuse by a promise of its being the last time, is next door to that of the Papist, who concluded his prayer to his Dom: with a Lord, thou knowst that I am no common beggar. Grant me but this one Request, and I do hereby promise to trouble thee no more.

There is in this Town one Mr Nathanael Hall,† a man descended of eminently religious parents, who were very happy in all their children, being nine sons, men of singular good report, enlarged understanding and religious withall; Among whom this Nathanael is rekoned to excell: Who in the late warrs received a wound, (the bullet remaing in his body) that has taken away, in a great measure, the use of one of his arms; for which he hath bin little otherwise considered than to have a license granted him to keep an Ordinary in this Town, of which, though he might make a gainfull living, yet not a peaceable, through the difficulties & temp-

* Richard Henchman was a schoolmaster at Yarmouth at this period. He went afterwards to Boston, and next to Worcester.

† Nathaniel Hall was a captain in the Indian war under Church, and fought with great courage in defence of Falmouth, September 21, 1689. He kept a tavern, and practised as a physician, as this letter mentions. He married a daughter of Rev. Thomas Thornton, who is referred to above. He removed to Hingham, and thence to the Delaware River. See Savage's Geneal. Dict., in connection with this letter.

tation that employm[t] exposes to, increased likewise by the great dissatisfaction therein his wife expresses, who is a daughter of M[r] Thornton's, a woman singularly pious, and whose greviance under this circumstance has often represented (to my fancy) David's sojourning in Meshech, & in the tents of Kedar. But *ad rem*. This M[r] Hall, through the mentioned disaster that befell him, had an oppertunity not only of gaining some skill in other arts, but by his experiments upon his own wounded body hath attained that skill in Ch[i]rurgery, wherby he has effected such cures, as have discovered him a real Artist. I shall not here trouble you with Instances, phaps you may ere long be otherwise & better informed. M[r] Thornton his Brother has not a little put him on to remove to Boston, and there wholy to give himself to the practice of that Art, which he has bin, by his few tryals, so happy in.

But being an humble stranger to his own abilities, and somewhat fearfull of removing, without very good grounds, to a strang place, together with his own & wives loathnes to leave their aged parents, who are very affectionate to them, and a people too where he is well beloved & esteem'd, he hath bin heitherto retarded; yet declares his willingnes, through the tediousnes of his present employ, to break all these cords, and gett away, might he have any enceuragement from some others in Boston besides his Brothers. I thought therefore in a few words to recommend him to your self, who, I am Confident, will, on acquaintance, be well affected towards him, who (if my opinion is worth any thing) you will find a person so very well qualifyed as to be worthy of it, a man rational in discourse, and whose ability to receive will delight you to converse with him, and to help him about some things which he wants knowledge in, and yourself is abundantly able to satisfy him about. His design also being, if he removes, to settle at the North-end of the Town, and himself & wife to join to your Church.

His purpose is very shortly for Boston as soon as the vessell can pass, by whom I shall send a letter to yourself, that from his hand receiving of it, you may, being thus præ-informed, have an occasion to take knowledge of him. These therefore (Rev[d] Sir) are to desire you that, in the premisses, you would give him the best entertainment & encouragem[t] you can. And if you should occasionally before hand, lighting on his brother M[r] Tim. Thornton,

discourse with him, you may thence meet with better information concerning him. I desire, S^r^, that in the multitude of your busines you will not forgett this thing, nor me in your prayers who needs them more than any other can.

Your humble serv^t^, RI: HENCHMAN.

—— —— TO JOHN BAILEY (?).*

March 6. 168$\frac{6}{7}$.

I hear your day of temptation is begun, but Rev. 3 : 10, contains your Security & Relief.

I dare not say our Triall is over, thô at present the two last verses of Isa. 51, seem here to be signally accomplishing.

Licenses are granted to Dissenters, both Minist^rs^ & people, freeing us from the Penall Lawes, Civill & Ecclesiasticall; since which our Bonds are loosed, our meetings open, & wee at liberty, even in 86.

And, (which is more) a spirit of zeal is come upon the people, who now flee as Clouds, & as Doves to theyr windowes. This change is so surprisingly sweet that I wish it turn not itself into a Tentation, to make us oblivious of impending Danger. In Lond^o^, many meetings are open, 1000 people in a place. Pinner's Hall is now fitting for Mr. Singleton & his Congregation. From Dublin I have letters this day of a Proclamã published to

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* This letter, or transcript of a letter (there being another copy, with slight variations, among the Mather Papers, with interlineations by Increase Mather), was evidently in the possession of the Rev. John Bailey not many months after its date. The following memoranda are indorsed upon it in his handwriting: —

"The child of Josiah Jones, viz. John; the wife of Dan: Stone, viz. Joanna & her 3 children, viz. Daniell, David, & Dorcas; a child of John Harrington, viz: Mary; the children of Deeks, [John Dix] viz., Eliz: John, Edward, Joseph, Abigaill, & Deborah; & the 2 children of John Gale, viz., Anna, Abigaill."

"Some letters dated May 21, & one 23."

"Write down the 3 Boston mariages in the ffolio."

We learn from Bond's "Genealogies of Watertown," that the wife of Daniel Stone, with her three children, named as above, and the two children of John Gale, were all baptized June 19, 1687. John, the son of Josiah Jones (born March 19, 1686-7), and Mary, the daughter of John Harrington (born May 11, 1687), probably received baptism at the same time. The first memorandum undoubtedly refers to the administration of the ordinance by Bailey. The letter was probably written from England. The handwriting has not been identified, but nearly resembles that of Joshua Moodey.

secure all ꝑsons in theyr properties & liberties, & giveing them the free Exercise of theyr Religion, they persevereing in theyr Allegiance, and liveing peaceably under the Gov^rt. This hath not only staied the flight of many that were coming over hither, but inspired them with new life, so that they have written to mee to send them over more Ministers, telling me the ffields are now white there to the Harvest.

As for my self, I am so opprest with numbers, that I even faint in my work. In our Ecclesiasticall * Mills, the stones grind one another for want of matter. These are things of an astonishing nature. And if indeed the reviveing time of God's poor Witnesses be come, it wilbee as the Morning light, a growing thing. But I remember, *Qui ad pauca respiciunt, de facili pronunciant.* I am waiting to see more of this Admirable Work of Providence, which will (I believe) now in a little time confirm or destroy the scheme I gave you of my thoughts. Our Enemies doe now behold us with invidious eies, but cannot hind^r us. A spirit of Life from God is evidently entered both into minist^rs & people, & this in the very Junct^re of time. Gr^t troubles must be expected. The outward Court will (even in B^p Usher's sense) be trodden down. An Earthquake is to be feared, but all these things confirm us, if so be the work goe on, & the Lord's work & serv^ts be p^rserved in the storm. Pardon me (I beseech you) if I bee a little too warm. Rememb^r the change of our condition is sudden, great, & astonishing to us. 'Tis as impossible to suppresse Hope & Joy amidst such appearances of God as wee now behold, as it is to forbear laughing, when one is tickled. If I am raised in my spirit to any higher pitch of Hope & Comfort, 'tis my zeal for the interest of my dear Lord & his Concerns that hath raised me. O, pray, pray, watch & pray, plead & cry, give Him no rest till he establish, &c. The tail of the storm may reach you, but the Heavens will clear again. It little moves me what the intentions of men may be. May I see the Gospell at liberty, & the Captives let goe, the Instruments of Cruelty taken out of our enemies' hands, & souls thus flocking to the Ordinances, & hear the cries of the new creatures under the word, I will never cast away my Confidence, nor becloud such a glorious work of God with jealousies of the Aims of Men. [*No signature or address.*]

* *i.e.* Prelaticall. — Bailey.

——— ———* TO INCREASE MATH^ER.

For the Rev^d M^r Incr. Mather.

S^R, — I hear M^r & M^rs Hook of Dublin are coming hither. Capt. Black. spake to M^r Wilk. about your adressing, & in it to mention the Colledge. Hook being come in, M^r Wilk had a letter frõ M^r Straten, the minister that sends the bookes over. The newes in it is as follows. We are here surprized with a Declarat. of Generall tolleration of Religion† without any Exceptions or Limitations. Liberty is acceptable to all, & ought to be abused by none. I wish we may make a good use of it. But so much fashion & selfishness appeares, that I fear our libertys will not be long lived. Some put trust in prinees & have great confidence it will last his reign. But tho we had the best natured Prince in the world, & that understood that this was his true interest; yet we that know Popish principles & practiees cannot be over confident that if it do not attain the end they aim at, to get a Parliam^t to take off penall lawes & the Test (which is the great thing they aim at by it) and they judge it their interest to take it away; I doubt its not their Evangelicall temper (as some fulsome flattering addresses speake) that will engage them to continue it. There hath been great arts used to get addresses made for it. The more wise, sober, thinking sort of men of all ꝑtys, have been least for it, & appeared as much as well they could ag^st it. But some rash, weak headed men of all ꝑtys, have been most forward for it. There are many meetings, publique more than ever & generally full. The people have been so restrained & ill used by the chureh men, that they break from them apaee (which mueh angers them). The Papists make no great earnings of it. I do not hear of one Mass House set up in London since the Declaration. They want matter to work on, & would but expose their nakednes by it. I should not mueh fear tho they had a Mass House in every street, they will never do mueh that way, & their priests (that abound here) are our over-

* This and the following letter are in the same handwriting, which resembles that of the Rev. Thomas Bailey.

† [April 4, 87. — Note by PRINCE.]

seers. I know 3 or 4 that daily attend our place, but we have no affront for them, & I hope they shall beget no just accusation against us. Our Church-men say, we must preach against Popery. I tell them, No, we must leave that to them, its their proper province, but we will endeavor to preach X^t^ unto men's hearts, & to stem the tyde of Atheism, irreligion, & profaneness they have lett in upon us, and to bring people to a sence of religion, & this will be a better fence against Popery then their discipline & ceremonys (wherein they only differ frõ us & harmonize with them) which they cry up as the great fence against Popery. The Earl of Terconnell is so high in Ireland, that most of the English get away or sit still & do nothing. The King's Customes are not a fourth part of what they were. They are sending for him back & sending over another. The Duke of Albermarle, (now my very next neighbor) is coming within this fortnight for Jamaica,* & is engaged, (against his will) to take 12 Popish priests with him in the vessell he goes in. None are now put in civill or military imploym^ts^ but professed Papists.

—— —— TO INCREASE MATHER.

For the Rever^d^ M^r^ Incr. Mather.

Tuesday night.

S^r^, — Being to preach to-morrow, I could not wait on you. There is a paper of newes M^r^ Wilkins † has, which he has promised me to lend you to-morrow, about 9 or 10 of clock you may have it; if you send for it. I have not seen it, it being lent to the Coffee house. M^r^ Dunton writes to M^r^ Wilkins as follows. I have the pains to get the true account how the King rec^d.^ the Address that was p^r^sented by the Presbyt. ministers in London, which must needs be a novelty with you, becaus here in London not one in ten knows the circũstances of it, for it was never printed, nor

* Embarks Sep: 15: 87. — PRINCE.

† Richard Wilkins, of Boston, a bookseller from Limerick, nominated for postmaster after the overthrow of Andros.

never will. The Address it self you will have in the Gazett. 9 of [the] ministers p^r^sented it. When they came to the King they said, Great S^r^, We are come in our own names & in the names of our Brethren, & in behalf of our Hearers, comonly called Presbiterians, to p^r^scnt your Majesty with our most humble thankes in the forme of an Address. The King s^d^, Read it S^r^, which he did. Then the King s^d^, Gentlemen, I have already found 2 good effects of my Declaration;* viz., The easing & pleasing of my subjects; you here speak of my restoring to God the empire over conscience. It has been my judgm^t^ a long time that none has or ought to have any power over conscience but God. I understand there are some jealous amongst my subjects, that I have done this in a design, but you look like Gentlemen of too great ingenuity to entertain any such suspicion. Gentlemen, I protest before you, & desire you to tell all manner of people of all psuasions as you have oppertunity, that I have no other design than what I spoke of, & Gentlemen, I hope to live to see the day when you shall as well have a *Magna Chart.* for the liberty of your conscience, as you have had for your propertys. And now, Gentlemen, do you preach so to your hearers, that they may be good Xtians, & I doubt not but they will be good subjects.

Thus ends all the circûstances of this Address. Soon after, the ministers of Westminster p^r^sented another, of which address M^r^ Alsop was the p^r^senter, who read a spceeh that so extraordinarily pleased the King, that the King sent to him for a coppy of it, which I fear I shall not be able to gett. But when M. Dunton comes home, he will attempt the getting it, that he may oblidge you, M^r^ Bayly, Dr. Oates, M^r^ Morton, &c.

When the Ministers p^r^sented the Address, they went to kneel, & the King held out his hand, and told them they should not.

[*No signature.*]

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* Declaration dated Apr. 4, 1687. — PRINCE.

WARHAM MATHER* TO INCREASE MATHER.

For the Rever^d^ M^r^ Increase Mather, resident in London.

REVEREND S^R^, — One occasion of my being in your family at this present is the Commenc^mt^. It was at the usual time. M^r^ Hubbard of Ipswich was appointed President over it. M^r^ Lee was sent to by his Excellency to undertake that office. The letter came not to hand till the Governour took his not answering him for a refusall. The enclosed will give an account what was done therein. S^r^, we expect not your return before winter. It will be profitable for me to know what advice you think it will be best for me to follow, relating to a remove for England, before that time, for it is not likely I should sell what estate I have here for the worth thereof at short warning. I delivered the Books I received from yourself according to order. They came forth desired, as being a testimony for opposed momentous truths; I am yet made a greater debter, by those for me. Hitherto we have had very suitable seasons to the time of the year. What Commissions Cpt. Foy hath brought into the Countrey from his Majesty, you know as well as we. My father's family is in health, after their affliction by the meazels. God hath added to our sisters by a 9th, Hannah by name.† Letters from my Cosins will inform yourself that your family with my Reverend Cosins, is in health.

From your obliged nephew, W. M.

[Suppose Warham Mather. — PRINCE.]

July 6, BOSTON, 1688.

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* Warham Mather [H.C. 1685] was son of Rev. Eleazer, of Northampton.

† Warham's mother, Esther (Warham) Mather, married, for her second husband, Rev. Solomon Stoddard, of Northampton, and had thirteen children. Hannah was born April 21, 1688, and is the youngest named on the list given by Mr. Savage.

NATHANIEL MATHER, JR.,* TO COTTON MATHER.

DEAR BROTHER, — Mr. Harris being here now,† and going for Boston before Mr. Grafton, I chose to write by him. I came to Dr. Swinertons‡ on Wednesday Last; which was Lecture Day. After Lecture, I dined at Mr. Noyee's, where they read the Answer of the Ministers of Boston to George Keith, and approved very well of it; I would desire you that you would send a Copy of it; Mr. Noyee greatly desired to see it, and did hope that I had brought it with mee. Hee greatly desires to see Potter on the number 666. It lyes on my study Table. I should bee glad if you would bee pleased to send it by Mr. Grafton. On Thursday I went to Mr. Moulds, and do go every day to him to dress my hip; I do earnestly desire your prayers for mee who am

Your humble Servant and Brother,

NATHANAEL MATHER.

August 14, 1688.

Pray remember me to sister Mather.

[By This & the next Letr it seems as if Letters came à Mr I. Mather to Boston, between Aug. 14 & Aug. 31, 1688. — PRINCE.]

Indorsed, by Cotton Mather, — "N. Mather, Junr."

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* Nathaniel Mather, Jr., second son of Increase, a young man of much promise [H.C. 1685]. He was eminent alike for his linguistic and scientific attainments. He was author, at the age of sixteen, of the "Boston Ephemeris, an Almanack for the year 1686." He appears to have gone to Salem to place himself under the care of a physician, and he died there Oct. 17, 1688. His epitaph in that place is as follows: —

Memento mori.
Mr Nathaniel Mather. Dec'd October ye 17th, 1688.
An aged person
that had seen
but nineteen winters
in the world.

His life was written by his elder brother, Cotton. The "Short Address to the Reader" is signed "Samuel Mather, London, Feb. 5, 1688-9." The writer states that he was the younger brother of Nathaniel. This Samuel was born in August, 1674 [H.C. 1690]. He must have sailed with his father, Increase Mather, who was agent for the Colony to England, and who embarked in April, 1688. He refers in the address to his having taken leave of his brother "not a year ago." The manuscript of Cotton was undoubtedly sent to London to be published, in the autumn of 1688, — it having been finished Oct. 29 of that year. It is a singular fact that this "Address to the Reader" should have been written by a youth in his fifteenth year.

† At Salem.

‡ John Swinerton, a physician of Salem, died Jan. 6, 1690-1.

NATHANIEL MATHER, JR., TO COTTON MATHER.

These for the Reverend Mr. Cotton Mather in Boston.

DEAR BROTHER, — I receiued Mr. Potter and the account of the answer of the Boston Ministers to George Keith; and the news that came in my Father's Letters. Some here, particularly Mr. H.* and Mr. N.† are very much troubled, that what was written in that Letter should bee divulged, especially at that want of wisedom in Mr. E. who, they say here at Salem, gave publick thanks for that great mercy that Mr. M. had 3 times bin with the K, and that hee was once in his Closet with him. Will not those who bear an Ill will to him and his designs, make such an Improvement of it as may bee hurtful and Prejudicial to him?

I must again desire of you to send mee a Book, viz. my Ames' Medulla. It stands in my second shelfe. Would you putt yorselfe to the trouble to send mee word what Articles of Religion they were that George Keith Opposed in that Paper hee sent to the Ministers of Boston. Dr. Swinnerton desires to read that volume of the Transactions that treats of Volatile Alcalies. The Book, as I remember, had on it, before the Title, those words *Laudanum Helmontii Junioris*, written by yourselfe. It is about the 100th No. Mr. Higginson earnestly desires to see Knoxes History of the Island Ceylon (which lyes on my Father's Table) and Taverniers Travels. Now as for the former of them, If you will send it you will oblige him. Butt as for the latter, it being so Choice a Book and so well bound, that I should bee almost sorry to have it exposed to any Damages. Butt if you will send it, I'le take what Care I can about it.

Mr. H. will read them onely when hee is weary of studying, and they have more in them then hee will bee able to read, that little while that I shall bee at Salem; and I will not leave any book behind mee. I earnestly desire your prayers for mee, who am

Your affectionate Brother, N. M.‡

SALEM, August 31, 1688.

Mr. N. spoke to Mr. Rolfe to gett Rowland§ to go to Saco.

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* Rev. John Higginson. † Rev. Nicholas Noyes.

‡ Nathaniel Mather, Jr., died at Salem a few weeks after the date of this letter. See note on the opposite page. § Roland Cotton [H.C. 1685].

P.S. Pray remember mee to Sister Mather.

S^r^, Have you bought Jurieu? I wish you would send him if you have.

Indorsed by Cotton Mather, — "N. Mather, Jun^r^."

JAMES ALLEN* TO INCREASE MATHER.

These for the Rev^rd^ Mr. Increase Mather, in London.

BOSTON, 3d, 88.

REV^RD^ and DEARE S^R^, — The good news of your safety in England, & of the gracious p^r^sence of God, that hath bin so manifest in your carrying hence, & so clearing & succeeding your way & endeavo^r^s there, as it is matt^r^ of much Thankfullnesse to God; so it layes engagem^ts^ upon all God's people here to expresse it, among other wayes, in this as one, in the acknowledging you as an instrument the Lord have favo^rd^, & raysed for some publick & eminent use & benefit to his people. S^r^, I am one, who as obliged by your psonall kindnesse, so looke upon my selfe concerned in this, as to blesse God for you, so to congratulate the blessings of God with you, & pray they may bee continued and increased. Wee long for your assuring your great undertaking, wee may blesse God together with you. How things are with us, you will have full account by other handes. That the God of heaven who governs all affayres would further guide & succeede your way, is the hearty prayer [of]

Your true fr^d.^ & brother, JAMES ALLEN.

My service to S^r^ William Phipps, M^rs^ Blackwell & M^rs^ Vsher, when you see them.

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* See note ‖ on p. 198.

JAMES ALLEN TO SAMUEL NOWELL.

These for Mr. Samull Nowell in London.

Mr. Nowell.

Worthy & Deare Sr, — I have answered two of yours, & this is to your last, for which I heartily thanke you. The best account wee have frõ yours of those great motions of Prvidence that tend to the fullfilling prophecies, I am satisfied that the second wo must passe before the ruine of Antichrist, in the west. And it seemes by that hand that so hee may rise to that height whence his downfall must bee; meethinkes the decay of the Turkish Empire suites well with the ycere, month, and day, the terme of his standing, which is 391 yceres, according to account of a propheticall yeere & month, which, if that bee true, Knowls saith that his beginning in sole monarchie was in the yeere 1300, ends in 1691, & therefore neere its period. Two things the Scripture seemes to foretell, as the meanes of Antichrists or spirituall Babilons exaltation to his sitting as a Queene that shall see no sorrow,* as hee deemes, his ꝑvayling over the Turk & recovering frõ him his former dominion, as hee did after the first wo † frõ the Saracens. And his treading under foot the Outward Court, ‡ which hee is in a fayre way to doe. Then comes the 3d wo, quickly, utterly to destroy him. A little time will give us greatr light in these things. In the meane time a spirit of faith & prayer will bee a good signe of its hastning. Things are with us much as you left them; onely the motion of the Heathen Eastward lookes awfully. Severall of the English have bin killed, the rest there are in garrisons; & a cõsiderable Army is gone hence against the Indians. § Mine, with my wives due respects to yourselfe. Lett mee haue your Remembrance in your neerest accesses to the Throne of Grace, who am

Your assured & obligd ffreind,

James Allen.

Nov. 20, 88.

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* Rev. xviii. 7.
† Rev. ix. 12.
‡ Rev. xi. 2.
§ See Palfrey's "History of New England," iii. 568.

My deare love to Mr Mason & his wife. I have twice written & had no Answer. To brother Hutchinson, if there, I answered his, but had no reply; & wee expect him homc this wintr. And to Sr William Phips; To Madam Vsher & Mr Wharton.

JOHN PHILLIPS* TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Reverend Mr. Increase Mather in London, dd.

Charlestowne, the 4th January, 168$\frac{8}{9}$.

Reverend Sir, — Yours of the 29th of 7^{ber} last† came safe to my hand. I was joyfull to heare of your being in good health, as allsoe the great fauour & loue of our good God to you in soe fare blessing & prospering you in your great vndertakinge for this pore N: E:, and notwithstanding some disapoyntm^{ts}, which cant but be exspected in soe great a concerne, we hop & beleue that the esue will be great good to the pore people of this Land. We must wait & that patiently. It is good for us to hop & quietly to wait for the salvation of God. You are laborring & working. God's people in N: E: I hop are praying, & the Lord is the herer of prayers. Lett us work, we shall rep if we faint not. Your contented going through what you did heere att your geting ofe, did greatly help me ever sence to hop & beleue that God would Bless you in your great vndertakeing, and that he would mak you the only Instrument in his hand to deliuer this pore Land, which I hop he will doe. I am sorry to heere of the death of Mr Nowell,† & ame afraid your selfe may be not soe cherly since. Lett me entreat you not to be mallencoly. God will in his time Returne you to us with a great Blessing. Your famalie are all in health; Blessed be the Lord. Deare Nath. is better of it then any of us. He is att rest with his Lord Christ, & with the spirits of just men

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* John Phillips was a representative from 1683 to 1686; of the Committee of Safety, and of the Council under the new charter. It was at his house that Increase Mather was secreted on the eve of his sailing for England, in April, 1688.

† By these 2 passages it seems as if Mr Nowell died at London before 7^{br} 29, 1688. — Prince.

mad perfect.* It is God that hath done it. Now let us submitt. Sir, be not discoradged. I hop what money may be nedfull for our afare will be gotten.

Mine with my wifs heartty Love & Respects to you & your son. Comitting you to the Lord, with all your great afares,

I ame, Sir,

Yours to serue to power, JOHN PHILLIPS.

SIR ROBERT THORNER† TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Reu^end^ Increse Mather, in London.

SOUTHAMPTON, 14th March: 168§.

REUEREND S^R^, — Meeting just now with a few lynes from good M^r^ Sewall,‡ acquainting me with his purpose of going for London to morrow, & of seeing you there, I take a few minnetts, having inded noe more tyme at p^r^sent allotted me, our Lectuer calling me to it. Since I saw you in London, I haue bene neare the graues' mouth, but the Lord haue in a way of wonder restored to some competent measuer of helth, for which pleas to help me in giuing Glory to the Lord of Glory, who is Infinitly worthy of high prayses.

S^r^, I was greatly refreshed to see your fface, & did cale at your Lodgings & your excelent Brothers (whom I had the ffauor of some acquaintance with at Rotterdam, 26 years agoe, § to whom, I beseech you, giue my most canded & affectionat seruice, & his good wife, who was the daughter of the most heuenly M^r^ Benn,‖

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* See note affixed to the letters of Nathaniel Mather, Jr., p. 672.

† Sir Robert Thorner was "one of the earliest and noblest benefactors of Harvard College. He was a maternal uncle of Thomas Hollis, and, by appointing him one of his trustees, he introduced the college to the notice of the greatest of its patrons, and became the cause, as well as precursor, of the rising upon our horizon of that constellation of benefactors bearing the name of Hollis." Quincy's Hist. of Harv. Univer. See the latter part of this letter for an interesting reference to his intended legacy to the college.

‡ I conclude this was the Hon^bl^ Samuel Sewall, Esq. — PRINCE.

§ *i.e.* 1662-3. — PRINCE.

‖ See note on p. 31.

whom I had alsoe the honour of some intimate & inward knowledg of, & was with him vpon a visit a litle before her being called up to Glory.

My affectionat service to Mr Sewall, whom I had purpossed to have sene, but Providence did not soe cast it.

Deere Sr, — I must begg you to be sparing in your expresses of thankes to me for thos poore thoughts I have had with respect to Hanord College, becaus my cercomstonces ar changed by the All wys One, soe that I doe not know how things may issue. Only this I take leaue to say to you, I am the same in prsent purposses as when I saw you, & as when I made that setlement I shewed you in London: if the Lord see it good, I should be most glad to see you before you goe out of England. If your affiayers will allow you to com this way, you shall be most welcom to me, & good Mr Sewall likwayes, if you can soe cast it as to come to my cottage in Bugly,* pray lett me know it in your tyme. I shall wayt your coming, & pray your Councell in my designes of charity.

However, deare Sr, I shall not forgett that Nursery of Lerning & piety, upon which God, I hope, haue set my harte for meny yeeres past. I am forced to be abrupt & rude with you, my most excelent frend, which pleas to forgiue, & beleeue I am

Yours in our hiest Lord, ROBERT THORNER.

I am sensible of my debt to you for the token of your loue sent me formerly, being the fruit of your diuyne labore.

JOHN LEUSDEN† TO INCREASE MATHER.

Translation of a letter from John Leusden to Increase Mather. ‡

MOST REVEREND, MUCH TO BEE RESPECTED SR, — I sought you in America, and thither on the 30th of March I sent some

* There was a Bugley, near Warminster, in Wiltshire.

† John Leusden was an eminent Oriental scholar, Professor of Hebrew and Jewish Antiquities at Utrecht. He published many books and assisted in various editions of the Old and New Testaments in the original languages and in Oriental versions.

‡ This translation is in the handwriting of Nathaniel Mather, of Dublin and London.

books, viz[t] a New Lexicon, a Compendium of the Greek New Testament, two Psalters in Hebrew and English, and one in Hebrew & Latine. The Psalmes in Hebrew & English, I dedicated to M[r] Eliot, & those four and twenty Preachers, lately heathens, now christians. The Psalmes in Hebrew & Latine I have inscribed to your Rev[d] name. Whether you received those books in America I know not. That letter of yours, written frõ London on the 24[th] of December I received the 16[th] of January. That letter which you had written to mee from America concerning the Conversion of the Indians, hath been read here with great rejoysing, & translated into the French language, & published in print. I will send you a Copy of it in French, with the books. I lately received moreover two American Bibles, two American Grammars, & other American books, as also the Indian's A. B. C. and some others, all which our Neitherlanders look on with great admiracõn. They were sent over to mee by that Hono[r]ed Gentleman, M[r] Richard Wharton,* on the 8[th] of July, 1687, but I received them a long time after, namely, the following year, 1688, on the 20[th] of July. I tender you many thankes for them. Within these few months I have received a letter frõ the East Indies, namely frõ the Island Ceilon, from whence the Pastor of the Citty Columbo writes to mee concerning the Conversion of the Indians in a certeyn part of that Island Ceilon, called Jaffenatpatan [Jaffnapatam.] The heathen inhabitants of that Island are two hundred thousand & four score thousand, & of those there are converted & baptised, one hundred thousand & four score thousand, & some hundreds. In the space of 3 years there have been baptised there forty thousand, namely in Jaffenatpatan. These relacõns, & those which you give us wee doe read, not without astonishm[t]. It was lately in our News books that one M[r] Mather came lately frõ America to England, & suffered shipwrack,† but was saved. I now almost think that you were that M[r] Mather. If so, I give thanks to God, who saved you in such a perill. I have written to you largely into America, and that in the name of our University, in answer to your letter concerning the conversion of the American Indians. You now

* Richard Wharton was one of the Council of Andros, who opposed his measures, and went to England to complain of him in July, 1687.

† The ship "President," in which Increase Mather sailed to England, came near being wrecked among the rocks of Scilly.

desyre fifty Hebrew Psalters for the use of the students in Harvard Colledge; which I would now have sent, but because you doe not express what kind of Psalters it is which you desyre, whether Hebrew & Latine, or Hebrew & English, therefore I have not sent them. For I have already put forth three sorts of Psalters, viz^{t}. Hebrew & Latine, Hebrew & English, & Hebrew & Dutch. As soon as you shall write back what Psalters it is that you desyre, I will forthwith send them over to you. Much honored S^{r}, Farewell, frõ Yours, JOHN LEUSDEN.

UTRECHT, $\frac{18}{28}$ of January, 1688.

PHILIP, LORD WHARTON* TO INCREASE MATHER.

For M^{r} Mather, at Copt hall Court. dd.

Saterday night, 6: Apr: 1689.

M^{r} MATHER, — Since I saw you I heare that the King has appointed a Councill to be at Hampton Court on Monday,† by which I perceive he comes not to Towne, as I thought he would, and therfore I give you this notice, that you may forbeare to come on Monday eveninge, and I intend to give you notice at what time I shall wish your comeing hither.

I have sent you the inclosed, that you may sett it right as you see occasion, & I desire you to bring it with you when you come to me.

Your frind and servant, P: WHARTON:

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* Philip, Lord Wharton, distinguished himself on the side of the Parliament in the civil wars. He died in 1696, and was succeeded by his son Thomas, Comptroller of the Household, and afterwards Earl and Marquis of Wharton.

† April 8. — PRINCE.

JOHN WINTHROP TO COTTON MATHER.

*Copy of a letter from The Hon. John Winthrop, Esq^r, of New London, to Rev. D^r Mather of Boston.**

To the Rev^d Doctor Cotton Mather, present at Boston.

NEW LONDON, Sept^r 12^th 1717.

SIR, — Being from home the last post day, when your letter arrived here, I am now to thank you for it, & to make answer to what you demand of me. The observations I made of the prodigious storm of Snow in the doleful Winter past are many. But I shall mention but but two at this time, and they are these. That the snow spangles which fell on the Earth appeared in large sex-angular Formes, *seu nivem sex Radiatem; Et stellas has niveas observavi prout Astrologi vulgo adspectum depingunt Sextilem.* The other is, that among the small Flock of Sheep that I dayly folde in this distant part of the Wilderness, (for I am a poor sheperd) to secure them from the wild rapacious Quadrupreds of the Forests; that after the unusual & unheard of snows, the afores^d animals from the upland parts of the Country were in great numbers forc't downe to the sea side, among us, for subsistance where they nested, kennell'd, & Burroughed in the thick swamps of these ample pastures, nightly visiting ourr pen & yards for their necessity, &c., & the Ewes big with young being often terrify'd & surprized, more especially with the Foxes, during the deep snows, It had such impressions on them, that the biggest part of the lambs they brought forth in the spring are of Monsieur Reignard's complexion & colour, when their dams w^r all either white or black. The storm continued so long & severe that multitudes of all sorts of Creatures perrished in the snow drifts. We lost at our Island and farmes above Eleaven hundred Sheep, besides some Cattle & horses Interred in the snow. And it was very strange that 28 dayes after the storme, Our Tennants at Fishers Island pulling out the ruins of one hundred sheep, out of one snow Bank in a valley, where the snow had drifted over them 16 foot, found 2 of them alive in the drift, which had layn on them

* This copy is contained in the "Belknap Papers," belonging to the Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. i. p. 24.

all that time, and kept themselves alive by eating the wool off the others that lay dead by them: as soon they were taken out of the drift they shed their own fleeces, & are now alive and fat, and I saw them at the Island the last week, and are at your service.

The storm had its Effect also on the Ocean; The sea was in a mighty ferment, and, after it was over, vast heaps of the enclosed shells came ashore, in places where there never had been any of the sort near before. Neptune with his trident also drove in great schooles of Porpisses so that our harbor & River seem'd to be full of them; but none of these came on shore, but kept a play day among the disturbed waves. As for the Golden fleece, the Hider & his partners intended to settle in this town, after they had made a few more wreck voyages, and have come back undiscoverd like trading men; as I was told by my author. And as for my informer, he was always plotting & contriving how to accomplish the Business, without discovering it to any more; but he was so needy that I believe he had never so much money together, as to carry him down, & keep him there any time for the purpose, & a few weeks before he dyed, he was proposing to me for a new Tryall and discovery of the thing. S^r^, what I know about it I have truly, faithfully, & ingeniously communicated to you, & hope by some means or other, you may in time be the better for it. I thank you for your publications. I have mentioned to my honest neighbour, Timothy,* the imprinting them, without mentioning your name in the matter, encouraging him to the work, at the Quick vent of so large a number of the first impression; [but he has now become printer to his Worship, Esq. Gurdon, who has some influence on the press here, & I think the Sqier has no over high rate of the family of D^r^ Winthrop, Esteem for D^r^ M's family, nor their correspondence. You will think so too if you ever com to know as much of him as your Cousin Rowland doth, but this under the Rose.] † I have given a dose of your *Febrifugium* to one of our Town, which I hope has cured him of a malignant fever, and it is an excellent remedy *ob dolorem Lienis*. I am indebted for your mentioning my name *inter* F.R.S.‡ at Gresham.§ I am an obscure

* Timothy Green, of New London.

† The lines inclosed in brackets are erased in the copy.

‡ This appointment afterwards took place. — Belknap.

§ Gresham College, the place of meeting of the Royal Society.

person, less than the poorest of your Servants, & not fit to stand before princes, but am contented to lie hid among the retired philosophers. I am, with great regards, Sir,

Your most obedient, faithful, humble servant,

J. WINTHROP.

Indorsed, — "Letter from Hon. J. Winthrop to Dr. Mather of Boston, 1717."

[The following papers, relating to the connection of John Winthrop with the Royal Society, are printed in 3 Mass. Hist. Collections, x, 121, 122.]

John Winthrop of New-England, Esq^re^ Grandson of the learned John Winthrop Esq^re^ who was one of the first members of this Society, and who in conjunction with others did greatly contribute to the obtaining of our Charter; To whom the [Royal] Society in its early days was not only indebted for various ingenious communications, but their Musæum still contains many testimonies of his generosity, especially of things relating to the Natural History of New England, where he afterwards went to live. This Gentleman hath not been backward in following the example of his Grand-father, having himself sent over several curiosities to the Society, and intending to present many more, as well as to become a constant Correspondent, when he returns to America; Wherefore as he desires to become a member of this Society, as he is a person well skill'd in Natural Knowledge and particularly in Chemistry, we whose names are underwritten do recommend him as a person likely to be a very usefull Member to this Society.

Signed { HANS SLOANE. / ALEX^R^ STUART. / ROB^T^ NESBITT. / CROMWELL MORTIMER.

LONDON, Jan^ry^ 10, 1733.

This a true Copy,

THOMAS STACK. L. S.

[Labelled "London 10. Jan^y^ 1733. Recommendation of John Winthrop, Esq^r^ to the Royal Society."]

Thanks of the Royal Society to John Winthrop, Esq.

[Extract from the Journal Book of the Royal Society for improving Natural Knowledge, London, June 27, 1734.]

M^r^ Winthrop presented severall Curiosities from New England, as contained in the following List, which being read, he had the thanks of the Society; they being 364 articles, as appears by the Catalogue of them in the same Journal-book, page 459, &c.

Testat^r^ CROMWELL MORTIMER, M.D. R.S. Secr.

[Seal of the Royal Society in red wax.]

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

A PROPHECY.

A Prophecie which hath beene manuscript in my Lord Powis ffamilie above 60 *years.**

About the time that one shall bee
Joyned unto three times three,
And 3 times (10) with 4 times two
Amongst them shall be much adoe.
An Eagle's heade that time shall fall,
Scattered will be the young one's all,
Then shall a (O) swell full greate,
His name CC: takes the Seate,
And shall doe mightie things before
He be removed from the Shore.
But two times 4 with 3 times six,
Doth in another world him fix;
Then quickly after you shall spy
The Eagle backe againe to fly
And shall himself bedeck againe
With feath's of his fath's traine
Till Heavy times shall make men say
Ofttimes, Alas! & Welladay!
And wish that they a death might finde
For something trouble sore their mind:
Till after all a Cloude shall Come,
& almost Darken quite the Sun.
And in that time Actions shall bee
Chiefly Carried on by three,
The Cross, the Surplice & the Crown
Strive who shall put each other down.
Greate Treachry & bloodshed then
Shall Sweep away great store of men.

* This "Prophecie" is in the same handwriting, and appended to the narrative of Titus Oates, referred to in the note on p. 19. The whole paper is much mutilated.

The lyon & blue flow^{r} shall seeke
Quite to destroy the Heretique sheepe.
And England will be hard bestead
Before the miter hence bee ridd.
ffal-e Ireland it Contrives Our woe
But zealous Scotland doth not soe.
Begin againe. & One & Six
And 10 times 7 begins those tricks.
And soe a time shall last full sore
Till you have numbered yet One 4.
And for 4 more.it shall abate
To welcome in a happy state.
Then better every day will bee
But noe more K. in England see.
When 8 times 8, & 3 times 3
With 6 & 2 shall joyned bee,
Then shall be sacrificed C. R.
In dust shall lye the errand whore
Disdained of all like to Jane Sh[ore]
And all the brats turned . . .
J. R. shall into saddle . . .
And furiously to Rome shall ride
His principle no longer hide.
The Pope shall have a fearful fall
& never trouble more . . .
Nor England's people . . . enthral.
And he that Chanceth to Snrvive
To see the yeare (85),
Shall see this land begin . . .
O England wonder, which hath never been
3 Queens in England shortly shall be se[en]
Two Dukes shall highly for the crown contend
Each shall bring England's monarch to an end
Bishops shall fall into contempt and scorne
& Gospell Angells shall the Church adorne
If eny ask how this shall Come to pass
The fox shall ride the goose, the goose, the Ass.

FINIS.

[The following extracts are printed, with variations, in Davis's Edition of Morton's New England Memorial. The Order of the General Court is in Mass. Col. Records, V. 115.]

At a General Court specially called in Boston, 6 Sep^{r} 1676.

There being many of our Indian Enemyes seized & now in our possession, The Court judgeth it meete to refer the disposal of them to the honoured Council, declaring it to be their sence that such of them as shall appear to have imbrued their hands in English blood should suffer death here, & not be transported into forreigne parts.

N^{o} 2.

The Question being propounded to us by our honoured rulers, whether Philip's son be a child of death — our answer hereunto is, That we do acknowledge that the Rule in Deut. 24. 16. ["The "fathers shall not be put to death for the children, neither shall "the children be put to death for the fathers; every man shall be "put to death for his own sin."] is moral, & therefore perpetually binding, *viz.*, that in a particular act of wickedness, though capital, the Crime of the Parent doth not render his Child a subject of punishment, by the civil Magistrate; yet, upon serious consideration, we humbly conceive that the Children of notorious traitors, rebels & murderers, especially of such as have been principal leaders & actors in such horrid villanies, & that against a whole Country, Yea, the whole Interest of God therein, may be involved in the guilt of their Parents, & may, *Salvâ republicâ*, be adjudged to death, as to us seems evident by the scripture Instances of Saul, Achan, Haman, the Children of whom were cut off by the sword of justice for the transgressions of their Parents, although concerning some of those Children it be manifest that they were not capable of being co-actors therein.

SAMUEL ARNOLD.
JOHN COTTON.

PLIMOUTH, Sep^{r} 7. 1676.

N^{o} 3.

I hope you have seen my Letter to the Governor, if it had not been out of mind when I was writing I should have said something about Philip's Son. It is necessary that some effectual

course be taken with him. This makes me think of Hadad, who was a little child when his Father, Chief Sachem of the Edomites, was killed by Joab, & had not others fled away with him, I am apt to think that David would have taken a Course that Hadad should never haue proved a seourge to the next Generation. [1 Kings 11, 17]

Yr affectionate Brother, INCREASE MATHER.

BOSTON, October 20, 1676.

To John Cotton, Plimouth.

N° 4.

I long to know what becomes of Philip's Wife & Son. I know there is some difficulty in Psalm 137. 8, 9, though I think it may be considered whether there be not some specialty & somewhat extraordinary in it. The Law, Deut. 24. 16, compared with the commended Example of Amasias, 2 Chron. 25, 4, doth sway much with me in the Case under Consideration. I hope God will direct those whom it doth concern to a good issue. Let us join our prayers at the Throne of Grace with all our might, that the Lord would so dispose of all public motions & affairs, that his Jerusalem in this wilderness may be the habitation of Justice & mountain of holiness; that it may be a quiet habitation, a Tabernacle that shall not be taken down. JAMES KEITH.

BRIDGWATER, Oct. 30. 1676

To John Cotton, Plimouth.

JOHN ELIOT AND OTHERS TO THE CHURCHES IN DUBLIN.

To the Churches of Jesus Xt in Dublin, & faithfull Brethren, mercy unto you, & peace & love be multiplyed.

REVD & DEARLY BELOVED, — That God who remembers his servants in their low estate, because His merey endureth forever, & who in wrath remembers merey, hath in a graeious & glorious way done so for his poor New E: people, having revived his

work in the midst of these years of Trouble, that of late we have seen. And amongst other tokens for good this is none of the least, that the God of our Fathers hath bin pleased by His Holy Spirit to stirr vp the Hrts of the Sts in E. & in Ireland, to pray for vs, which we can not but looke upon as an evidence, that hee who walks in the midst of the golden Candlesticks, hath still a tender care & favor towards these His churches. And thanks be vnto that God who did sometimes put an earnest love into the heart of Xtians to endeavor the relief of impoverished Sts in those days, in that He hath put it into your hearts not oncly to pray for these distressed & (sundry of them) almost destroyed Churches in N. E., but also to minister such a liberal distribution unto them & vnto all men, that have bin deep sufferers by the late comon calamity which this land hath bin bleeding vnder. God hath brought vnto vs in safety that vessel which was loaden with your charity, whereby you have proved the sincerity of your Love to the Lord Jesus, & to this His people. And although the Lord hath fully answered your and our prayers in sparing His people thus, that the Heathen should not have dominion over them; yet your gift was most seasonable, there being multitudes amongst us that are great objects of charity. And the grace of God bestowed on you hath abounded unto the riches of liberality, so as that the bowells of many Ss (yea of hundreds) are refreshed by you. Many are under the deeper obligations to acknowledge this your bounty, in that no churches in Europe have comunicated with us, as concerning giving & receiving, but you only. Surely, the Lord Jesus, who looked upon the charity of the churches in Macedonia towards the poor Sts at Jerusalem when famine did there prevayle, as pleasant fruits, will so esteem of what hath bin done by the churches in Dublin towards the poor Sts in N. E., yea & the administration of this service hath bin to the glory of God through the thanksgivings of many. We can (through grace) believe that we shall hear the Ld Jesus Ct Himself (your Ld & ours) speake of this exceeding grace of God in you, in that day when those who shall give a cup of cold water to a disciple in the Name of a disciple, shall in no wise loose his reward. Then shall your Faith & the blessed fruits of it be found vnto prayse, & honor, & glory. In the meane time wee & the churches of which the Holy Ghost hath made us overseers,

(& others also) desire to bless you in the Name of the Lord, praying for you all, & in special for those that have bin most eminently forward in this liberality; that the Lord would supply all your wants, according to the Riches of his grace & glory, by Jesus Christ. Now He that ministreth seed to the sower, both minister bread for your food, & multiply your seed sown & increase the fruits of your Righteousness.

So we rest, Yonrs in our Lord Jesus,

JOHN ELIOT.
JAMES ALLEN.
I[NCREASE] M[ATHER].
THOMAS THACHER.

BOSTON, N. E. 11th of 11mo, 1676.

In the name & at the request of the Elders who are wont to meet at the Lecture in Boston.

[This paper is in the handwriting of Increase Mather, and is in acknowledgment of the contributions for the relief of sufferers by the Indian war, sent from Dublin, as mentioned in the letter of Nathaniel Mather, on p. 9.]

THE CHURCH AT NEW HAVEN TO INCREASE MATHER.

To the Revd Mr Increase Mather, Pastor, to be communicated to the honord & Beloved the Second Church of Christ att Boston, Theise.

17th 2d 1682.

HONOD: REVD & BELOVED IN OUR LORD JESUS, GRACE, MERCY & PEACE BE MULTIPLIED, — Having formerly made our Address to the Revd Mr Cotton Mather, a worthy Member of your Society, and (for a tyme limited as we understood in ministry) among yow, as an Adjuvant to his honord father your Revd Pastor, hoping, at the end of that tyme to have attained him for the supply of our grt & pressing necessity. Instead thereof, (to our sorow) we found dissappointment. Now, although by renewing our moc̃on to yourselves about that worthy & pr̃cious Instrument (which we should have don when we first made our Addresses that way) we have little or noe hopes to pr̃vaile, as to him, yet not knowing what God may doe, nor how far the sence

of our inexpressibly sorrowfull condiĉon may affect your harts, with a compassionat simpathy with vs therein, and incline yo^{w} to deny yourselves (being soe richly supplyed as yo^{w} are) to help a poore church of Christ in eminent daunger of vtter ruin & desolaĉon for want of able M^{nry} & leading; we are bold to make this applicaĉon to your se[lves]. What this Church hath bin, when formerly organized, with eminent Instruc[tors,] is not now our busines to menĉon, least we should seem to glor[y]. That is well knowne to yourselves, & other churches. Wee now are . . . Sion (if in our humiliaĉon state we may soe accompt ourselves) sitting in dust with our teares, (many of vs at least) vpon our cheekes, crying out with that mournfull Prophet, Lam: 1: 12: 13, to all other chur[ches], of Christ, Behold & see if there be any Sorow, like our Sorow, &c. ffor besides the solemne bereavem^{ts} God hath brought vpon vs in His just displeasure for our sins, as an effect (consequence at least) of our said bereavement, Wee have bin sorely rent & torne with divisions about one Instrument for above 7 yeares past, nor any hope of thorough healing, as to outw^{d} appearance, but by a good supply of M^{nry} for settlem^{t}. And it is the judgm^{t} of all the Revrd Elders & godly frends about us, that our cure & resettlem^{t} in love & peace, must come that way, yea, & it is o[ur] owne aprehenĉons generally vpon the place. But to continu[e] much longer as we are (in the yssue) it may hazard the be[ing] of the church. ffor although by a signall hand of G[od] we are set at full liberty (at present) from him w[ho] hath bin the occasion of our trobles, and the church generally well agreed to look out for other supply; yet a dela[y] in that may prove daungerous, and renew old temptati[ons]. And then our case will be worse then ever it was.

Thus we have made bold to give yo^{w} some hints of our p^{r}sent circumstances, hoping it may help to stirr up your compassionat resentment of our present condiĉon, and by the gracious movings of the Spirit of God in your harts put yo^{w} on serious thoughts what to doe for vs, as a poore Sister-Church wanting Breasts, according to that Cant. 8. 8, if not by a resignaĉon of that choice & p^{r}cious servant of Christ among yo^{w}, yet by your earnest pray^{rs} to God in solemne & speciall manner, on our behalfe, and by the joint endevo^{rs} of your Revrd Pastor with yourselves &

other Elders for our Supply. Soe we committ yo^{w} to God & to the Word of His Grace, and rest

Yours in Christ Jesus.

Subscribed by the Comittee apointed by the Church of X^{t} at N. Haven,

WILLIAM: PECK.
THOMAS MUNSON.
MOSES MANSFILLD.
JOHN COOPER.
JOHN WINSTONE.

[This paper, except the signatures, is in the handwriting of William Jones.]

THE CORPORATION OF HARVARD COLLEGE TO SAMUEL NOWELL.

For the Worshipfull Samuel Nowell, Esq.

HONORD SIR, — You being by the Corporation elected Treasurer of the Colledge, *pro tempore*, in the absence of Capt. John Richards, you are hereby requested & ordered,

1. To take effectual care that the vote of the corporation respecting some further encouragement for the Fellows Resident at the Colledge, bearing date April 10, 1682, be duely performed; and that the first money due to the Colledge, which shall by you be received, be disposed of for that end.

2. To gather in all debts due upon bill or account, that make not allowance to the Colledge, & to renew the security of all debts that are above three years old.

3. The votes which the corporation has formerly passed, respecting the disposal of the Revenue coming in to the Colledge, being in the first place duely attended; you are desired to take care, that out-houses, & what other things are necessary for the President's accomodation be provided.

Dated at BOSTON, March 29. 1683.

[In the handwriting of Increase Mather.]

JOHN CORY AND OTHERS TO JAMES ALLEN AND OTHERS.*

To the Reverd Mr. James Allen, Mr. Increase Mather, and Mr. Samuel Willard, Boston,

[1681, The Town of Bristoll was granted.

1684–5. Feb. 2, Mr Woodbridge in his Letter to Gov. Hinckley, says yr is fallen an unhappy Diffne, &c.

1687. May 3. The Chh there 1st Gathd, & probably the R. Mr Lee yn installed yr 1st Pastor.

169— R. M. Lee left ym.

1695, June 12, Mr John Sparhawk ordained yr 2d Pastor. — PRINCE.]

Whereas God who setteth the bounds of the habitations of the children of men, hath in His soveraign wisdome disposed soe many of vs to this place as he hath, wee doe desire to be found doeing those things in our several places & capacities that may be for the glory of His name, the promoteing the Interest & Kingdome of Jesus Christ, & to be laying of such foundations as might be for the good of our selves & our Children after vs, & as it is our duty soe it hath been our earnest desire that wee might enjoy not onely the preaching of the word, but other the ordinances of Jesus Christ; & allthough from time to time wee have been in the vse of means in order there vnto (yet, to our greife) wee find things more & more vnlikely for obtaining the same, & our motions therein have been hindered, as wee thinke, by him who should have most encouraged the same. The Revd Mr Woodbridg, in his paper he left with the Town, speaks of his return, if it might be with peace, incouragement & ioynt concurrance, neither of which wee thinke he will procure. & when wee have been discourseing about gathering a church in this place, he hath not been willing to promote the same in any way, without he could see some certainty of his being settled & called to office therein. And wee the subscribers, haveing had oppertunity to take notice of Mr Woodbridg, his methods & designs among vs, have reason to thinke his settlement here will not be for the glory of God, his good, nor ours; he haveing had many oppertunities wherein to have had a competent, comfortable & quiet settlemt among vs, & he never haue-

* This letter, with the exception of the signatures of the other persons whose names are attached, is in the handwriting of John Walley.

ing embraced the same, & being he would not be perswaded to fall in therewith, makes vs ready to thinke that his worke will ye rather in some other place then here, & that he is not the man that God intends to doe vs good by. And if he should be voated in as a minister by a major part of the Town (which wee question) or imposed upon us by others, wee must beare it, & desire wee may, as becomes Christians; but to be active for his settlement, & especially to have any hand in calling him to office amongst vs, wee must be excused in. It is our greife that things fall out soe among us. Wee are troubled for him as well as for ourselves, & doe solemnly declare it is not out of any prejudice to his person or any perticular interest or controversie of our own, but the keeping of a good conscience in the discharg of our duty wee owe to God, to the Town, to ourselves & one to another; & any thing wee can doe for him that wee may & ought to doe, wee would not be wanting in, & wee doe beleive that if he would make it his own act to leave vs, it would be the readyest way to settle vs, & wee trust God will provide for vs. To give the reasons of our discouragements wee have not now time for, but if any necessity lyes upon it, wee think wee should have time, & if the decision of matters is to be by a counsil, wee thinke it ought to be vpon the place, & there will be best oppertunity to vnderstand the state of things with vs. In the meane time your counsel & advice to vs & prayers for vs is earnestly desired, by your servants to our power,

JOHN CORY.
HUGH WOODBERRY.
NATHANIEL REYNELLS.
NATHANIELL BOSWORTH.
JOHN WALLEY.
NATH: BYFIELD.

By the Lett^r following.* This seems to be wrote on May 11, 1686, or a little before. — [PRINCE.]

* See letter of John Walley, dated "Bristol, the 11th May, 1686," on pp. 651–654.

ADDRESS OF THE CONGREGATIONS IN NEW ENGLAND TO KING JAMES II.

To the King's Most Excellent Majᵗʸ.

The Humble Address of many Congregations in New [England.]

Sir, — That princely Goodness and bounty which did adorn one of your Roya[l An]cestors, caused his subjects to honour him with the Glorious Title of the poor m[an's] King. And it is mentioned as the Chief Glory of a Great King in Israel (in t[hat] resembling the King of Kings) that Hee should deliver the needy, spare the poor, and redeem them from violence. This hath your Majesty done by your Late Gracious declaration for Liberty of Conscience, which is Come down on your subjects like rain on the mowen Grass. Therein you assure them that they shall bee maintained in all their properties and possessions; and Confirm unto them the free exercise of their Religion. Wee know your Majestyes pleasure is, that your Indulgence should extend to these utmost Ends of the Earth, Since you have Commanded it to bee proclaimed in this part of Your Dominions. As men, our Civil properties and possessions are dear unto us, butt much more our Religion, as wee are Christians. Your Majesty having declared that no disturbance of any kind shall bee given to us therein, Wee should render ourselves most unworthy, if wee do not accept such Royal Grace so Generously Expressed, with all humble Thankfulness to God and the King. And Your Majesty having promised that this Liberty shall Continue during your Reign over us; as the Scripture has made it our duty, so your Majesty has made it our Interest to pray that your Reign may bee long, and prosperous. Lett the King live forever. Thus do wee, with all possible Testimonies of the Highest Gratitude, Subscribe ourselves

Dread Soveraign,

Your most Loyal & Obedient Subjects.

In the Name of many Congregations in Your Majestyes Territory & Dominion of New England.

ADDRESS OF THE CONGREGATIONS IN N. E. TO JAMES II. 1687.

To the King's Most Excellent Majᵗʸ

The humble address of the Congregaᶜ In N. E.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJᵀʸ, — Since the beams of your Royall Clemency have bin so vastly influentiall, as to cõmunicate their light & warmth to this remote corner of the earth, & your Goodness (no l[ess sp]lendid than your Greatness) hath amplified itself so farre as to compʳhend your poor & despicable subjects, at so great a distance as N. E. within the compass of your gracious declaration, in which we have assured security of the continuance of our Liberty of Conscience in the Worship of God, & peaceable enjoymᵗ of our ꝑpties & possessions, than which nothing can be dearer to us in this world, & not only so, but you have also (by giving ꝑticular order for the ꝑclaiming of this your Kingly Indulgence among vs) made us sensible, as of the well intentions to grasp us within it, so of a speciall care you have entertained for vsᵗ: It would argue us far more degenerate & brutish than the Barbarous Natives wee converse among, should wee not with greatest thankfulness, expresse our deep resentmᵗ of such an iñunity, which (next under God) wee are properly beholden to your Majᵗʸ for. Deign then, Great Sʳ, to fill vp your already suꝑlative goodness, to cast a benign ey upon these our best expressions of reall gratitude, who, (having nothing else to signalize it by) resolve, by our earnest wishes & hearty prayers, to do our utmost to obtein that your reign may bee long, peaceable & successfull, joyning hereto our utmost endeavoʳs so to demean oʳselves in all things, as to make it manifestly appeare that wee are, as wee ꝑfess oʳselves, Sʳ,

Your Majestie's most Loyall & most obedient subjects.*

[Suppose in Octobʳ or Novembʳ 1687. — PRINCE.]

* This address is in the handwriting of the Rev. Samuel Willard.

STEPHEN MASON TO INCREASE MATHER.

For M^r Increase Mather.

DEARE S^R, — Just as you went from the booksellers, I with Mad^e Bl—— were there [to] wait on you, & suppose you took coach, or must haue overtaken you i[n] Cheapside; but missing you, & fearing a letter by the penny post might faile, I came hither to let you know that this day M^r P. was at her lodgings, & that he assures her that you need not doubt all things [shall be] done to your content, and that he will labour in it, but not above board, [&] so as M^r Blaithwaite shall know nothing of it, but saith it wilbe about 10 daies first, because of the present rejoycing, which hinders all buissinesse; & tels her that N. E. people have been represented as such who haue wronged his Majesty in his customes, & an odd humoured people, which occasioned what hath been transacted in N. E., but that he will undeceiue his Majesty. He aduised her to goe to my Lord Bellasise, as a person much in fauour, which she resolues to doe on Thursday next.

Praying the Lord to succeed your endeauours, I remaine

S^r, Yo^r sincerely affe^t ff^d & seru^t, STE: MASON.

NEWINGTON GREEN, 11 June, 1688.

MEMORIAL OF THE DISSENTERS OF NEW ENGLAND.

[Suppose June 1. 1688. — PRINCE.]

An Humble Memoriall of the present Condition of the Dissenters of New-England.

THAT your Ma^tys Subjects there dissenting from the Church of England are by much the greatest & wealthiest Part, & were the First of any of your Ma^ty's Plantations, that Proclaimed your Ma^ty their True & Lawfull Soveraign. That notwithstanding they happily flourished uuder their former Goverm^t, yet upon

your Ma$^{ty's}$ Coñands, they cherefully Submitted to the present Form of a Generall Governo^{r}.

Yet such has bin & still is the Artifice of some who belong to the Church of Englands Party to traduce the most peaceable & Consciencions Men as Seditious & disaffected to Royall Goverm^{t}.

And such is the present Case of your Ma$^{ty's}$ Dissenting Subjects in this your Plantation.

Three ministers in Boston, & one now in London doe attest to this.

For that they are not suffered to sett apart Days of Prayer and Thanksgiving: no, not even for the Blessing of your Gracious Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, Nor were the People there Encouraged to make humble Addresses of Thanks, but the Contrary.

That the Service of the Church of England has bin forced into their Meeteing Houses.

Sam^{ll} Seawell, Theoph^{s} Frary, & severall others in New-England can attest to this.

That there have bin threatnings to punish any Man that should give to the value of Two pence to maintaine a Nonconformist Minister.

That they have bin fined & Imprisoned because they were Scrupelous of Swearing, otherwise then according to the Ancient Custome of this your Ma$^{ty's}$ Plantation, by Lifting up their Hands to heaven & not by the Booke.

[Sam^{ll} Nowell & Elisha Hutchinson, now in London, can witness to this. *Erased.*]

That the Dissenters Lands there are Measur'd out, & given to such as are for the Church of England, & others denyed Liberty to improve their Property.

That whole Towns, to the Ruine of many hundreds of Familyes, are now vnder expectation of having their Lands seized, vnlesse they give money to Repurchase them.

John Wise, John Nelson, & severall others in New-England can attest to this.

That they are under great Fears & Discouragem^{ts}, being told by som in Goverm^{t} that they are no better then Slaves, that they have no Title to Property or English Privilidges, & they are treated accordingly.

Some being Imprisoned without Assigning any Cause, & others fore'd to pay such Fines as inferior Officers please to extort from them.

[*A paragraph erased.*]

That it is coñonly discoursed that the College built by Non-Conformists in New England shall be taken from them, & put into the hands of such as are of the Church of England.*

* The last paragraph is in the handwriting of Increase Mather.

PETITION OF INCREASE MATHER AND OTHERS TO KING JAMES II.

To the Kings Most Excellt Majty.

THE humble Petition of Increase Mather, Samll Nowell, & Elisha Hutchinson, on behalfe of themselues & many of your Majtys Loiall Subjs in New Engld,

Humbly Sheweth

That since the dissolution of the late Governmt there, many inconveniences have & will attend your Petitioners, unlesse relieved therein by your Majty, in order whereunto they humbly propose to your Majtys Consideration the heads in the Paper annexed, which if your Majty shall vouchsafe to Grant & confirme to them, will (as your Petitioners humbly conceive) be for your Majtys Interest, & an effectuall meanes for the settlemt of that your Colony.

And therefore they humbly pray & hope that your Majty will, out of your great Grace, give such speedy Orders therein as will be for your Petitioners relicfe.

And your petitioners, *etc:*

[April 6, 1688. Mr Increase Mather goes for England.
May 30. Has his 1st audience of K. James II, in private; & June 1. his 2d audience. & I suppose on July 2, 1688, presents this Petition to K. James 2d., as it seems by Dr. C. Mather's Life of his Father. — PRINCE.]

[The following paper is placed in the collection of manuscripts immediately after this petition, and is probably "the Paper annexed," referred to therein.]

THAT his Mats subjects in New England may be quieted in the possession of all property, both in houses and lands, as they enjoyed them before the gouuerment was changed, on the 24th May, 1686, and that the antient records there setled for title of lands may be confirmed.

That there be liberty of conscience in matters of Religion, and that theire former methods of swearing in giueing of Evidence may

be allowed; and all their meeting houses left free to them, according to the Intentions of the builders thereof.

That no lawes may be made nor mony raised there, without the Consent of a generall Assembly, as it is in the other plantations.

That all Townships may haue liberty to assemble and mannadge the buissiness of theire seuerall precincts, as under the former Gouernment, and haue power to receiue and dispose of all Voluntary contributions.

That the Colledge at Cambridge in New England, with the Revenues thereunto belonging, be confirmed in the hands of a President and fellows as formerly.

Wee humbly Petition, that these things may be confirmed under the great seale.

WARRANT FOR THE ARREST OF INCREASE MATHER.

Suffolk ss.

By Vertue of his May^ts^ Writt of Capias to me Directed, Returnable before his May^ts^ Justices at the Next Superiour Court of Pleas, to be held in Boston on the Last Tuesday in January nexte, you shall Arest Increase Mather to Answer To Edward Randolph Esquir: of a Plea of Trespas uppon the Case, to the Plantiff's Damage five hundred pounds. Da^t^ the 24^th^ of Decẽ. & in the Thirde year of his May^ts^ Reigne, 1687.

L. S.

James Sherlock, Sher^ff^.

Vera Copia. Thomas Larkin.

—— —— TO INCREASE MATHER.

As to the Action of Defamation

Please To know that as to things incertaine or dubious noe ptieular Action can be coñenced vpon. Now 'tis noe where asserted in that Lĩe that Edward Randolph was the fforger of that Lĩe. As to that (that belike the Jewes Name was either Edward

or Bernard Randolph;) 'tis not ꝑticularly appropriated to Edward Randolph, soe that for the incertainctye thereof noe Action can lye at the Suite of Edward Randolph, and one of the Randolphs being detected of such villanye is lately fled to save his Eares, which cannot touch Edward, and that Randolph is a great Knave is too geñall to Coñence an Action vpon, and that 'tis suspected that he may be the author thereof, is too geñall still to mainteyne an Action; and as to an Action for words, it cannot bee, for that the ꝑper words for such action are (*Reꝑulit, ꝑpalavit & publicavit in auditu quamplurimorum subditorum Dñi Regis in his anglicanis verbis, videl*ᵗ, &c.) then writeing of a Lr̃e barely to one, I cannot vnderstand to be a publecation, altho the ꝑson to whome the Lr̃e was Writt doe shew it to severall; but he may be said to publish, &c.

But let them first prôve the Lr̃e to be yours, which you need not owne, and you may safely plead, That you are not guilty (*modo & forma vt querens ver suo* [*versus ?*] *eum queritur. Et de hoc, poñ se sup. patriam*, &c.

In hast, I am Yrs, C. C.

PLEAS IN THE CASE OF EDWARD RANDOLPH AGAINST INCREASE MATHER.

[Betwⁿ 1686 & 1688.—Prince.]

Pleas held at A Superioʳ Court held at Boston, for the County of Suffolk, in his Majestics Territory & Dominion of New England, the last Tusday in January, in the third Yeare of his Majestics Reigne, James, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, ffrance & Ireland, King, Defender of the ffaith, &c. Before Joseph Dudley, Esqʳ, Cheife Judg, William Stoughton, Esqʳ, Judg, and Scuerall of his Majesties Justices of the Peace for the said County of Suffolke —

Memorand. — That on the last Tusday in January, in the Third Yeare of the Reigne of James the Second, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, ffrance & Ireland, King, Defender of

the ffaith, &c. Before the Judges & Justices of our Said Lord the King, at Boston aforsaid, in the County aforsaid, Came Edward Randolph, Esq^r, by Georg ffarewell, Gent., his Atturney, and brought here into Court his Certaine Bill against Increase Mather, in the Custody of the Sheriff, which said Bill ffolloweth in these words, Viz^t

'And the Said Increase Mather, by Giles Master his Atturney, came into the Said Superio^r Court of Pleas held at Boston aforesaid, for the County of Suffolke aforesaid, before the Said Joseph Dudley, Esq^r, Chief Judg, & W^m Stoughton Esq^r, Judg, &c., and defend the fforce & Injury when, &c., and Say the Said Increase Mather is not guilty, and of this puts himselfe vpon the Country, And the Said Edward likewise. Wherfor[e] a Jury of Twelue good & Lawfull men of the Vĩsne, whose names were as followeth, Georg Turfray, late of Boston, Adam Winthr[op,] of the same place, William Hobby of the same place, Gervish Ballard of the same place, Robert Howard of the same place, John Pinchon of the same place, William Gibson of the same place, Simion Stodard of the same place, Bozoone Allin of the same place, Humphry Parson of the same place, Thomas Stanbury of the same place, Duncan Campbell of the same place. And the Jury Who . . . is within made being Called Came who being Chos . . . Say the truth of the matter within Contained So . . . Oaths that they find for the defendant. Therefore . . . . . granted that the Said Increase the defendant Shall Receive for . . . the Cost of the Said Court in all

Against the Said Edward Randolph Plaintiff. And the Said Edward in mdij.

INVITATION TO ATTEND THE FUNERAL OF SAMUEL NOWELL.

ffor the Reuerend Mr. Mather.

Reuerend S^r. — You are desired to accompany the Corps of M^r Samuell Nowell, minister of the Gospell, of Eminent Note in New England, deceased, from M^r Quicks meating place in Bar-

thlomew Close, on Thursday next, at Two of the Clock in the afternoon p^rcisely, to the new burying place by the Artillery ground.

By M^r. John Phillips's Let^r to M^r. I. Mather,* it seems as if M^r. Nowell died bef^e 7^br 29, 1688, & by s^d Nowell's Bond to M^r. Stephen Mason it appears that M^r. Nowell was alive on Aug. 30, 1688. — [PRINCE.]

PETITION OF SIR WILLIAM PHIPS AND INCREASE MATHER TO KING WILLIAM III.†

[Dr. Cotton Mather, in his Life of S^r W^m Phips, says that in the Spring of 1689, S^r W^m Phips, with Instructions from none of the least considerable Persons at White Hall, what service to do for his Countrey, hastens back to it. The foll^g address must therefore be Presented ab^t. Feb. 88–9. — PRINCE.]

To the K's most Excellent Majesty.

THE Petition of Sir William Phips, Knight, and Increase Mather, Rector of the Colledge at Cambridge, in New England,

Humbly sheweth,

That four Colonies in New England have had their charters, which did empower them to chuse their owne Rulers, by extraordinary wayes taken from them, and Sir Edmond Andros has bin sent to govern them by an illegal Coñission. And of late we hear that the Indians, animated by the French, are making warr upon them; and if that Territory should be lost, it would prove very p^rjudicial to the English nation, & to the Protestant Interest in general.

Wherefore as an effectual Remedy against these evills, we humbly pray that Sir Edmund Andros may be removed from his Goverment in New England. And that your Majesty will please to declare that all their charters being restored to them, they proceed in Administrations of Government as before any *Quo Warranto* were issued against them. Also, that order may be given to the former Governors in the several Colonies in New England to proclaim your Majesty as King in that part of your dominions.

And your petitioners, &c.

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* See the letter in this volume, p. 676.

† This petition is in the handwriting of Mather.

[Suppose between 1688 & 1690. — PRINCE.]

A CHARGE DRAWNE AGAINST Mr JNo VSHER.

*Imp*r: He was one of the Membrs of the Covncill when they made the Act entitld an Act for Establishing severall Rates, baring date the second of March, 1686, for Raising of taxes on His Majesty's subiects without their Consent.

2*ly*. He Isued out Warants by virtue of the said Act and not in His Majestie's name, requiring some of the Inhabitants of the said Colleny or teritory to collect vaste svmes of moneys on the pepole acordingly.

3. And gave Warants to the Respective Offisers so chosen to [di]straine on the Estates of the said pepole that did refuse to comply to his vnlafull demands, wher by their howses were rifled, their goods taken from them, and the Bread out of their chilldren's mouths, to anser his Illegall demands.

4. He sat in Court when many of the said persons so required refused to act, by virtue of the said arbitrary power, and acordingly sentence pased against them for grate fines and long and cruel Imprisonments for their not acting by virtue of said power.

Together with many Illegall actions, whereby he made the pore pepole in said Collonys to groane vnder ther hard and crvell bondage.

And since the pepole have Reinvested themselves in their former wrights, and ordring him to atend their Court, he hath fleed from Justise, and being here in Inglad, it's humbly prayed that he may be aprehended and secured for what Justis our Royall Majesties and the hond Parlinent shall think fitt for sueh his ofences. He allso Retained the moneys so taken from their Majestys subiects. Wee hvmbly pray that care may be taken that they may have their goods and estats restored to them againe, being so vnjvstly taken from them; all which charge will be proved against him in dve time.

MATTERS OF COMPLAYNT OBJECTED AGT. SIR EDMUND ANDROS.*

[About 1689. — PRINCE.†]

1: That he did exercise Government over sev^ral Colonies in N.E., whosc Charters had no Judg^t entred ag^t them, nor any surrenders thereof made.

2. That hee raysed money not only on the Massachusets Colony, but in other Colonies, contrary to their Laws, as well as the Laws of England.

3. That he & a few with him, imposed what Laws or orders they pleased, without any consent of the People, either by themselves or Representatives.

4. Hee invaded the property of many, denying that the people there had any propeicy, but sayd that all was the K's.

5. Hee punished those that did oppose his Arbitrary proceedings, & imprisoned several without showing any cause.

6. When Intelligence arrived in N E, that His present Maj^y, (then Prince of Orange) was landed in E: To del[iver the w]hole nation from Popery and Arbitrary Government, S^r Edmund did what he could to keep the people ignorant of it. And the man which brought the P. of O. his Declaration into the Countrey, was on that account sent to prison; — the Prince's Declaration being called a Treasonable & seditious paper.

7. The people were necessitated to secure him for their owne safety; for that both Indians & French testified that he designed by them to cutt off the English, & matters were so managed as gave too great cause of Jealousy.

8. In some ꝑticulars he went beyond what by the Illegal and Arbitrary coñission, granted by the late K. James, he was empowered to do, for his Coñission directed him to continue such Taxes, & impositions as were then in force in N.E., Wheras hee imposed on Plymouth Colony a Tax never before known amongst them, and on the Massachusets Colony what was repealed before

* There are two similar papers, bearing this title, among the Mather Papers, one being the original draft in the handwriting of Increase Mather, the orthography of which has been followed in printing.

† "After Feb. 13, 1688-9, & before July, 1689." PRINCE, in a note to the original draft by Mather.

the *Quo Warranto* against their Charter. When some of his council urged a clause in his Coñission, he replied, it might be false written, for his Instructions were otherwise; and altho his Coñission directed him to act as near as might be according to the Laws of E., yet Juries were packed of such as were [no free]holders, and some were forced to answer in another County, & not in that where their pretended crimes were coñitted, contrary to the Laws of England, only to serve a malicious design. Hee made Laws without the concurrence of the major part of his Council.*

ANSWER OF THE COUNCIL TO THE DECLARATION OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Boston, the 10: May, 1689.

In Answer to a Declaration, drawn up & signed by Ebenezer Prout, as Clark of the Representatives of the sev^{ll} Townes of the Massachusets Colony in N: England, dated at Boston the day & yeare aboves^{d}, declaring that the Gov^{r}:, Dep^{t}: Gov^{r} & Assist: chosen & sworn in May 1686, according to Charter Rights, & the Dept^{s} then sent by the Freemen of the sev^{ll} Townes, to be the Governm^{t} now setled in the afores^{d} Colony.

There being only 66 ꝑsons as the Representatives of 43 Townes & Villages within the s^{d} Col:, & the Return from s^{d} Townes & places being defective & uncertaine in a full representation of the minds of the places thereab^{t}; — we think it necessary that the . . . of s^{d} sev^{ll} Towns & Villages do meet fully, & expressly signifie their minds in the matter; & that the oth^{r}: Towns & places within s^{d} Col: [hav]ing no knowl^{g} of the s^{d} Declaration, be notified in their [resp]ective places to convene their sev^{ll} Inhabitants, to manifest their minds relating to the same.

And 3 of the late Assist: resident in the Col: being absent, that there be opportunity to consult them; and the whole number, if together, being but 13, That the ꝑp by thems: or Representatives

---

* The last sentence is not in the original draft by Mather, but is added, in his handwriting, to the other copy.

[c]huse such & so many as they shal think convenient to joyn with them [for] the cõmon safety & the conservac̃: of the peace, & the exercise of such farther Acts of Authority as shal be necessary, accordg. to any emergency, until there can be a more orderly settlemt. of Government.

Thurs: next, the 16 of May inst: is agreed upon to be kept a day of Fasting & Prayer, &

Wednesday the 22 of May inst: is agreed to be the day for the Representa: of the sevll Townes & vilages of this Col: to meet at Boston, at 2 of the clock.

Agreed upon by the Hond Cou: for Saf: & the Repre: of the Towns. Signed by

ISA: ADDINGTON, Clerk of the Council, &
EBEN: PROUT, Clerk of the Representa:

Indorsed, — "Councils Ans: to Representatives," — and, in another place, "The Councill's Act, May 10, 89."

VOTE OF THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

June 7: 89. In answr. to the earnst. motn. & requst. of the Repre: now assembled in the Convention, that the Honbl. S: Br: * Esq. Thomas Danf: & the Assistants now sitting in Coun: would be pleased by vertue of the powr. & authority devolved on them by the Repre: of the sevll Tow: of the Col: to accept Govmt. accordg., to our Charter rules, by the name of Govr & Coun: for the Ma: Col: & exercise such author: as was formrly used, accordg. to the Lawes made by or Chartr Govt., excepting such as may be judged repugnt. to the Laws of Eng: until we sh: receive farthr ords. from the Crown of England.

The Govr. & Counc: having read & considd. the abovesd. vote of the Repre: who also declared that they could not proceed to act in any thing of Publ: concern until they had a concession thereunto, Voted their consent to accept the exercise of Goverm. accordingly.

---

* Simon Bradstreet.

ORDER FOR TOWN ELECTIONS.

Boston, 13: June, 1689.

By the Govr & Council & Convention of the Representatives;

It is declared that all the Townes in this Jurisdiction may as they shall see meet, respectively, make choice of Constables, Selectmen & other Town Officers, as they were wont to do before the chang of the Goverñt in May 1686, according to the Lawes of this Colony then in force; & the ꝑsons so chosen are hereby impowred to act in their seuerll places accordingly. Past.

14: 4: 89, Voted in the affirma: by the Repre:, as attest,

Eben: Prout, Clerk.

Indorsed, — "14: 4: 89, Ordr: for Towne Elections."

ORDER OF KING WILLIAM III. IN RELATION TO SIR EDMUND ANDROS.

[1689. — Prince.]

Being informed, that in the Territorie of New England, their Charters have of late been taken from them, viz., in the yeare 1684 & since, and Sr Edmund Andross hath been sent thither with an illegall and arbitrary Coñission,

We have thought fitt to recall the said Sr Edmund Andross from the Government, & do hereby declare, That it is our pleasure, that the severall Colonys of New England have their Charters restored to them, And that the Governours and Magistrates which were by Charters in those Colonys in the yeare 1684, should imediately take the Goverment upon them, and proceed in Administracons of Government according to their former Constitutions.

ORDER FOR SENDING SIR EDMUND ANDROS TO ENGLAND.*

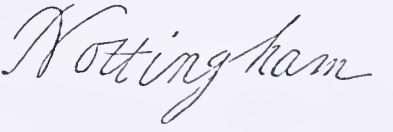
To such as for the Time being take Care for preserving the Peace and Administring the Laws in Our Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England in America.

Duplicat.

Whereas S^r^ Edmond Andros, K^t^ Late Governor of Our Dominion of New England, has been seiz'd by some People in Boston, and is detein'd under Close Confinem^t^ there, together with Edward Randolph, John Trefry, and Divers others, Our Subjects, Who have humbly requested us that they may be either sett at Liberty, or sent in safe Custody into England, to answer before us what Duplicat. may be objected against them; We do hereby will and require that the said S^r^ Edmond Andros, Edward Randolph, John Trefry, and others Our Subjects, that have been in like manner seiz'd by the sd People of Boston; and shall be at the Receipt of these Our Commands detein'd there under Confinem^t^, be forthwith sent on Board the first shipp bound hither, to answer before Us what may be Objected against them, and that yo^w^ take care that they be Civilly used in their Passage from New England, and safely Convey'd to Our Royall Presence.

Given at Our Court at Whitehall, this Thirtieth Day of July, 1689, in the First year of Our Reign.

By His Ma^ty's^ Command;



[Sealed with the Privy Seal.]

Indorsed, — "Order from King William & Council to send S^r^ Edmund Andross, late Governour, home, 1689.", — and, in another place, "Orders for sending S^r^ Edm^d^ Andros to England, &c."

* The original order, from which this is printed, bearing the signatures of King William and the Earl of Nottingham, is in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society. A contemporary copy is also in the possession of the Society.

CHRONOLOGICAL MEMORANDA BY THE REV. THOMAS PRINCE, PREFIXED TO THE SEVENTH VOLUME OF THE MATHER PAPERS.

AN INDEX TO UNDERSTAND THE ORDER OF THE FOLLOWING PAPERS.

1687. June 28. Capt. W^m Phips knighted. (pn)

1688. Apr. 7. M^r Increase Mather goes aboard the ship, which bares away for England, with his youngest son, M^r Samuel Mather. (em) Apr. 27 K. issues another Declara. for Lib^y of Consc^ce. (sl)

May 6. M^r M. goes ashoar at Weymouth, with his s^d son, & hastened up to London. (em)

May 18. The 7 B^ps sign a Pet^n to the K to dispense with the distrib^n & read^g s^d Declara. (sl)

May 25. M^r M. arrives at London. (em)

May 30. M^r M. 1st attends on K James in the Long Gallery at White-Hall, with an Address *à* the N. E. Ministers, of Thanks for his Declara^n of Indulgence, &c. (em) He then presents an Address *à* Plimouth. (em)

June 1. M^r M. is admitted to the K. in his Closet, when the K. says to him, Bring me in writing the things which trouble you. (em) June 8. The 7 B^ps sent to the Tower for refus^g, &c. (sl)

June 10. The Pretender born. June 15. The 7 Bps brot to the K^s Bench, but plead not guilty, & admit^d to bail. (sl) June 29. cleared. (sl) This sum̄er S^r W^m Phips returns to N. E. as High Sherrif, after 5 years absence. (em)

July 2. M^r Mather admitted to the K. in his Closet, where he presents his Memorial of the grievances which filled his countrey with the cry of the oppressed; and Petition (1) for a Magna Charta for an everlasting Liberty of Conscience; (2) for a confirmat^n of the ppl^r Title to their Lands which had been brot under such an abominab. contesta^n. (3) for Lib^y for an assembly, (4) for a Charter for the College. (em)

July 12. Ecclesiastical Com̄issioners issue an order to all Chancellors, &c. to enq^r in what chh^s the Ks Declara^n of Lib^y of Conscience was read, & transmit an acc^t of them on Aug. 16 follw^g. (sl)

Ab^t July 16. S^r W^m Phips sails for London, I suppose in Capt Belcher. (See M^r Moodeys & Sewall's Letters.)

Aug. 21. Henry Ashurst of Waterstock in Com. Oxon, Esq., created a Baronet. (sl)

Aug. 24. The K. declares in Council his Resolu. to call a Parl^t to meet Nov. 27, & Writs are issued. (sl)

Sep. 9. Count Davaux, the French Ambassad^r at the Hague, presents a Mem. to the States Gen., on their g^t armam^t by Sea & Land, & declares that the 1st act of hostil^y com̄it^d by their Troops ag^st the K of G. B., his Mast^r w^d look on as an absol^t Rupt^r of Peace with them. (sl)

Sept. 21. The K. pub^{l} a Declara. that he intends a Legal Estab^{t} of Lib^{y} of Consc^{ne}, would inviolably preserv. the Chh of E., & is conten^{d} that Rom. Cath^{s} rem^{n} incap. of being memb^{rs} of the H. of Comons. (sl)

Sep. 23. The K. receivs certain Intellig^{ce} that the Prepara^{s} of the Dutch are inten^{d} agst Eng. (sl)

Sep. 26. M^{r} Mather again waits on the K. in his closet, Thanks him for his Promises, & begs that matters may be expedited. The K. says, I will take care the Th. be d^{n} with exped^{n} (cm) This d: the King declares he had auth^{d} the L. Lieut^{s} of the sev. counties to rest^{r} the Dep. Lieut^{s} that were displaced, & the L. Chancel. to put those into com^{is} of Peace ag^{n} who had been laid aside. (sl)

Sep. 28. A Proclam. pub^{d} giv^{s} acc^{t} of the intended Invas^{n} à Holland, requir^{s} all prs^{ns} to prep^{r} for the Def^{ce} of their Countrey: & the writs for call^{s} a Parl^{t} are revoked. (sl)

Sep. 29. A Proclama. for a gen. Pard^{n} pub^{d}. (sl)

Sep. 30. The B^{p} of London's suspens^{n} taken off. (sl)

Oct. 1. The P. of Orange pub^{l} a Declara. with the Reas^{ns} of his intended Exped. to Eng. (sl)

2. The Chart^{r} of London restored. (sl)

3. The King desir^{s} the advice of the A.B^{p} of Cant., B^{p} of Lond., &c: 9 B^{ps} attend the K. with 10 Propos^{ns}, as the best means to restore his affairs. The subst^{ce} is to let the Law h^{v} its c^{e} & call a Parl^{t}. (sl)

5. The Com^{is} for Causes Ecclesiastical dissolved. (sl)

11 Popish Magistrates displaced, & Protestants put in their room. (sl) A Pub. Form of Pray^{r} composed by the Abp. during the appr^{sn} of an Invas^{n}. (sl)

12 An ord^{r} for Restor^{s} Magdalen Coll^{ge} to its Rights. (sl)

15 The P. of Wales christen'd. The Pope, repres^{d} by his nuncio, G. father. (sl)

16 M^{r} Mather attends the K. once more in his closet, who positively tells him, Lib^{y}, Prop^{y}, the Coll^{s}, & all he had prom^{d} should be im̄ed^{y} confirmed: & it seem'd indeed on the Point of being executed, but on the false Rumour of a Divers^{n} given to the P. of Orange's Exped^{n}, there was a Demurr put upon it. (cm)

17. A Proclama. pub^{d} for Restor^{s} Corpora^{ns} to their anc^{t} Charters; Lib^{s}, Rights & Franch^{s}. (sl)

18. M^{r} Rich^{d} Wharton at London writes to Gov^{r} Hinckley, — S^{r}, by way of Dartmouth, I wrote a few lines, & acq^{d} you what endev^{rs} had been used for Relief of N. E. The expecta^{n} of Invas^{n}, the demands of the P. of Orange, advice of the Bps, & Discontent of the ppl. had quite brok^{n} the old meas^{rs} & proc^{d} the Restora. of the Chart^{r} of London, now actually under administra^{n} as formerly, & all the other Cities, Corpora^{ns} & Borroughs in Eng: & g^{t} Revolu^{n} seem to be hasten^{g} on; out of which N. E. may, I hope, find deliv^{ce}. G. hath tak^{n} away M^{r} Nowell by Dth. M^{r} Mather, Captain Huchinson & myself have

sundry times b^s, within this week, to wait on the K; who hath often assur'd us our propert^s shall be contin^d & confirmed, the Coll^s & Revenue rem^s in the hands of a Præsid^t & Fellows, & Lib^y enjoy'd in mat^s of Relig^n, & in order thereto the Attorney Gen. is order'd to xam. the Gov^rs Comis^ns & Instruc^s, (of which we hope to get a copy) our complaints, & his Proceedings, & to report the same with his Opin^n, &c.

Oct. 19. P. of Orange sails *à* Holland with ab^t 50 Men of War, 300 Transports, & ab^t 14322 Land Forces, but is driven back by a storm. (sl)

28. L. Vis^t Preston m^d Seer^y of State, in room of E. of Sunderland. (sl)

Nov. 1. P. of Orange, with the Dutch Fleet, sails ag^n, & on the 5^th lands at Torbay in Devonsh^r. (sl).

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ERRATA.

Page 3, note, line 2, for "1850" read "1650."
" 23, line 25, for "M." read "Mr."
" 29, note, line 1, for "1662," read "1665;" and line 3, for "England" read "Ireland."
" 114, note, line 1, for "William Hubbard" read "Nehemiah Hobart."
" 173, note, line 1, fill the blank with "3."
" 188, line 1, for ∪ read ∩.
" 203, line 21, for ⊂ read ⊃.
" 241, line 1, *dele* the brackete, and after the title of the letter, insert, "*These for his Dearly Beloved Cousen, Mr Cotton Mather, at his fathers house in Boston.*"
" 291, note †, line 1, after "shoemaker," insert "son of John, who was."
" 329, note, *dele* the comma after "Day," and put "July 25" in brackete.
" 397, line 16, substitute a comma for the semicolon.
" 399, line 12, insert a comma after "Grace."
" 402, line 3, insert a comma after "Richards."
" 402, line 13, for "Govern" read "Governr."
" 408, line 23, for "thing" read "think."
" 410, line 2, *dele* the comma after "Islande."
" 420, line 32, insert a period after "Consumptions."
" 424, note, line 1, insert "last" after "in the."
" 546, line 10, insert a semicolon after "Cripe."
" 562, line 5, insert a period after "way;" and for "wee red" read "was made."
" 562, line 8, substitute a comma for the period after "tould of."
" 562, line 39, for "another" read "a matter."
" 567, line 21, substitute a comma for the period after "him."
" 567, line 22, substitute a period for the comma after "imprudently."
" 644, line 16, for "Durieu" read "Durien."

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